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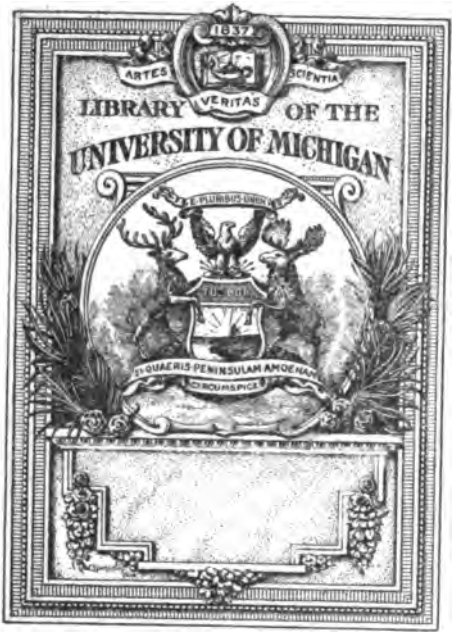

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1880-2.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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Proceedings:—Twelfth Annual Session, Philadelphia, 1880.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,

1880.

I.—*A Contribution to Infantile Linguistic.*

BY M. W. HUMPHREYS,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

In some recent works on this subject the rule has been adopted, in making up the child's vocabulary at a certain age, to admit only such words as were actually used during the last month of the period covered, and to form the list by writing each word down when it was used. I have not thought it best to place myself under such restrictions. What we want is the list of words of which the child has command; and if we are sure that it has command of a certain word, such word should not be excluded for the mere reason that the child did not happen to use it during an arbitrarily limited space of time. We could not, for instance, expect a child to happen to use the word "snow" between the 2d of May and the 2d of June.

In the present case, therefore, the following plan has been pursued: When the child was just two years old, aided by its mother I examined the words, one by one, in a dictionary, and marked such words as we were sure the child not only understood, but had spontaneously used, and still could use;

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and whenever there was the slightest doubt, we drew the child into conversation with a view to eliciting the word in question, being careful not to let it hear the word from us; and if we failed to elicit the word at once, we rejected it. In case of a concrete object, I thought it admissible to point at the object and ask, "What is that?" Sometimes the question was settled in regard to verbs also in a somewhat similar manner. For instance, it being a question whether the child had full use of a certain verb, I asked: "What did the kids do this morning?" Answer: "They ran and *skipped* about."

The vocabulary, then, which I give is that of a little girl, and contains the words, whether correctly pronounced or not, which she had full command of when she was just two years old.

In the works above alluded to, a classification of words according to their initial letters was made, in order to show that *ease of pronunciation*, especially of those letters, was an important factor in the formation of a vocabulary on the part of a child. But that classification is unscientific. To omit other faults, it is illogical and deceptive to follow the mere written characters of the English language. The list of words, for instance, beginning with *c* contains words whose initial sound is *k*, as 'cat,' or *s*, as 'city,' or *tsh* (nearly), as 'chair.' So words seeming to begin with *k* really begin with *n*, as 'know,' 'knife.' The same is true of some words seeming to begin with *g;* and the *g* itself represents the *g* sound proper and also the sound of *j*, and some other letters exhibit analogous facts. In order, therefore, to arrive at any reliable conclusion, the classification should be based upon the initial sounds, and not upon the characters representing the sounds. In the present instance, however, no such classification has been made, for a reason which will be stated.

Although it is not my purpose to enter into any scientific discussion of the development of language in infants, but merely to contribute some material for the use of others, still I shall make a few general statements, some of which are rather of the nature of induction than of observation.

1. We should expect *a priori* that a child's vocabulary

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would be affected by three considerations: (*a*) ease or difficulty of utterance, i. e., *form;* (*b*) simplicity of the idea, i. e., *meaning;* (*c*) frequency of use, i. e., *familiarity.* As to the first of these—the form of the word—although it had some influence before the child was one year old, when she was two, it had ceased to have any effect whatever. She had, by that time, adopted certain substitutes for letters which she could not pronounce, and words containing these letters she employed as freely as if the substitutes had been the correct sounds. The other two influences—meaning and familiarity—are closely connected, the one leading to the other; that is, the simplest ideas are most frequently expressed. But in many instances, when two words are synonymous, one of them will be used exclusively by a child, because of the rarer employment of the other by persons speaking in the child's presence. Compare, for instance, *sparkle* and *scintillate.* And further, it may happen that some local circumstance renders a word familiar, which is generally unknown to children; as, for example, "*crinoid*"—a word which this child uses every day to designate sections of fossil crinoid stems which abound in neighboring gravel walks.

One phase of the *simplicity* of ideas should, perhaps, be treated independently as a fourth influence. The same idea may be conceived in a more or a less patent shape. An adjective, for instance, is more readily conceived than an adverb, and a substantive than an adjective. In the case under discussion nouns were most readily seized, then, in order, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns. Prepositions and conjunctions she began to employ early, but acquired them slowly. Interjections are of two kinds, natural and conventional. The former, of course, she used to some extent from the beginning ("*wah*" for instance); the latter came rather late.

2. I proceed, in the second place, to give a brief history of the child's linguistic efforts, and I shall have facts to record which may surprise some; but in proportion as they are, or seem, unusual, just in that proportion are they important; for we are always in danger of generalizing from too limited observation, and then carrying with us through life a sort of

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tant pis pour les faits confidence in our theories. A certain scientist in Virginia, attempting to illustrate a beautiful uniformity or periodicity of the annual rainfall, omitted the great rain of September 1870 as being "unprecedented and *abnormal*"; and one of our leading physicists once seemed inclined to the belief that I was mistaken, when I told him that in my dreams I could call up scenes and perform experiments, knowing that it was a dream. His theory of dreaming rendered this impossible. If, then, I state that a child at a certain period of its life called *cat* "*kă*," and *dog*, "*og*," from inability to pronounce *t* and *d* while it could pronounce *k* and *g*, let no man say that this is impossible, or even that it is "unprecedented and abnormal," but let him revise his theory.

In the child's linguistic efforts I observed four periods.

(a.) When about four (4) months old she began a curious and amusing mimicry of conversation in which she so closely imitated the ordinary cadences, that persons in an adjacent room would mistake it for actual conversation. The articulation, however, was indistinct, and the vowel sounds obscure, and no attempt at separate words, whether real or imaginary, was made until she was six (6) months old, when she articulated most syllables distinctly without any apparent effort.

(b.) When she was eight (8) months old, it was discovered that she knew *by name* every one in the house, as well as most of the objects in her room, and the parts of the body, especially of the face. She also understood simple sentences, such as, 'Where is the fire?' 'Where is the baby in the glass?'—to which she would reply by pointing. It was by similar questions that we discovered her knowledge of the names of persons and things. But some things she *called* by name; so that during this period (from 8 months on, for a few months) she used actual words as words, i. e., as representing ideas, pronouncing some final consonants indistinctly, but initial consonants all clearly *except the linguals*, *th*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*.

(c.) But she now began a mimicry of language again, this time using real or imaginary words without reference to signification; and in her eleventh (11) month, she learned

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or happened to begin, to pronounce her linguals. She would imitate with accuracy any sound given her, and had a special preference for the nasal palatal *ng*, *initial* as well as final; and she could reproduce at once syllables beginning and ending with this sound, as *ngang*, *ngeng*, *nging*, *ngüng*, etc. Of course it made no difference to her whether the vowel sound existed or not, in English or any other language. But about this time it was observed that an obscurity of vowel sounds had begun again; but her consonants seemed perfect, and she had such a fondness for mere imitation of words and sentences, that at one year of age she ceased to use words as words except to a very limited extent, and when she did so, her facility of utterance seemed to have been lost; so that she watched the mouths of others closely when they were talking, and labored painfully after the sounds. This was evidently the result of a conscious effort taking the place of what might be called a natural instinct, and her experience in this particular seems to prove that a child's failure to produce certain sounds, as *k*, for instance, is not due to any organic defect or inability, but to want of knowledge how to go about it.

(d.) Finally she began by degrees to drop her mimicry of language, and, at first very slowly, acquired real words *with the ordinary infant pronunciation*, showing a preference for labials (*p*, *b*, *m*) and linguals (*t*, *d*, *n*,—not *l*) but presently she substituted easy sounds for difficult ones, or rather obvious sounds for hidden ones, and her acquisition of words was then, I fear, almost "unprecedented and abnormal."

3. Her pronunciation during the fourth period was tolerably uniform. The following table presents it as it was from eighteen (18) months to two (2) years:

	Initial.	Medial and Final.		Initial.	Medial and Final.		Initial.	Medial and Final.
M	m	m	N	n	n	NG	—	ng
B	b	b	D	d	d	G	d	g
P	p	p	T	t	t	K	t	k
V	b	b	THis	d	d	J	d	d
F	w	p	THin	t	t	CH	t	t
W	w	—	Z	d	d? z?	SH	t	t
			S	t	t	H	h	—
			L	*sil.*	l	Y	*sil.*	—
			R	w	med. w; fin. obscure			

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COMBINATIONS.

	Initial.		Initial.		Initial.
BL	b	TR	t	SN	n
BR	b	THR	t	SL	t (for s)
PL	p	SP	p	GL	d
PR	p	ST	t	GR	w
FL	w	SK	t	KW	w
FR	w	SW	w	KL	t
DR	d	SM	m	KR	w
				HW (wh)	hw (h weak)

(In these tables the letters represent sounds, not the mere characters with which words are spelled.) Final combinations are omitted. They exhibited phenomena analogous to those of initial combinations. In reference to the latter, it is interesting to observe that when a letter which she could pronounce correctly preceded another, she retained the first; but if both were represented by substitutes, she retained the second. If, however, the second was one which she made silent, then she pronounced the first. Thus *tr* = *t*, *kr* = *w* (for *r*), *kl* = *t* (for *k*, *l* being one of her silent letters). Her inability to pronounce initial *l* was very striking, as it forced her to change the pronunciation of her name Lulie (which she had called "Lülü") to "Uelü," which ultimately became "Ullie" (*u* in *tub*). Before she was two years old, however, she learned how to pronounce *l* in all its positions, but did not put it into practical use until later.

She has always had a tendency to carry the accent towards the end of the word if there is a long syllable or a secondary accent there, as "crinoíd," "rhubárb," "mantelpiéce," and even in some phrases, as "open ít," which, however, proved to be to her a *word;* for she would say "Open ít the door."

4. I was never certain that she invented words. On one occasion, when she was about eighteen (18) months old, a fly flew all about her plate when she was eating, and she exclaimed, "The old fly went *wiggely-waggely*." The expression, *as far as we knew or could ascertain*, was original with her.

The use of words with her was, of course, not in all cases the same as with grown persons. She would, for example, say "Good-bye" to anything, no matter how unpleasant it

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was, when she left it. Until her eighteenth (18) month she employed "No" for both "Yes" and "No," and then she substituted "Mam" (from "Yes, ma'am") for "No" in the sense of "Yes," and retained it till she was two (2) years old, using "Yes" only when it was specially suggested to her.

The word "gentleman" she employed to designate a negro man or boy, using "man" for a white man. Her nurse was colored.

5. Her Syntax at the end of two (2) years was very good, including the management of several forms of the subordinate sentence. The character of these sentences is sufficiently indicated by the conjunctions and adverbs in the appended vocabulary.

The first sentence she ever constructed was: "Julia broke the doll"; but she arranged the words in any possible order, frequently repeating the sentence, as: "Julia broke doll," "Julia doll broke," "Broke doll Julia," etc. This was when she was sixteen (16) months old; and she already knew her verbs so well that she said "broke" (under the form *boke*), and not "break" or "breakt."

6. In preparing the vocabulary, I have adopted the alphabetical order according to the present English alphabet, merely because it was most convenient to do so, as I used a dictionary. The only attempt at classification is the distribution, under each letter, according to parts of speech. The tabular view at the end will serve for comparison with similar tables that have been made out by others.

It was not in every case easy to decide whether a word should be put down or not. My general method has already been explained. I have not included proper names, nor words (amounting to hundreds) familiar to her only in nursery rhymes, of which she knows a considerable volume. The names of many animals and other objects known to her only in pictures or as toys, are excluded; but I have not, in every instance, felt myself bound to follow the rule of putting down the names only of such objects as she has seen. For instance, she has never seen a lion, or an angel; but she has derived from pictures and toys so definite and vivid a concep-

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tion of these, that they must be recognized as intellectual and linguistic acquisitions, whether her conception of them agrees with ours or not. So, I have included things learned in this way, in cases where the child frequently speaks of them as real objects, apart from their pictures or images.

She knows also many numerals, names of days of the week, etc., which I have omitted, as I could not be certain that she had any definite idea associated with them.

During the six weeks that have elapsed since she was two years old, her improvement in pronunciation, her progress in construction, and her acquisition of new words, have been very rapid; but this does not belong to the present investigation.

VOCABULARY.

A.

n.: ache. acorn, angel, animal, ankle, ant, ape, apple, apron, arm, armhole, ashes, aunt, axe.
v.: ache, allow, am (was, been).
adj.: afraid, all, an (a), another, any, asleep, awake.
adv.: again, ago, all, almost, along, as, away, awhile.
prep.: about, above, across, after, against, around, at.
c.: and.
i., etc.: aha.

B.

n.: baboon, baby, back, bag, baker, ball, balloon, band (of musicians), barber, barrel, basin, basket, bat, bath, bead, bean, bear, beard, bed, bee, beef, beefsteak, bell, belly, bellyache, bell, bench, berry, bib, bird, biscuit, bishop (a mere name), bit, blackbird, blanket, blaze, block, blood, board, boat, body, bone, bonnet, book, bookcase, boot, bottle, bottom, bow (on a dress), bow (with the head), bowl, box, boy, bracelet, bread, breakfast, breast, breeches, brick, bridge, bridle, broom, brother, brow, brush, bubble, bucket, buckle, bud, bug, buggy, bull, bump, bundle, bureau, burn.
v.: baptize, bark, bathe, bawl, be, beat, been, beg, begin, behave, believe, bellow, belong, bend (bent), bite (bit, etc.), blaze, bleed, blow (blew), bother, bounce, bow, break (broke, etc.), bridle, bring (brought), brush, build (built), burn, buy (bought).
adj.: bad, bare, barefoot, best, better, big, black, blind, blue, both, brown, busy.
adv.: back, backwards.
prep.: before, behind, but, by.
c.: because.
i., etc.: baa (of a sheep), bang (of a gun).

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C.

n.: cabbage, cage, cake, calf, camel, can, candy, cane, cap, cape, car, card, carpet, carriage, cart, cat, chain, chalk, chamber, cheek, chicken, child (children), chimney, chin, chip, christmas, church, churn, cigar, circle, circus, cistern, city, cloak, clock, cloth, clothes, cloud, clown, coal, coat, cock-roach, colic, cold, collar, color, comb, company, cook, corset, couch, cough, counterpane, cow, crack, cracker (bread), cradle, cranberry, crinoid (fossils in gravel walk), crow, crowd, crumb, cuff, cup, curl, curtain, custard.

v.: call, can (could), cannot, care, carry, catch (caught), chew, choke, clap, climb, comb, come (came), cook, count, crack, crawl, cross, crow, cry, curl, cut.

adj.: clean, cold, cool, crooked, cross, curly.

adv.: close.

D.

n.: daisy, dark, darling, daughter, day, dear, deer, desk, dime, dimple, dining-room, dinner, dirt, dish, doctor, dog, dollar, door, dot, drawer, drawers, dream, dress, drum, duck, dust.

v.: dabble, dance, dangle, die, dig, dip, do (does, did, done), draw (sketch), dream, dress, drink, drive (drove), drop, dry.

adj.: damp, dead, dear, dirty, dry.

adv.: directly, down.

prep.: down.

i., etc.: ding-dong.

E.

n.: eagle, ear, earring, easel, eel, egg, elbow, end, enough, eye, eyebrow.

v.: eat (ate), expect.

adj.: easy, enough, every.

adv.: eas(il)y, enough, ever.

F.

n.: face, fan, father, feather, fellow, fence, fiddle, finger, fire, fireplace, fish, fist, flag, flea, floor, flower, flute, fly, folks, foot (feet), forehead, fork, fox, frog, frost, frown, fuss.

v.: fall (fell), fan, feed (fed), feel, fetch, fight, fill, find (found), fit, fix, fly (flew), fold, follow, forget (forgot), fret, frown.

adj.: fat, fine, fish, first rate, fresh, front (e. g., front door).

adv.: far, fast, first, (in) front.

prep.: for, from.

G.

n.: garden, gaiter, gate, gentleman (i. e., a negro man or boy), giraffe, girl, glass, glove, gnat, God, gold, goose (geese), gourd, gown, grandma, grandpa, grape, grass, grasshopper, gravy, grease, ground, gun, gymnasium.

v.: gallop, get (got), give (gave), go (went, gone), grin, grow, growl, guess.

adj.: glad, good, great (in "great big"), green.

i., etc.: good-by.

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H.

n.: hair, hair-brush, hair-pin, half, hall, hammer, hand, handkerchief, handle, hang-nail, hash, haste (with "make"), hat, hay, head, heap, heart, hearth, heaven, heel, hen, hiccough, hill, hoe, hole, hollow, home, hood, hook, hoop, hooping-cough, horn, horse, house.

v.: hand, hang (hung), hatch, hate, haul, have (has, had), hear (heard), help, hiccough, hide (hid), hit, hold, hollo, hop, howl, hug, hunt (look for), hurry, hurt, hush.

adj.: happy, hard, heavy, high, horrid, hot.

adv.: here, home, how.

pron.: he, her, her (poss.), hers, him, his.

i., etc.: halloo.

I.

n.: ice, ink, iron (i. e., flatiron).

v.: is, itch.

pron.: I, it.

prep.: in, into.

c.: if.

J.

n.: jaw, jay, jelly, joke.

v.: joke, jump.

K.

n.: kettle, key, kid, kiss, kitchen, kite, kitten, knee, knife, knob, knot.

v.: keep (kept), kick, kill, kindle, kiss, kneel, knit, know.

L.

n.: lace, ladder, lady, lamb, lamp, lap, larkspur, leaf, leg, leggin, lemon, lesson, letter (2), light, lilac, line (on paper), lion, lip, little, load, lock, log, lump, lunch.

v.: laugh, lay (laid), leave (left), lend, let, lick, lie (lay), lift, like, listen, live, lock, look, lose (lost), love.

adj.: lame, last, left, light, like, little, long, loose, loud, low.

adv.: like.

M.

n.: ma'am (madam), mama, man, mane, mantel-piece, marble, mark, market, match, matter, meat, medicine, middle, minute, Miss, mitten, money, monkey, moon, more, morning, mother, mountain, mouse (mice), mouth, much, mud, mug, mule, music, mustache, mutton.

v.: make (made), march, marks, mash, may (might), mean, meet (met), mend, mind, move, must.

adj.: mad, many, mean, more, muddy.

adv.: mighty (= very), more, much.

pron.: me, my, mine, myself.

N.

n.: nail (2), name, neck, needle, negro, nest, Nestlé (prepared food), net, netting, nickel (coin), night, night-gown, nobody, noise, nose, nothing.

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v.: nail, nod.
adj.: naked, nasty, naughty, new, next, nice, no.
adv.: near, no, not, now.

O.

n.: oatmeal, orange, overcoat, owl.
v.: open, ought.
adj.: old, one, open, other, own.
adv.: off, on, out, over.
pron.: our, ours.
prep.: of, off, on, over.
c.: or.
i.: oh.

P.

n.: pail, paint, palm (of the hand), pan, pansy, pants, papa, paper, parlor, parrot, party (at play), path, patch, patience, pea, peach, pebble, pen, pencil, people, pepper, pet, petticoat, picture, piece, pig, pile, pillow, pin, pin-cushion, pipe, pistol, place, plait, plate, plum, pocket, point, poker, pony, porch, pot, potato, powder, prune, puff, pull, pulse (of the arteries), pump, pup, puppy, puss, pussy.
v.: paddle, paint, pat, pay, peck, peel, peep, pet, pick, pinch, pink, play, please, point, pop, pour, pout, preach, pump, push, put.
adj.: pink, poor, precious, pretty.
adv.: presently.

Q.

v.: quit.
adj.: quick.
adv.: quick.
i., etc.: quack (of a duck).

R.

n.: rabbit, rag, rail, railroad, rain, rainbow, rat, reading (print), rest (the), rhubarb, ribbon, rice, ring, road, robin, rock, room, rooster, rope, rose, row, rug.
v.: raise, rattle, read (rĕad), reckon, rest, ride (rode), ring (rung), rip, rise (rose), rock, roll, rub, rumple, run (ran).
adj.: ready, red, right (2), ripe, round.
adv.: right, 'round.
prep.: 'round.

S.

n.: sack, saddle, salt, sand, sash, saucer, school, scissors, seam, seat, seed, see-saw, shade, shadow, shawl, sheep, sheet, shelf, shirt, shoe, shoulder, shovel, side, sir, sister, skin, skirt, sky, slate, sleeve, sleigh, slipper, smoke, snake, snout, snow, soap, sock, sofa, soldier, somebody, somerset, something, son, song, soot, sore, soup, spark, spider, spit, splinter, sponge, spool, spoon, spot, spring, squirrel, stable, stairs, star, steam, steam-car, stick, stink, stocking, stool, stopper, store, story, stove, strap, street,

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string, student, study, suds, sugar, sun, sunlight, sunshine, supper, switch.

v.: say (said), scare, scold, scrape, scratch, scream, see (saw, seen), see-saw, send (sent), set, sew, shake, shall, shave, shine, shoot, show, shut, sing (sung), sit (sat), skip (leap), slap, sleep, slide, smell, smile, snap (the finger), sneeze, snow, soil, speak, spill, spit, splash, spoil, squat, squeal, squeeze, stand, stare, stay, step, sting (stung), stir, stoop, stop, strike (struck), suck, swallow, sweep (swept), swim, swing (swung).

adj.: sharp, short, sick, sleepy, smart, small, smooth, soft, some, sore, still, straight, sweet.

adv.: slow (ly), so (2).

pron.: she.

T.

n.: table, tack, tea, tear, thing, thread, throat, thumb, thunder, tie, time, toddy, toe, tongs, tongue, tooth (teeth), toothache, top, town, toy, train (R. R.), trap, trash, tree, trouble, trough, trunk, tuck, turtle.

v.: take (took), talk, tear (tore, torn), tell (told), think (thought), throw (threw), thunder, tie, touch, travel, treat, trot, try, tumble, turn.

adj.: the, thirsty, tight, tired, two.

adv.: then, there, to-day, together, to-morrow, to-night, too.

pron.: that, their, theirs, them, these, they, this, those.

prep.: through, to.

c.: till.

U.

n.: uncle, university (grounds and buildings).

v.: unbutton, undress, untie.

adj.: ugly.

adv.: up.

pron.: us.

prep.: under, up, upon.

V.

n.: vase, veil.

v.: visit, very.

adv.: very.

W.

n.: wagon, waist, waiter, wall, wardrobe, watch, water, way, well, wheel, whip, whiskey, whistle, wind, window, wing, woman, wood, woodpecker, woods, word, work, world (in the), worm, writing.

v.: waggle, wait, wake, walk, wallow, want, was, wash, watch, wear (wore), went, whine, whip, whisper, whistle, will (would), wind (wound), wink, wish, work, wrap, write.

adj.: warm, wee, wet, white, whole, wide, wrong.

adv.: well, when, where, while, why.

pron.: we, what, which (2), who (2), whose (interr.).

prep.: with, without.

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Y.

n.: yard.
adj.: yellow.
adv.: yes.
pron.: you, your, yours, yourself.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Nouns,	14	76	67	26	11	27	24	34	3	4	11	25	32
Verbs,	3	28	21	14	2	16	8	20	2	2	8	15	11
Adjectives,	7	12	6	5	3	6	4	6	...	...	...	10	5
Adverbs,	8	2	1	2	3	4	...	3	...	...	...	1	3
Pronouns,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	4
Prepositions,	7	4	...	1	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Conjunctions,	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Interjections, etc.,	1	2	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total,	41	125	95	49	19	55	37	70	10	6	19	51	55

	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	Y	Total.
Nouns,	17	4	53	...	22	83	29	2	2	25	1	592
Verbs,	2	2	21	1	14	52	15	3	1	22	...	283
Adjectives,	7	5	4	1	6	13	5	1	...	7	1	114
Adverbs,	4	4	1	1	2	2	7	1	1	5	1	56
Pronouns,	...	2	...	...	...	1	8	1	...	7	4	35
Prepositions,	...	4	...	...	1	...	2	3	...	2	...	28
Conjunctions,	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5
Interjections, etc.,	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
Total,	30	23	79	4	45	151	67	11	4	68	7	1,121

In this table irregular verbal and nominal forms are not counted as separate words, except in case of *defective* verbs, as *am*, *was*, *been;* but the different pronominal forms are counted, and pronominal adjectives are treated as pronouns.

It will be observed that S begins the largest number, and C the next largest save B; and yet the child cannot utter any initial sound (*s*, *sh*, *ch*, *k*) represented by S or by C.

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II.—*The Hebrew Verb-termination* un.

By CRAWFORD H. TOY,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Grammars have been, til within a recent period, littl more than collections of the fenomena of languages at some particular point in their development, the point chosen being usually that of the greatest literary finish, the classic period; forms and uses not occurring in this period are either ignored or dismist with the vague statement that they are archaic. Now, however, a ful grammatical treatment is considered to include a history of every form, from its genesis, thru its changes and its varieties of use, up to its extinction or the latest discoverabl shape that it assumes. The combination of these several histories gives us a picture of the formal movement of the language—the formal part of its inward life—and thus furnishes important data for the critical treatment of literary documents. As a contribution to this department of Hebrew grammar, it is proposed here to examine the history of the verbal personal termination in *n*.

Before, however, we can consult the old Hebrew literary documents in order to trace the history of this form, there is a preliminary question that must be anserd, namely, whether we now possess the literature in the shape in which it left the hands of the authors, that is, whether it faithfully exhibits the usage of various times, or has been so workt over at some period or periods that certain original differences hav been wiped out, and it now shows only the usage of the copyists or editors thru whose hands it past. Unfortunately the data for determining this question ar few, but there is stil something that may aid us in forming an opinion. In the first place, it is improbabl that any important changes were made in the Old Testament text after the Canon was substantially made up, say about a century after the begining of our era (there were canonical differences of opinion and discussions after this, but they related to one or two books only). The

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mechanical reverence for the text, which effectually preserved it from alterations, must be supposed to hav arisen as early as this; the Masoretic labors did not touch the literary form. We may infer this both from what we know of the work of the Masoretes (which was purely statistical and explanatory), and from the statements we hav concerning the pre-talmudic state of the text. We learn from the Talmud (the passages ar given in Geiger's *Urschrift der Bibel*, third book) that the early manuscripts (which probably belongd to the begining of our era) showed certain differences in letters and words (the insertion or omission of the *He* local, the insertion or omission of connecting *Waw*, the writing of the third personal pronoun with *Waw* or *Yod*) and in a few cases showed different words. That is, the text, thru carelessness of transcribers or possibly by intentional changes from religious motives, was to a certain extent in an undefined condition up to the time when critical attention began to be bestowed on it, namely, in the second or third century; but after that time we may be tolerably sure from what we know of the feeling of the age that it sufferd only from the ordinary accidents of copying. Further, it does not appear that there was recasting or other intentional alteration of the text in the immediately preceding period, from the latest canonical writing, about the middle of the second century B. C., to the second century of our era. The examples given in the Talmud may all be referred to the ordinary alterations of scribes, or else to a religious motiv; there is no sign of any literary or grammatical remodeling. For any such changes we must therefore look to an earlier period, and inquire whether authors and editors took such liberties with their materials as to alter their grammatical shape on literary grounds. In the next period, which extends from the second to the sixth century B. C. (in which occurred the compilation of the historical books, and the recensions of earlier poems) we hav some evidence of editorial changes in respect to the termination *un*. In the same passage Kings (I K. viii, 38) inserts the *n*, and Chronicles (II Chr. vi, 29) omits it; the psalm in II Sam. xxii (ver. 39), similarly has *un*, while the later recension (Ps. xviii, 39) drops the *n*, tho

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it does not use the same verb. In the passage in Kings and Chronicles referred to, whether the latter has copied the former, or, as is more probable, both quoted from an older document, the omission of the *n* shows the change of usage that had taken place between the sixth century and the fourth. But the further question arises whether both may not hav altered a good many cases of the occurrence of the *n*, so that the original document would show a greater frequency of its use than appears in the book of Kings. The use, as it appears in the present books, seems to be arbitrary—the *n* is inserted in one verse and omitted in the same statement in the next, or it occurs in one word and not in another in the same verse, apparently without reason. There is nothing improbable in this supposition of omissions, by the late compilations, of obsolescent forms found in their authorities; and it is strengthened in this case by the fact that the *un* is so much less frequent in Chronicles than in Kings (there being an interval of two or three centuries between the two books). Supposing this to be a fair conclusion, there would result the critical canon that, the earlier the compilation or editing of a book, the more likely is the use of the *un* in the original documents to be preserved—to which we shal return presently. As to the seemingly arbitrary occurrence of the termination, this is a point on which we hav to speak with caution, unless we can determin the considerations that guided the original writers in its use; but, however this may be, the arbitrariness is not confined to any one book, but is found in al, as wil appear below, so that the relativ frequency of occurrence in the various books is not affected thereby. It appears, then, that signs of editorial alterations do exist in the period from the sixth to the second century B. C., and that such alterations seem to be fewer the further back we go. Of the next preceding period, including the three or four centuries prior to the exile, from which we hav received no certainly known compilations or recensions, but only independent works, it can only be said that writers of that time, whether in the composition of original works, or in the compilation of prose narratives or books of poetry, would probably freely employ

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their own usage, and not scrupl to change expressions and forms for the sake of clearness or eufony; so that the same critical canon applies to this as to the succeeding period.

We may sum up by saying that textual changes of the sort we are considering were not made later than the second century B. C., and that they diminish in number the further back we go—that therefore in the books which underwent editorial revision (the period of such revisory work, so far as we ar abl to trace it, begining with the exile, and ending in the second century) we hav only or chiefly the usage of this time, from which, however, we may be abl to reason back to an earlier period. The Jewish tradition points to a revision, after the exile, of all the earlier books, and there is so much in the literature itself to favor this view that it is now generally accepted by students of the Hebrew text. If this be considerd to be correct in the main, then our existing Old Testament literature gives in general the grammatical usage of the period from the sixth century to the second, either in original writings or in recensions of earlier texts, and the extent of the changes made in the editing must be judged of by an examination of the fenomena in each book separately.

Coming now to our termination *un*, let us first look at the facts of its use in the Old Testament.* The following is a list of its occurrences: *Genesis:* iii. 3, 4; xviii. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; xxxii. 5, 20; xliii. 32; xliv. 1, 23 (12 occurrences). *Exodus:* i. 22; iii. 12, 21; iv. 9, 15; v. 7; ix. 28, 29, 30; xi. 7; xiv. 14; xv. 14; xvii. 2 (twice); xviii. 20, 26; xx. 12, 23; xxi. 18, 35; xxii. 8, 21, 24, 30 (twice); xxxiv. 13 (thrice) (28). *Numbers:* xi. 19; xvi. 28, 29; xxxii. 7, 15, 20, 23 (7). *Deuteronomy:* i. 17 (twice), 18, 22, 29 (twice); ii. 25; iv. 6, 10 (twice), 11 (twice), 16, 26 (thrice), 28 (four times); v. 16, 20, 30 (twice); vi. 2, 3, 14, 17; vii. 5 (twice), 12, 25; viii. 1 (twice), 3 (Perfect), 13, 16 (Perfect), 19, 20 (twice); xi. 22; xii. 1, 2, 3 (twice), 4, 8; xiii. 5, 12; xvii. 13, 16; xviii. 1, 15; xxix. 8; xxx. 18 (twice); xxxi. 29;

* The principal discussions of this form ar by König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, II. Heft, pp. 165–192, and Böttcher, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, II. pp. 135–137.

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xxxiii. 11 (58). *Joshua:* ii. 8; iii. 7, 10, 31; iv 6, 21; xvii. 10; xxiv. 15, 27 (9). *Judges:* ii. 2; vi. 31 (twice); vii. 17; viii. 1; xi. 18; xv. 7, 12 (8). *First Samuel:* ii. 15, 16, 22 (twice), 23; ix. 13 (twice); xi. 9 (9). *Second Samuel:* xxii. 39 (1). *First Kings:* viii. 35, 38, 42, 43; ix. 6; xii. 24; xix. 2 (twice): xx. 10 (9). *Second Kings:* vi. 19; xi. 5; xvii. 37; xviii. 22; xix. 6, 10 (6). *Isaiah:* vii. 25; viii. 12; xiii. 8 (twice); xvii. 12 (twice), 13; xxi. 12; xxii. 14; xxvi. 11, 16 (Perfect), 19; xxix. 21; xxx. 15, 16; xxxi. 3, 7; xxxiii. 7; xxxv. 10; xxxvii. 6, 10; xl. 18; xli. 5; xlix. 11, 26; l. 11; li. 5, 6, 11 (twice); lii. 12; lv. 12; lviii. 2 (thrice); lx. 7, 10 (37). *Jeremiah:* ii. 24 (suffix); v. 22 (suffix); xvii. 24; xxi. 3; xxxiii. 24; xlii. 15; xliv. 28 (7). *Ezekiel:* xxxii. 6; xxxiv. 18; xliv. 8 (3). *Hosea:* v. 15; ix. 16 (twice); xi. 2; xiii. 2 (5). *Joel:* ii. 4, 5, 7 (thrice), 8 (twice), 9; iii. 1 (9). *Amos:* vi. 3, 12 (2). *Micah:* ii. 6, 8, 9; iv. 3; v. 2 (5). *Nahum:* i. 9; ii. 5 (2). *Habakkuk:* iii. 7 (1). *Zephaniah:* ii. 7 (twice); iii. 10 (3). *Zechariah:* vi. 15; x. 2: xi. 5 (3). *Malachi:* i. 8 (1). *Psalms:* iv. 3; v. 10; xi. 2, 3; xii. 9; xxxv. 11, 20; xxxvi. 8, 9; xxxvii. 2, 9; xxxix. 7; lviii. 2, 3 (twice); lix. 5, 8, 16; lx. 7; lxiii. 4 (suffix); lxv. 12; lxviii. 13 (twice), 14, 17; lxxiv. 6; lxxviii. 44; lxxxii. 7; lxxxiii. 3; lxxxix. 16, 17, 31; xci. 12 (suffix); xcii. 15; xcv. 11; civ. 7 (twice), 9 (twice), 10, 22 (twice), 26, 27, 28 (twice), 29 (thrice), 30; cviii. 7; cix. 25; cxv. 6, 7; cxxxix. 18 (55). *Proverbs:* i. 28 (thrice, suffix); ii. 19; viii. 17; x. 32 (6). *Job:* iv. 4; ix. 6; xiii. 5, 8 (twice), 10; xv. 12; xvi. 10; xviii. 2; xix. 2 (twice), 23, 24, 29; xxi. 11; xxiv. 24; xxix. 24; xxx. 17; xxxi. 10, 38; xxxii. 11; xxxvi. 8, 10 (24). *Ruth:* ii. 9 (twice) (2). *Second Chronicles:* vi. 26; vii. 19; xix. 9, 10 (4). In this list the Imperfect is to be understood except where the Perfect is named. Cases where suffixes ar attacht ar included, but doubtful readings (as Zech. xiv. 6) ar omitted.

It will be seen from the above list that the books of Leviticus, Obadiah, Jonah, Haggai, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel (the Hebrew part), Ezra (Heb.),

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and Nehemiah do not contain this ending at all. In the others the order of relativ frequency (taking the number of occurrences in connection with the number of pages) is: Joel, Deuteronomy, Zephaniah, Nahum, Micah, Job, Psalms, Isaiah, Exodus, Ruth, Hosea, Zechariah, Habakkuk, Malachi, Amos, Joshua, Proverbs, Judges, Genesis, Kings, Numbers, Samuel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Chronicles. The order of the historical books is: Exodus, Ruth, Joshua, Judges, Genesis, Kings, Numbers, Samuel, Chronicles; that of the poetical books: Job, Psalms, Proverbs; and that of the prophets: Joel, Zephaniah, Nahum, Micah, Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah, Habakkuk, Malachi, Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. In the two parts of Isaiah, chs. i–xxxv and xl–lxvi, the frequency is about the same; the first part of Zechariah (post-exilian), chs. i–viii, if reckoned separately, would stand next after Amos among the prophets, and after Kings in the general list; the second part, chs. ix–xi (which may be dated, on internal historical grounds, about B. C. 750), falls next to Micah.

If we take into account the *n*-ending of the second person singular feminin of the Imperfect (*in*) very littl change wil be made in the above order. It occurs once in First Samuel (i. 14), once in the second part of Isaiah (xlv. 10), once in Jeremiah (xxxi. 22), and four times in Ruth (ii. 8, 21; iii. 4, 18), and if reckoned with the others would make Ruth second in the list, put Samuel before Numbers, and leave the others unchanged.

Before proceeding to examin the use of the *n*-ending, let us look for a moment at the origin and history of the form, which is the common one in Aramaic, and frequent in Assyrian. It is obviously an old Semitic flexion, and appears most fully with a vowel attacht, which is usually *a*, as in Arabic *una*; whence probably the Aramaic *uno* before suffixes, but sometimes *u*, as in Assyrian *unu*; before suffixes Aramaic shows the full form *uno* in the Perfect also, whence we may infer an original *una* for both Perfect and Imperfect. That this is the same with the ful plural-ending of the noun (Arabic *una*) seems very probabl; yet certain questions arise in connection with this supposition that ar not easy of solution:

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why, in that case, do Hebrew and Aramaic hav *u* (before the *n* or *m*) in the masculin verb-plural, while in the noun they hav *i*? and Assyrian in like manner commonly *i* or *e*? how is it that some dialects, as Hebrew, show *n* in the verb and *m* in the noun? and what is the origin and primitiv form of the final vowel? To the first of these it may be anserd that, while the noun at first distinguisht its plural forms in *ū* and *ī*, the verb-noun would naturally employ the *u*-form, which was associated with the subject—that this soon petrified into the verb proper and in Hebrew being in an open syllabl suffered no change (while in the second person plural the *tum* became *tem*)—but in the noun the language, finding that it could do with one plural ending, chose the *i* and dropt the *u* in accordance with the principl that so often prefers the objectiv to the subjectiv (as, for example, in English, "it is me" has become almost a recognized construction). The presence of the *n* in the verb is harder to understand. The *m* or *n* in the verb seems to be the mimation or nunation of the noun, but the usage of the dialects is curiously varied—Arabic and Aramaic hav *n* throughout, while Assyrian has *m* in the singular of the noun, *n* in its plural, *m* in the Energic Imperfect, and Hebrew *m* throughout the noun, and *n* in the Energic, all, however, showing *n* in the endings of third person plural. The simplest explanation of this fact is found in the supposition that the *m* and *n* existed originally side by side as demonstrativ additions to the verb-noun, and that, when noun and verb assumed distinct shapes, the two demonstrativs were variously applied by different dialects according to the feeling of eufony, or from other considerations. We must then suppose that the flexions of the Perfect and Imperfect took shape at a time when *n* was generally employd, since there is no sign of the *m* in these forms—such cases as *yᵉsusum* (Isa. xxxv. 1, where the next word begins with *m*) being too doubtful to establish its existence. This would so far go to show that the *n* preceded the *m* historically. The same explanation may be offered for the Hebrew Energic, which seems to hav ended in *an*. The general statement, then, would be that at a remote period the *n* was generally

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employd in the verb, and so remaind in most of the dialects, and that at a later time the *m* took its place in some dialects in the whole or in parts of the noun, and in those parts of the verb that stil preservd most clearly their nominal character. This explanation, based on the supposition of the identity of the nominal and verbal flexions, is by no means without its difficulties; but, if we abandon this, we ar involvd in equal difficulties from the difference of usage in the verb itself, where *n* sometimes (in Assyrian) appears in the personal endings, and *m* in the Energic. As to the final vowel, which is now usually *a*, there is some ground for supposing that forms in *u* and *i* also existed originally. In fact the ending *nu* is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, according to Oppert, Gram. Ass., p. 49, with which may be compared the Arabic third plural personal pronoun *hu.mu*. The *ni* in Arabic Imperfect dual and third feminin plural Energic may be merely a eufonic change; but it (as wel as the change of Arabic third singular personal pronoun *hu* to *hi* in some cases) may point to an early form *ni* alongside of *na* and *nu*. This is in accordance with what we hav reason to believ was tru of the pronouns, where *hu*, *hi* and *ha* seem originally to hav stood together without difference of gender, and to hav been gradually applied to distinct uses.

It is not improbabl, therfore, that the early Semitic language had the forms *umu*, *umi*, *uma* and *unu*, *uni*, *una*, out of which hav been selected those that we now find in use. Our data do not suffice to go back of this into the origin of the *n* and *m*, and determin whether they came into existence as demonstrativ pronouns, or were shaped out of verbs or nouns, or originated in some other way. The final vowel was soon dropt in the majority of the dialects; the old Arabic alone retaind it regularly in the Imperfect masculin. The *n* lingerd longer; old Aramaic kept it in the Imperfect, in Assyrian it was frequent, and is found in the earlier Israelitish use; in the Perfect also it remaind in Hebrew down to historical times (tho rare), but disappeard from Arabic and Aramaic in the masculin form. In the feminin it was more generally retaind (as in Arabic Perfect, Hebrew Imperativ and Im-

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perfect). In the modern dialects it has been everywhere dropt.

For the disappearance of the *a* and *n* it is not necessary to seek any other reason than the ordinary wear and tear of language. The Hebrews, who were surrounded by a number of distinct but related tribes, and establisht the first great Semitic monarchy, earliest felt the effects of this friction, and after them came at some interval the Assyrians. The Aramaeans never founded an empire, but their language became, partly from their geographical position between the great powers of Western Asia, the speech of commercial intercourse, and suffered fonetic diminution. The Arabians, cut off from association with other peoples, and having no great communities, preservd old forms most fully til the times of Islam when they entered into the history of the world, and their language went the way of its predecessors. It is only in Assyrian and Hebrew that materials exist for tracing the gradual disappearance of the *n* in the verb-termination *un*, and they ar fuller in the latter than in the former. When, then, did the *n* disappear from general use among the Israelites? It appears from the lists above given that it occurs after the exile rarely in prose, tho frequently in poetry (see, for exampl, the post-exilian Ps. civ.) and in general oftener in the earlier prophets than in the later. It must be assumed that the occurrences exhibit the usage of the times when the present text originated. A prophet, for exampl. would undoubtedly use the dialect of his own time, since it was his object to impress the peopl. For the same reason a historian would use the grammatical forms natural to him, and, if he had occasion to quote from or adopt earlier authorities, he would, if he alterd them, make such changes as to bring them into accordance with his own usage. The poets, in like manner, wrote for their contemporaries and used language that would not seem to them harsh or affected. A deliberate use of archaisms for the purpose of giving an appearance of antiquity to a composition was not the custom of ancient peoples, as instances in the Old Testament prove; the author of Ecclesiastes, who speaks in the name of king Solomon, uses his own

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Aramaizing speech without restraint, tho, if he examined the language of the past with anything of a critical eye, he must hav known that the linguistic usage of his royal preacher was very different. The attempt to reproduce in literature the forms of the past is of quite modern origin, later than Chaucer and Shakspere. Certainly there is no reason to believ that the Old Testament writers represent anything but the real usage of their own times, whether they be original authors or editors. But an author might employ a form that was no longer current among the peopl, tho intelligibl to them, if it added to the solemnity or rhythmical flow of his composition; and an editor might retain such forms in his author when they seemed to him appropriate and forcibl. To this general statement one or two modifying facts must be added. We hav evidence that after the exile alterations were made to different extents in the different books—less in the Pentateuch than in the rest, so that in the former any ancient usages that may hav come down to the post-exilian editors were more likely to be retaind. And then in all the books something must be allowed for inadvertence and arbitrariness of editors and scribes. Examining the facts in regard to the *un* in accordance with these principles, we find in the first place that its occurrence throughout the book of Psalms, even in such late poems as Pss. civ, cxxxix, lxxiv, shows that it did not completely lose its hold on the language til a late period, perhaps not til after the second century B. C.; even then (if Ps. lxxiv belongs to that time) a poet could use it in a hymn that was intended to be understood by the peopl. But this does not represent the language of common intercourse. The book of Proverbs, whose dialect is more that of the ordinary life, uses the *un* very seldom, the whole book containing it not half as often as the single psalm civ; but Job more than Proverbs and Psalms. The probability is that the text of the prophets was alterd littl grammatically. They were collected into a canon early, about the end of the fifth or the begining of the fourth century B. C., and they had been comparativly littl copied; it is likely that they exhibit with tolerabl accuracy the usage of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries,

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with an exception, perhaps, in the case of Jeremiah. The list shows that our ending was employd somewhat freely in the seventh century, or from 730–630 B. C.; it occurs in Isaiah about as frequently as in Psalms, and as often in Zephaniah as in Deuteronomy. It could not have been obsolete at this time; if it belonged to elevated discourse, it was at any rate a natural mode of expression for the prophetic writers. That it did belong to solemn style appears from a comparison between Jeremiah and the second Isaiah; the former, who has littl exaltation, and in whose book there is much prose, has the *un* very seldom, while the latter, thirty or forty years later, uses it as frequently as the Isaiah of Hezekiah's time. The usage, then, really continues into the exile, but the style of the book has much to do with it, not only in the exile, but in the preceding period; we ar not surprised to find that the sustaind lofty prose of Deuteronomy employs it freely. The case seems to be the same in the eighth century; Hosea, who is markt by an impassiond style, has our ending nearly as often as Isaiah, in the generally prosaic Amos it is rare, while in one passage in Joel (ii. 4–8) it is used with extraordinary frequency (whether, however, the writings of Joel belong to the eighth century or to the post-exilian period, is doubtful). From these prophetic writings, which probably exhibit with tolerabl faithfulness the dialect of their authors, the general conclusion is that the *un* was obsolescent, but stil a recognized and even favorit expression of solemn and elevated style. For the usage of common life we ar dependent on the historical books. While, as has been remarkt, the four earlier, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, were workt over or composed during the exile, it is possibl that they may preserv old narrativs or conversations so exactly that we may rely on them as giving the expressions of the popular language. Joshua seems not to offer anything of this kind; its narrativ is throughout formal and elevated, in the style of the prophets or of Deuteronomy. In Judges we hav a possibl exampl in the story of Samson (xv. 7, 12), and in First Samuel several passages that bear the stamp of antiquity and hav the tone of popular talk, as ii. 15, 16, ix. 13 (twice), xi. 9; it is worthy

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of note that in the first two of these, as well as in ii. 22, 23, the same verb occurs several times. From such passages we infer the use of the *un* in the begining of the tenth century or the latter part of the eleventh, when those accounts may first have been written down. Further, from such passages as First Kings, xix. 2, xx. 10, we may surmise that as late as the begining of the ninth century the expression, if not in common use, survived in certain formulas; Jezebel and Benhadad ar represented as saying: "So may the gods do to me and so may they add," etc., where it is probably an accident of the editor's feeling that gives the *un* to both verbs in the first case, and only to one in the second. In both these passages, however, a doubt may arise from the fact that the speakers ar foreigners in whose languages the termination in question was in general use; this was certainly tru of the Syriac dialect of Benhadad, and as to the Sidonian Jezebel, it happens that the two occurrences of the third person plural Imperfect in the Sidonian inscription of Eshmunazar both end in *un*, and there ar no other certain examples of this Imperfect form in the inscriptions (Schroeder, *Die Phoenizische Sprache*, p. 194). As the verb is in the singular when the formula is employed by Israelites, we hav no means of judging from it how far the *un* occurs. As to the cases cited above, the supposition that these two persons used an uncommon Hebrew expression after the analogy of their nativ tongues, and that the Israelite historian preservd exactly their words, seems less probabl than that the expression itself was familiar in their time. At a later period also, in Hezekiah's reign, there ar two occurrences of the *un* in speeches of the Assyrian Rabshakeh (Second Kings, xviii. 22, xix. 10), but one of them is found in the immediate context (xix. 6) in the words of Isaiah. Later than this the termination does not occur in Kings; in Chronicles it is found only in solemn passages, and belongs to the dialect of the prophets and Deuteronomy. Finally, its absence from the later prose shows that by the time of the exile it had ceased to be used in the language of common life.

Comparing these data, and making du allowance for the

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incompleteness of the reports of early times and the irregularities in the revisions of editors, we may conclude that the *un* remaind in common use in Hebrew til about the eleventh century B. C., that after this it became less and less frequent, surviving in some common formulas, and used with more or less freeness in elevated discourse, and disappeard entirely from prose during the first century after the exile, tho it continued to be employd in poetry three hundred years longer.

From this review of the usage it is evident that the termination is pure Hebrew, and common to all parts of the country—not dialectic, and not of foreign origin. There ar linguistic differences among the different books of the Old Testament, which hav been supposed to show the existence of dialects; but the only clearly stated peculiarity of speech (the Ephraimite *s* instead of *sh*, Judg. xii 6) does not appear in the literature. It is not in itself improbabl that there were local differences of language; it would not be surprising if it should appear that the speech of the northern tribes had more resemblance to the Aramaic, and that of the Southern tribes more to the Arabic than is found in the language of Judah. But these differences, if they existed, ar not traceabl in the present literature. After allowance has been made for individual peculiarities of writers and for foreign importations (especially Aramaisms) there remains littl or nothing to constitute dialects; at most we may discover provincialisms, as the later Galileans were markt by a slovenly pronunciation of the gutturals. Of the supposed instances of provincialisms collected by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache*, I. pp. 14–16) the most striking ar the "Arabisms" in Job; but so many of these ar found in Judaic writings that it is difficult to infer from them any provincial peculiarity. It may be that the literary centralization at Jerusalem and editorial revisions hav obliterated original local differences. In any case our termination *un* is found so generally distributed, in Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, Job, Judges, and Samuel, that a provincialism here is out of the question.

It is equally clear that it was not Aramaic influence that determined its use, since in the most decidedly Aramaizing

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books (Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezra, Esther, Daniel), it is not found at all; the occurrences in Second Chronicles seem to be in quotations from older authorities—the passages in which they ar found ar in the Deuteronomic style, which differs wholly from that of the ordinary narrativ of Chronicles. Its absence from these books is due to their post-exilian date (in connection with which it is to be observd that it does not occur in Leviticus). It may be said also that it occurs too early to be ascribed to Aramaic influence, for exampl, in such passages as First Samuel ix. 13, which appears to be not later than the tenth century, or perhaps the eleventh. Tru, it is not easy to say when Hebrew began to be affected by the neighboring dialect. The first historical notice of a contact between Israelites and Syrians is in the reign of Saul (First Samuel xiv. 47), about the middl of the eleventh century, after which the intercourse between the two peoples seems to hav been frequent. It is not til Hezekiah's time, towards the end of the eighth century, that there is mention of linguistic intercourse (Second Kings, xviii. 26); Jewish and Assyrian officers then seem equally to understand Syriac. So wide an extension of the language presupposes acquaintance with it in Judah for some time before, but not necessarily for more than a century or two, and not to such an extent that it would affect the dialect of the people. Aramaic entered the Israelitish territory from the north; the northern tribes were first affected by it, but not largely til the Assyrian conquest in the latter part of the eighth century. The literature before this and for some time after shows not markt Syriac constructions and uses of words, but only such accordances of signification as may be due to the common origin of the two dialects; it is not til the period of the exile that distinct Aramaisms begin to appear (tho it is not to the exile, but to other causes, that they ar to be ascribed). Even, then, if it be regarded as probabl that Aramaic began to make itself felt in the northern part of Canaan soon after the Israelitish occupation of the country, there is no trace in the literature and the everyday-language of its influence til some time later, and the use of the *un* could not be referred to it.

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The termination is plainly genuine Hebrew, which went thru the usual process of fonetic decay, and died out so completely that not even the later acceptance of many forms from Aramaic (in which it prevaild) could revive it. The loans in the later Hebrew from Syriac belong rather to the sphere of thought, and of expression as far as it was connected with the thought. A new civilization and set of ideas naturally allied itself with a new language more in accordance with it; but while Ecclesiastes and other books employ the convenient words and constructions that Syriac offered, they do not adopt the longer ending of the verb, which Hebrew had already cut down, and in the reintroduction of which there could be no advantage.

Finally, under what conditions does this termination appear in the Old Testament? what ar the circumstances that determin its use? It is employd in a great variety of grammatical constructions—very often in simpl declarations, affirmativ and negativ, and in command or exhortation, frequently in conditional and telic sentences, less often in questions, in relativ clauses, and expressions of wish. Its relativ frequency in these different constructions is about the same as that of the ordinary form in *u*, so that it offers nothing peculiar in this respect. In Deuteronomy the hortatory use is most frequent, but the declarativ in the literature at large. The use of it seems to be quite independent of the grammatical construction. Nor is there any wel-markt law of eufony controling it.* It is probabl that this consideration enterd into its use; this

* The following is the substance of Böttcher's statement on this point (*Lehrbuch*, II. pp. 135–137): "It occurs most frequently in pause, very often as emfatic form, often also as eufonic form before vowels and weak consonants (like the Greek inserted Nu), and in a few cases is used for the sake of rhythmic eufony. It is found often in a few much-used verbs, meaning to say, speak, go, know, do, return, etc., in all classes except the Double Ayin, in al the ordinary Derived Stems except the Pual, most frequently in Qal, least in the Passives, oftener in the third person than in the second." It is obvious that the second class of uses (the particular verb-stem, etc.) is determind by the ordinary conditions of discourse. To his rule of eufony also there ar many exceptions; thus in First Kings, xix. 2, the *un* occurs before a consonant, while in the same expression a littl further on (xx. 10) it is the form in *u* that is used before a vowel.

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is the simplest explanation of numerous cases where it is employd in some verbs in a sentence and omitted in others. The writer may sometimes have been guided by a general feeling of contrast between the longer form and the shorter, or by the weight given to the sentence by the use of the *un*-form a certain number of times. In part, no doubt, the use was arbitrary, and some allowance also is to be made for the accidents of copying and of editorial revision. But while the general sense of eufony may hav to some extent determind the use in particular parts of sentences, the natural conclusion from an examination of the facts is that the controling element in prose was the character of the discourse. As we hav seen, there ar a few passages in which the *un* seems to belong to the popular language, going back to a time when it had not yet disappeared from ordinary life; in addition to those mentioned above, we may perhaps cite the old law-book, Exodus xx–xxiii, parts of which hav a decidedly ancient look. Aside from such passages, our termination is found almost solely in prophetic discourse, especially in the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, in the elevated discourse of Deuteronomy, and in various passages in the historical books, particularly Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua and Judges, that bear the same stamp (see, for instance, Genesis iii. 3, 4, xviii. 28–32, Exodus ix. 28–30, xi. 7, xiv. 14, Numbers xi. 19, xvi. 28, 29, Joshua iii. 7, 10, 13, iv. 6, 21, xxiv. 15, 27, Judg. ii. 2), besides the quotations in Kings and Chronicles from earlier sources. Among the poetical books, also, the same thing holds tru of the Psalms; the *un* occurs almost exclusivly in those psalms that ar characterized by a prophetic or a lofty or solemn didactic or declarativ tone. See, for exampl, Pss. lxviii, lxxxix, civ, cviii, cxv, cxxxix, in which this character is wel-markt; and this is the case with al but three or four, in which the termination is found. In the same direction it is to be noted that Job, in which it is frequent, differs from Proverbs, in which it is rare, by a more elevated tone, by a filosofical as distinguisht from a practical turn of thought.

While, therefore, our termination occurs frequently in al periods of Old Testament poetry, its use in prose is controld

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first, by the style of the book, and secondly, by the obsolescence of the grammatical form. Down to the end of the exile we need not be surprised to find it freely used at any time in books characterized by elevated and solemn style; and as to the ordinary prose, the facts warrant us in supposing that the older the book the more frequent wil be the *un*, and that its non-occurrence is a mark of late date. We might go into a particular examination of the several books, prose and poetical, and inquire, for exampl, why the form is found more frequently in Exodus than in Genesis, and not at al in Leviticus and the Song of Songs; but this would require more space than can here be commanded, and it must suffice to hav establisht the general principl, leaving the special applications to be made to the particular passages.

III.—*The Beginning of a Written Literature in Greece.*

By LEWIS R. PACKARD,

HILLHOUSE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN YALE COLLEGE.

An article on the above subject by Professor F. A. Paley in Frazer's Magazine for March, 1880, furnishes an occasion for some criticism and for a statement of the grounds of an opinion differing somewhat from the one there maintained. I will first state as briefly as possible the arguments and conclusions of Paley's article, with comments, and then present what evidence I can in favor of a different view.

Mr. Paley's general proposition is, that there is no evidence of the use of writing to multiply copies of books until a much later date than is ordinarily supposed. It is difficult to determine precisely to what date he would bring it down, for his statements do not agree with one another. In one place he speaks of "the times of the Alexandrine school of learning, when, *for the first time* (the italics are his), the use of papyrus and the practice of transcription became common."

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But a page or two later he says, "Books were no sooner introduced than they became both popular and cheap. Treatises on eloquence, as those by Tisias and Corax, mentioned in the 'Phaedrus,' the stories of Aesop, and the philosophical dogmas of Anaxagoras, could be bought at Athens, in the time of Plato, for a very small sum." It is not easy to see how books could be "popular and cheap in the time of Plato," a hundred years before the time when first "the use of papyrus and the practise of transcription became common." But we will take the alternative which involves least divergence from the common opinion, and suppose Mr. Paley to mean, as indeed the whole drift of the article indicates, that the use of writing for books did not become common in Greece until after 400 B. C., and in fact was hardly known at all before that date. I may say here at the outset that my own belief is, that it was introduced as much as fifty years earlier, and was fully established and familiar for some years before 400 B. C.

The first argument for Mr. Paley's view is drawn, he says, from "the singular, significant, and most important fact which, so far as I am aware, has never been noticed, that the Greek language, so copious, so expressive, not only has no proper verbs equivalent to the Roman *legere* and *scribere*, but has no terms at all for any one of the implements or materials so familiar to us in connection with writing (pen, ink, paper, book, library, copy, transcript, etc.), till a comparatively late period of the language." Then in a note he explains that "the Greek equivalent to *legere* means, to speak, and that to *scribere* means properly, to draw or paint." The latter "came to be used of writing because it (i. e., writing) was at first an adjunct to descriptive painting." "The Greek had two verbs which indirectly express reading, but they are clumsy shifts, unworthy of so complete a language, the one meaning *recognoscere*, the other *sibi colligere*." I have quoted this in full because it seems so strange a process of reasoning that I could hardly trust myself to summarize it correctly. If it proves anything, it proves that the Romans began to read and write earlier, or at least earlier relatively to the development

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of their language, than the Greeks. No language, of course, can have a word for either of these ideas (or any other) before the thing expressed by the word is known to the speakers of the language, but it does not appear that the use of the compound form (ἐπιλέγομαι) proves any less frequency or familiarity with the thing than the use of the simple form (*legere*). Further, *legere* has other senses besides *to read*, and apparently does not mean *to read* before the time of Cicero. On the other hand, as was suggested to me by Mr. F. B. Tarbell, λέγω, at least once in Plato (Theaet. 143 C.), and repeatedly in the orators, has the sense *to read aloud*, to recite from a manuscript. No such inference as is here drawn from the use of different stems or simple and compound forms in kindred languages has any validity. One might as well argue from the fact that the same stem in modern German means *to speak* (*reden*) and in modern English *to read*, that the Germans talked more than the English, and the English read more than the Germans. As to *scribere* and γράφειν, Mr. Paley arbitrarily assumes, without any reason, I think, that all the uses of γράφειν and its derivatives, before the Periclean age, refer to painting or to scratching on a hard surface. The truth is rather that γράφειν means both of these, and after writing with ink is introduced, means that too, and the special meaning in each case must be determined by other considerations. That *scribere* means only *to write*, indicates merely that the literature from which we learn its meaning belongs to a period when writing was a familiar art. The alleged absence of the words for pen, ink, paper, etc., will be referred to below.

How, then, it will be asked, is the existence of the earlier Greek literature, or rather the preservation of it to later times, to be explained? How is it that we have any fragments of the early historians, and the whole work of Herodotos and Thukydides? Mr. Paley anticipates this question, and answers that in his opinion, "authors of works laboriously wrote them on strips of wood, probably on a surface prepared with wax." These autograph copies were the only ones in existence, and the only way of publishing a book was by

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public readings from these copies. He doubts whether it would be possible to procure for money a copy of Herodotos or Thukydides in the lifetime of the author. His reason for this view is that he finds no proof that the earlier Greeks had any writing material equivalent to our paper or parchment. There are, to be sure, several passages, to be cited presently, where the words for papyrus, paper, and parchment occur, but because they are brief passages, or the only instances, he seems to think they have no weight. Yet it would seem as if a single occurrence of the word *kerosene* in a book printed before 1846, or of *wigwam* in a book earlier than the discovery of America, would be enough to show knowledge of the existence of the thing denoted by the word.

Mr. Paley's next argument is the absence of reference in the writers of the Periklean age, particularly Herodotos, Thukydides, and Plato, to the works of their predecessors. Such reference, he thinks, would certainly have been made, if the later writers had had access to copies of the earlier works, and the comparative absence of it proves that no such copies were within their reach.

There are, it is true, remarkably few references by name to previous writers in the early Greek literature, but Mr. Paley seems to have overlooked several passages in Herodotos, where it is clearly implied that he consulted some kind of records or accounts of the events he narrates, or descriptions of states whose form of government he speaks of. They are as follows: 6:55. *καὶ ταῦτα μέν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω· ὅτι δὲ ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅτι ἀποδεξάμενοί ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, ἐάσομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι*, and then he goes on to speak of the privileges and functions of the Spartan kings. 9:81. *ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι.* A similar expression occurs in 8:133. *ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος . . . ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε κτλ.* These passages plainly indicate that he had access, not merely to inscriptions and formal public records, but to writings prepared for the information of inquirers and discussing the

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motives of actions as well as describing the early history of states. (The use of authorities by Herodotos is treated by Rawlinson in his Introduction, chapter II.) But it remains true, as Mr. Paley says, that there are exceedingly few quotations by name of these earlier writers.

Plato quotes Akousilaos once, Thukydides quotes Hellanikos once, Herodotos refers to Hekataios three or four times—but beyond these few instances there is no recognition by these writers of the many persons who are said to have written prose before their time. Here he touches upon a singular fact, which certainly is not easy of explanation. The most striking instance of it perhaps is the case of Thukydides, who is not mentioned, I believe, by any writer whose works we have, earlier than Dionysios of Halikarnassos, in the last century before the Christian era. But this fact will not bear the interpretation Mr. Paley puts upon it. It is true also in the next century when books were common. Aristotle does not mention Hekataios, Hellanikos, Akousilaos, Thukydides, or Xenophon. Plato does not quote from Xenophon, nor Xenophon from Plato.* A similar failure appears in the argument which Mr. Paley bases upon the statement in the Phaedros of Plato, that Lysias was taunted with being a λογογράφος, *speech-writer*, as almost the same with being a sophist. Mr. Paley regards this as "satirizing a practice which was then beginning to come into vogue." But the same contempt for λογογράφοι and σοφισταί together is expressed in Dem. de Falsa Legatione, a speech delivered in 342 B. C., long after the use of writing must have been familiar. It is plain that it is not the mere *writing* of the speech that is objected to, but the professional composition of speeches for others to use.

The lack of reference to previous writers is mere negative evidence, so Mr. Paley supplements it by the fact that

* Westermann (on Dem. Ol. 3: 21) remarks upon the habit of the orators of referring for matters of history to tradition rather than to written records, and explains it as due to a desire to identify themselves as much as possible with the average hearer, assuming no more knowledge than he would have.

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Thukydides, in attempting to sketch the early history of Greece, is obliged to rest upon "inference, memory, hearsay." He has no current written literature to appeal to, and this shows that the previous historians, Herodotos and his predecessors, were not accessible to him. Indeed, Mr. Paley distinctly says, "Thukydides does not seem to have known Herodotos at all." These statements, which surely will surprise every Greek scholar, are founded on passages in the first book, sections 1, 9, 20, and 21. They ignore the language of that "single reference" to Hellanikos in 1: 97, which Mr. Paley repeatedly mentions, but nowhere quotes. It deserves to be quoted in full from its clear evidence on this point. *ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ* (i. e. the outline of the growth of the Athenian empire after the Persian war) . . *διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἢ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἥψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη.* "I have written this outline for this reason, because all my predecessors have neglected this period and composed either a history of Greece before the Persian wars, or of the Persian wars themselves; and the one who did touch on this period in his history of Attika, Hellanikos, made but a brief record without strict chronological accuracy." It is clear from this, (1) that he knew the works of several predecessors in full, so that he could tell what periods they treated and in what way; (2) that he knew Herodotos's work, for no one else, so far as we know, wrote so full a history of the Persian wars; and (3) that he expected readers to look in *their* histories for information on that period, and, failing to find it, to have recourse to his. (Cf. 1: 23. *διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη.*) How, then, are those other passages to be understood, wherein he speaks as if obliged to rest on tradition and without any previous authorities to refer to? Simply by recognizing the evident fact that he did not regard his predecessors as authorities. He had formed for himself a new standard of historic evidence—and, tested by that standard, the works of his predecessors could

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not command his confidence. He refused to trust such material as Herodotos used, and he means by this language to indicate that in his view all previous so-called histories rested merely on tradition. It can hardly be doubted that he included Herodotos as well as Hellanikos and Hekataios among the λογογράφοι, "who composed rather to please the ear than with a view to truth."

One other point in Mr. Paley's article deserves notice. He supposes that the stories, histories, and philosophic teachings of the earlier Greeks were a purely oral literature, and that they were put into writing eventually from the dictation of the pupils and followers of their authors—and that thus it happens that the *writings* of the early philosophers and historians are referred to. It would seem from this suggestion that Mr. Paley can hardly have ever looked into the fragments of the early historians. He would have found a reasonably large number of such fragments, from Hekataios, Charon, Xanthos, Hellanikos, and Akousilaos, preserving in many cases apparently the original words of the authors and quoted from works of some extent, of which the titles are given. He would have seen also that the matter of these quotations and the style are such as to make it impossible to imagine them orally delivered and preserved by memory until after the lapse of years writing was introduced. It is, I think, really impossible to suppose that such matter as makes up the "Europe" and "Asia" of Hekataios, for example, can ever have been delivered orally by a master to a group of listening pupils. For it consists largely, if we may judge by the fragments preserved, of a list of names of towns—hardly more than the simple name in many cases, with a brief indication of the locality. One example, taken almost at random, may show the character of a multitude: Steph. Byz. Χάλαιον· πόλις Λοκρῶν· Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· "μέτα δὲ Λοκροί, ἓν δὲ Χάλαιον πόλις, ἓν δὲ Οἰανθὴ πόλις." (Müller, F. H. G., 83.) One might as well commit the dictionary to memory as matter like this, without help of metre or of connection. Not only could it not be committed to memory, but we may rightly argue from the subject matter that it would not be composed before the

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time when the idea of a book had become a familiar idea. The making of such a record does not belong to the age of epic narration, nor to that of lyric song, nor to that of oral speculative discourse, but to that in which history begins—when men first recognize the value of facts preserved in writing and begin to regard matter as well as form. That gave rise to a prose style, and thus also made writing necessary. What could induce a man to put together such a string of bare facts as this, except the desire to preserve the knowledge for the information of others in such a form that they could consult it? We cannot imagine Hekataios as delivering orally such matter as this to a company of hearers. We must suppose that it was written out from the first, and either kept by him for consultation, or, as seems more likely, copied out as a whole or in part for the convenience of those whose interests, of trade or colonization, made them willing to pay for the work.

I come now, omitting several minor points in Mr. Paley's article which are open to criticism, to the evidence upon which I rely to carry back the extensive use of writing to the middle of the fifth century before Christ. It may seem the more worth while to do this because, so far as I can ascertain, this precise point has not been fully illustrated in any easily accessible work. Several of the passages cited are referred to in Mr. Paley's article, but have in his view little or no importance. The passages are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order.

Pind. Ol. XI. 1ff.

> τὰν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
> Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα πόθι φρενὸς
> ἐμᾶς γέγραπται.

This appears to be, as Mr. Paley says, the earliest instance of ἀναγιγνώσκω, meaning *to read.* It is more than a mere instance of the word, for it shows it in connection with γράφειν, meaning *to write* or *engrave*, and both together in a metaphor, which would hardly be natural or intelligible, unless the two ideas in this association were so familiar as to be

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caught at once by hearers of the ode. The practice of reading written words must have been, not the secret art of a few, but in some degree a part of common life, before a poet could thus casually refer to it. Unfortunately, this ode cannot be precisely dated, though it must belong some years before 440 B. C., near which time the poet died. The same metaphor occurs repeatedly in Aeschylos (e. g., Prom. 989, Supp. 991, Cho. 441).

Aesch. Suppl. 946f.

> *ταῦτ' οὐ πίναξίν ἐστιν ἐγγεγραμμένα*
> *οὐδ' ἐν πτυχαῖς βίβλων κατεσφραγισμένα.*

The second of these lines Mr. Paley brackets in his third edition, on the ground of the metre, though the fault had not attracted his notice before. No other editor has ever suspected its genuineness, and many other lines no less open to objection stand unchallenged (e. g., Supp. 465, 931, 1016). It can hardly be doubted, I think, that the desire to get rid of the evidence of the line on the question of the use of writing sharpened Mr. Paley's sense of its faulty metre. For it plainly testifies to the familiar use of papyrus, folded and sealed, at the same time with that of wax-covered tablets. The date of the Supplices is not known, but from its structure it seems to be one of the earlier plays of Aeschylos, and no one, so far as I know, has placed it later than 460 B. C.

The next witness is Herodotos, whose history is supposed, from the latest incident referred to in it, to have been finished in its present form by about the year 425. Of course the material for it was gathered in great measure before this date, and his numerous references (1: 123, 125; 3: 42, 123, 128) to writing upon papyrus, *γράφειν ἐς βιβλίον*, though they may all refer to short memoranda or notes, yet imply familiar and frequent use of writing before his time. But the particular passage which I quote indicates much more than that. He says, in 5: 58: *καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βίβλων ἐχρέοντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.* "And the Ionians from old usage give the name *διφθέραι* (skins) to

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sheets of papyrus, because when papyrus was scarce they used to use instead skins of goat and sheep; and still even in my day many uncivilized peoples use such skins for writing." This passage proves that papyrus was the usual material for writing, as much so as paper in our day, and that it had been so for a long time. Also, that it was ordinarily plentiful among the Ionians of Asia Minor and the Greeks generally in the time of Herodotos. He explains the local use of the word διφθέραι (skins) as a name for papyrus, as arising from a local scarcity of papyrus. Whether the explanation is correct or not, it plainly shows that the writer thought of papyrus as the common thing for everybody to write on—at least among civilized Greeks, for he adds that some uncivilized peoples still used skins or parchment. In my view this passage alone supplies fully that which Mr. Paley desiderates, viz., some mention of the use of papyrus as a writing material. It fully supports the statements of Grote and Hayman, which Mr. Paley characterizes as "unsupported by evidence."

In connection with this passage should be mentioned the occurrence in certain comic poets, of about the same time with Herodotos, of words implying the commonness in ordinary life of writing and apparently of books. These words are mentioned by Pollux (vii, 210). Thus he ascribes to Kratinos, who died probably about 422 B. C., the word βιβλιογράφος, and quotes (ix, 47) from Eupolis, whose latest known play was given in 412 B. C., the phrase οὗ τὰ βιβλία ὤνια, "where is the book-market." Other similar words occur in later poets. In Aristophanes there are repeated references to books. Thus in the Frogs (405 B. C.), verse 943,

(ἴσχνανα τὴν τραγῳδίαν)
χυλὸν διδοὺς στωμυλμάτων ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἀπηθῶν—

"I reduced tragedy in flesh by feeding her on a porridge of moral maxims drawn from books." And again, Frogs 1113ff., where the chorus addresses the two poets just as they are going to compare their poetic styles:

ἐστραπευμένοι γάρ εἰσι,
βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δέξια—

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"(Fear not that the audience will not understand your jokes,) for they have been disciplined and every man has his book too and learns wisdom out of it." These are all instances of reference to books in general, but we have one from the same time which names a particular book. It is the passage already quoted from Thukydides (1: 97). I may repeat here the translation of it: "I have written this sketch for this reason, viz., because all my predecessors have neglected this period and composed either a history of Greece before the Persian wars, or of those wars themselves; and the one who did touch on this period in his history of Attika, Hellanikos, made but a brief record without strict chronological accuracy." Here we have reference to several histories, with implied knowledge of their contents, and special reference to one of which the title is given, ἡ Ἀττικὴ ξυγγραφή, being, I take it, a mere paraphrase for ἡ Ἀτθίς, under which name the book is quoted by later writers. This passage must have been written before 400 B. C., and probably was written as early as between the Peace of Nikias (422 B. C.) and the Sicilian expedition (415 B. C.). It supplies, from an almost contemporary source, clear proof of the early existence of written copies of the first Greek attempts at history, the existence of which has already been inferred from the subject matter and style of the histories as seen in the abundant fragments of them.

Another passage of Aristophanes, as commonly interpreted, mentions by title a copy of a particular book. It is in the Frogs, 52ff.:

> καὶ δῆτ' ἐπὶ τῆς νεὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι
> τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαίφνης πόθος
> τὴν καρδίαν ἐπάταξε.

Mr. Paley does not overlook this passage, but evades the force of it against his theory by explaining it as referring to the name of a ship. In his view, Dionysos sitting on his own ship saw another near by with the name Andromeda painted on its stern or bow, and, as his eye rested on that name and he idly read it over and over, it reminded him of the play of

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Euripides bearing the same name and so called up in him a longing for the poet. It is not possible, perhaps, to show that this explanation is certainly and necessarily a mistaken one, yet surely the common explanation, that he was reading a copy of the play, is more natural and probable. The tense of ἀναγιγνώσκοντι and the addition of πρὸς ἑμαυτόν to it, are indications in favor of this view. The passage so understood shows that it was nothing strange in 405 B. C. for a man going to serve in the Athenian fleet to take with him a copy of some favorite author or book.

As to the material on which such books were written, we have, besides the passage from Herodotos already quoted, a line from Plato Comicus, quoted by Pollux (vii. 210), which proves the use of the later word for paper in his time (425–395 B. C.):

τὰ γραμματεῖα τούς τε χάρτας ἐκφέρων.

"bringing out the tablets and the sheets of paper." With this should be put the passage from the other and greater Plato (Phaedros, 276 C.), where he says: οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει μέλανι σπείρων διὰ καλάμου—"he will not then laboriously write them in water, sowing (his seed of truth) with ink through a pen." The date of the Phaedros cannot be certainly determined, though some scholars have maintained that it must have been one of Plato's earliest writings. In any case we have here, not far from 400 B. C. on either side, mention of pen, ink, and paper (made, of course, from papyrus), and I would call attention to the perfectly incidental, matter-of-course character of the reference to pen and ink, in an illustration, in this last passage. It is not so that a writer would speak of a new instrument, just introduced and known to few persons.

The passages so far cited, except the last, have been all taken from writers or writings prior to 400 B. C. It seems proper, however, to add some from Xenophon and Plato, whose writings probably all belong after that date. It will be seen that one of these certainly and others probably involve recognition of books as easily accessible before that date. The lives of these two men extend from about 430 B. C. to

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about 355 B. C., but their writings were probably all composed after 400 B. C. It is a great misfortune, especially in the case of Plato and with regard to the history of his philosophical opinions, that the chronological order of these works cannot be ascertained. But I think it is fair to accept his incidental references to the existence and use of books as evidence of the facts within the first twenty-five years after 400 B. C.

I begin with the passages from Xenophon:

Mem. I. 6. 14. *καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνελίττων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι.* "And the treasures of the wise men of old which they have left behind them in written books, I open and read over in company with my friends." It is Sokrates who speaks here, and the conversation, in which the words occur, Xenophon explicitly tells us that he himself heard. It must have occurred then before his departure from Athens to join Kyros on his ill-fated expedition, that is, before 401 B. C. If there is any historic truth in the Memorabilia, it would be in a passage thus commended to us by the author himself, and I hardly see how we could ask for clearer or better evidence that books were easily to be obtained in the lifetime of Sokrates. That they were to be obtained for money appears from another passage:

Xen. Mem. IV. 2. 1. (*ὁ Σωκράτης κατέμαθεν*) *Εὐθύδημον τὸν καλὸν γράμματα πολλὰ συνειλεγμένον ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμωτάτων. . . . 8. εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, τῷ ὄντι, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἀκούω, πολλὰ γράμματα συνῆχας τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν γεγονέναι; Νὴ τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· καὶ ἔτι γε συνάγω, ἕως ἂν κτήσωμαι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι πλεῖστα. Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄγαμαί γέ σου, διότι οὐκ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου προείλου θησαυροὺς κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφίας. . . 10. Τί δὲ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, συλλέγεις τὰ γράμματα; ἐπεὶ δὲ διεσιώπησεν ὁ Εὐθύδημος, σκοπῶν ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο, πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἆρα μὴ ἰατρός; ἔφη· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐστι συγγράμματα.* (Sokrates learned) "that Euthydemos, a noble youth, had collected many writings of the most eminent poets and learned men. . . Tell me, Euthydemos, said he, have you really, as I am told, collected many writings of those who

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have been eminent for wisdom? Certainly, Sokrates, said he, and I am still collecting in order to get as many as I possibly can. By Hera, said Sokrates, I am delighted with you, because you have not preferred the possession of treasures of money to that of treasures of wisdom. . . But what is it that you want to excel in, Euthydemos, said he, that you are collecting books? And when Euthydemos was silent, considering what answer to make, Is it in medicine? asked Sokrates, for there are many books on that subject." Here the praise given to the preference of wisdom over wealth shows that the books had been obtained by purchase. Though this conversation is not vouched for, as the other is, by Xenophon's statement that he heard it, yet it probably has historic reality, and if so, must have occurred before 400 B. C., and probably some years before the time of the Thirty (404 B. C.).

Another passage shows that books were exported to the Greek colonies on the Euxine Sea:

Xen. Anab. VII. 5. 14. (The Ten Thousand on their way home come to Salmydessos and find there many spoils of wrecks on that dangerous coast.) *ἐνταῦθα εὑρίσκονται πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τἄλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν.* "There were found many bedsteads, and many chests, and many written books, and quantities of other things of all kinds that shipmasters convey in wooden cases." The word *γεγραμμέναι* here is wanting in some inferior manuscripts, but all the later editors (L. Dindorf, Krüger, Rehdantz, Vollbrecht, Sauppe) take it into their text without question. These works of Xenophon were probably written after 390 B. C., but the evidence in these quoted passages all refers to facts occurring before 400 B. C. Of these passages Mr. Paley takes no notice whatever.

I add now a few passages from Plato, not as proof of the existence of written books before 400 B. C.—for the writings of Plato are of too uncertain date and presumably too late for that,—but as indicating how common and accessible books were, and on how great a variety of subjects they were composed, within the first thirty or forty years after that date.

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It may be legitimate to reason backwards from this fact and infer something like a similar rapidity in the spread of the new practice before 400 B. C., and thus get a confirmation of what we might conclude from the passages already quoted.

Apol. 26 D. *Ἀναξαγόρου οἴει κατηγορεῖν, ὦ φίλε Μέλητε, καὶ οὕτω καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε καὶ οἴει αὐτοὺς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία τοῦ Κλαζομενίου γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων;* Here it will be observed that Plato represents Sokrates as saying that it would impute illiteracy or at least strange want of knowledge of current literature to the jurors, men chosen by lot, some five hundred perhaps in number, from all ranks of the citizens, to suppose them ignorant of the fact that "the books of Anaxagoras teem with such doctrines" as the accuser charged him with holding. "The books of Anaxagoras," one would think, must have been easily within the reach of people when this could be said. The next succeeding sentence, in which reference is made to "buying from the orchestra, for a drachma at the highest, power to ridicule Sokrates if he claims these doctrines as original with him," is so much disputed as to its precise meaning that it is better not to use it in evidence here.

Phaed. 97 C. *ἀλλ' ἀκούσας μέν ποτε ἐκ βιβλίου τινός, ὡς ἔφη, Ἀναξαγόρου ἀναγιγνώσκοντος κτλ.*

98 B. *καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπεδόμην πολλοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ πάνυ σπουδῇ λαβὼν τὰς βίβλους ὡς τάχιστα οἷός τ' ἦν ἀνεγίγνωσκον.*

Sympos. 177 B. *ἔγωγε ἤδη τινὶ ἐνέτυχον βιβλίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐνῆσαν ἅλες ἔπαινον θαυμάσιον ἔχοντες πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συχνὰ ἴδοις ἂν ἐγκεκωμιασμένα.*

Gorg. 462 B. *Πῶλος. Ἀλλὰ τί σοι δοκεῖ ἡ ῥητορικὴ εἶναι; Σωκρ. Πρᾶγμα ὃ φὴς σὺ ποιῆσαι τέχνην ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι ὃ ἐγὼ ἔναγχος ἀνέγνων.*

518 B. *Μίθαικος ὁ τὴν ὀψοποιίαν συγγεγραφὼς τὴν Σικελικήν.* (Mithaikos, author of the "Handbook of Sicilian Cookery.")

Protag. 325 E. *οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι τούτων τε ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὖ γράμματα μάθωσι καὶ μέλλωσι συνήσειν τὰ γεγραμμένα, . . παρατιθέασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν ἀναγκάζουσιν.* (If the boys had copies of Homer and Hesiod to learn lessons from in school, one would suppose their fathers might have had them to read.)

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Phaedr. 228 D. Σωκρ. Δείξας γε πρῶτον, ὦ φιλότης, τί ἄρα ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχεις ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ. τοπάζω γάρ σε ἔχειν τὸν λόγον αὐτόν. (And so he had a copy of Lysias' speech, which he presently reads.)

230 D. . . σὺ ἐμοὶ λόγους οὕτω προτείνων ἐν βιβλίοις τήν τε Ἀττικὴν φαίνει περιάξειν ἅπασαν καὶ ὅποι ἂν ἄλλοσε βούλῃ.

273 A. τόν γε Τισίαν αὐτὸν πεπάτηκας ἀκριβῶς. (This same phrase, πεπατηκέναι τινά, *to be familiar with an author*, occurs in the Birds of Aristophanes (471) οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας. It seems to imply almost necessarily the use of a copy of the author's works. The Birds came out in 415 B. C. Mr. Paley speaks of this phrase as new in the time of Plato's literary activity.)

276 C. (The passage speaking of pen and ink, already quoted.)

Theaet. 152 A. Σωκ. φησὶ γάρ που πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι. . . ἀνέγνωκας γάρ που; Θεαίτ. Ἀνέγνωκα καὶ πολλάκις.

162 A. εἰ ἀληθὴς ἡ ἀλήθεια Πρωταγόρου, ἀλλὰ μὴ παίζουσα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου τῆς βίβλου ἐφθέγξατο.

166 C. οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑηνεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοῦτο δρᾶν εἰς τὰ συγγράμματά μου ἀναπείθεις.

Soph. 232 D. Ξέν. Τά γε μὴν περὶ πασῶν τε καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην τέχνην, ἃ δεῖ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτὸν τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀντειπεῖν, δεδημοσιωμένα που καταβέβληται γεγραμμένα τῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν. Θεαίτ. Τὰ Πρωταγόρειά μοι φαίνει περί τε πάλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν εἰρηκέναι. Ξέν. Καὶ πολλῶν γε, ὦ μακάριε, ἑτέρων.

Polit. 293 A. τοὺς ἰατροὺς δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα νενομίκαμεν, ἐάν τε ἑκόντας ἐάν τε ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἰῶνται, . . καὶ ἐὰν κατὰ γράμματα ἢ χωρὶς γραμμάτων, . . πάντως οὐδὲν ἧττον ἰατρούς φαμεν κτλ.

Parmen. 128 D. διὰ τοιαύτην δὴ φιλονεικίαν ὑπὸ νέου ὄντος ἐμοῦ ἐγράφη, καί τις αὐτὸ ἔκλεψε γραφέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι ἐξεγένετο, εἴτ' ἐξοιστέον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ φῶς εἴτε μή.

In these passages we see that books were so common in Plato's time that not to know the contents of a certain one would prove a man deficient in education,—that they were put before schoolboys to learn lessons out of,—that particular ones were read again and again by the same person,— that there were books on rhetoric, on the uses of salt, on cookery,

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on medicine, on wrestling, and, in a word, on all arts,—that once a book was stolen and circulated while the author was still deliberating about publishing it,—that a man overheard another reading from a book and immediately got hold of the book to read it for himself. If now the use of books was so general in all circles of life in Plato's time, the first thirty or forty years after 400 B. C., and if, as we have previously seen, mention of reading and writing, of tablets, papyrus, and parchments goes back to about 450 B. C., and the mention of books and of book-writers (copyists) and book-selling comes along between 420 and 405 B. C., can it be supposed that so quick-witted a people as the Athenians, so interested especially in every stimulus to mental activity, failed to see the capabilities of this contrivance and to make use of it in that earlier period?

I may be permitted in conclusion briefly to restate the evidence as to that earlier period. We have in Pindar before 450 B. C. a metaphor drawn from the arts of writing and reading. We have in Aeschylos, before 460 B. C., repeatedly the metaphor from writing, and once a mention of tablets and of papyrus. We have in Herodotos, before 425 B. C., frequent reference to writing on papyros, and once a recognition of that as the usual material for writing, occasionally supplemented by parchment. We have abundant fragments of Hekataios (540–480 B. C.) and other early historians, in a style of composition that forbids the idea of oral transmission. We have from the comic poets Kratinos (before 420 B. C.), Eupolis (before 412 B. C.), and Plato (probably before 405 B. C.), fragments containing mention of book-writing, paper, and book-selling. We have from Aristophanes (in plays down to 405 B. C.) reference to books as used by authors and readers, and consulted by his own audience. We have in Thukydides (probably before 405 B. C.) reference to the works of his predecessors implying knowledge of their contents on his part, and a suggestion that other historical inquirers would consult his own work as he had theirs. Finally we have in Xenophon (in reference to a time before 400 B. C.) mention of books as read among a company of friends, as bought by a collector of

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a library, and as exported to the shores of the Euxine sea. Now in view of this evidence, recognizing the fragmentary character of the remains we have of the literature of the fifth century before Christ, are we not justified in holding that the use of writing on papyrus for the purpose of preserving and multiplying copies of works of literature began as early as the middle of that century and rapidly grew to be a familiar matter of common life before its end?

It will be observed that I have confined myself to the production of the evidence attainable on my subject with only the necessary explanation of it. My purpose has been simply to bring together all the passages which I could find containing real evidence, in the hope that the collection, not elsewhere made so far as I know, might be of service to any one wishing to ascertain the facts.

IV.—*The Declension of the Definite Article in the Cypriote Inscriptions.**

By ISAAC H. HALL,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The riddle of the Cypriote Inscriptions, up to this time, cannot be said to have been completely solved. Not to mention particular knots that occur in sundry inscriptions whose purport is well known, or those places where no final test has given the last word to the discussion, there remain a few inscriptions whose general purport is still a puzzle, some whose characters have not been made out, and some which, though every character is known, refuse to yield any intelligible combinations. Chief of these are (1.) the longest inscription in the Cesnola collection, in part quite plain, but presenting some unique difficulties, though there is scarcely a doubt as to the reading

* In this article the names 1. of the *cases* are abbreviated by their initials in capitals (N. G. D. A.); designations 2. of *number* (s. p.), and 3. of *gender* (m. f. n.), by their initials in small letters.

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of any character; (2.) The Naked (or Bearded) Archer inscription of the British Museum, which, in spite of Dr. W. Deecke's attempt published in the Athenaeum of May 22, 1880, and thought by him a complete success, is yet a problem to be solved, since his reading depends upon the arbitrary forcing of several characters to read what they demonstrably cannot; (3.) one other important inscription in the British Museum, which is still the subject of discussion, though parts of it are plain; and (4.) a long inscription in the new Cesnola collection, still unread, though it will probably yield to perseverance, and gives promise of solving finally one riddle; with (5.) some minor ones in nearly the same state as the last.

Thus any attempt to construct a grammar or vocabulary of the language, or writing, must still be only tentative, and subject to correction.

The Cypriote syllabary consists of characters representing open syllables only. Of these, five represent the simple vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with no distinction between long and short. The others represent a single consonant followed by a vowel; with no distinction between smooth, middle, and rough in the consonants, and no distinction between long and short in the vowels. Thus the same character stands for κε, γε, χε, κη, γη, χη. As far as thus discovered, the syllabary is complete for the consonants *k*, *t*, *p*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *s*; that is, it has a character for each of these consonants in combination with each of the five vowels. The *n* series lacks only *nu*; the *z* series lacks *zi*, *zo*, *zu*, and the syllable *ze* rests on only one example, and therefore only on probable conjecture. The *y* or *i*-syllables (for the writing has a *yod mobile*, or consonant) lack the *io* and *iu*, perhaps as not required by the language. The digamma or *w*-syllables, lack *wi* and *wu*. Thus, in theory, the syllabary is nearly complete. There is one other character, read by Deecke, Siegismund, and myself as *xe*, because, though thus an anomaly in the system of writing, it appears to have no other Greek equivalent. For what we may call the same reason, Dr. Ahrens reads it as equivalent to a vowel with the Greek *sampi*, or the Hebrew *shin*. According to either view the character is an anomaly in the structure of

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the syllabary; and so, for that matter are the *z*-syllables, unless we abandon the idea that the ζ was in any sense a double consonant. With the exception of this character for *xe* or *she*, to speak provisionally, the Greek double consonants are represented in the Cypriote writing by two characters.

Since the language, so far as deciphered, is Greek, the analogy of ordinary Greek cannot be disregarded in transliterating Cypriote. Yet in treating Cypriote as a system by itself—a procedure to which it seems fairly entitled—there is obviously much liberty or play allowable in the choice between a long or a short vowel, as well as in the choice between a smooth, a middle, or a rough mute. How far dialectic analogy may or must curb this liberty is a thing obvious enough in many cases, but in other cases quite as obscure. It does not yet appear at what point it is proper to make the choice in the case of the vowels, especially. The transliterator feels that the strictest truth both allows and compels him to adopt the Roman vowel, whose quantity has no visible ear-marks, even at the risk of being thought ignorant of Greek dialects. Moreover, the Cypriote writing has contributed enough in other respects to the knowledge of very ancient Greek peculiarities to justify us in keeping this door open for further light in that particular direction.

As this is not a treatise on the Cypriote epigraphy, it is not necessary to speak at length of the principles of the combination of two characters (or of three, as sometimes happens) into one syllable. These are generally plain enough, and to be understood as a matter of course. It may be mentioned, however, that a word, especially an elided proclitic, has sometimes its end in the middle of a character, so to speak. Also, the *n*, or Greek ν, is often not written, and has to be understood. Whether it was pronounced or not in the spoken language, or whether it had passed into an unwritten nasal, or whatever else had become of it, it is not to our purpose here to inquire. The writing never doubles a consonant. *Iota* adscript, answering to *iota* subscript in Greek, is sometimes written and sometimes not. The *e* vowel is often replaced by the *i* vowel. When a word ends in a consonant,

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its final syllable, unless serving also for the opening syllable of the following word, regularly ends in a character having the *e* vowel. Of course no breathings occur.

Another element perhaps to be taken into account in transliterating, is the apparent versification of some of the inscriptions. This has been assumed and practically insisted on to an extravagant extent by a late writer, Richard Neubauer, in one of the *Commentationes Philologicae in Honorem Theodori Mommseni*, Berlin, 1877; but as each writer is apt to assume his own system of versification, and construct his syllables accordingly, this element has been of no service. From its nature it can scarcely be a guide, except in determining a doubtful place when other considerations determine all the surroundings; and even then this method is chargeable with imposing foreign laws where truth requires only the statement of those which certainly exist. There is nothing in the rest of Neubauer's matter of a grade high enough to warrant our following his fancy in this respect.

In the following, only those conclusions will be stated concerning which there remains no reasonable doubt. Yet in every case the possibility of modification in a future light must be allowed.

In gathering up the facts respecting the declension of the definite article in the Cypriote writing, it will be more convenient to take each inscription by itself. The first that claims attention is the Bronze Tablet of Dali, now in the De Luynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The following list gives each case of the article's occurrence, with the number of the line in which it occurs. Two or three of the cases given may be classed rather as under the head of relative pronoun than as article; but they are retained because one of them is on the border line, and the others barely step over it; and even so the form is that of the Greek article, and not of the relative ὅς. The pronoun ὅδε occurs several times in the inscription, but it is not convenient to notice it in connection with the article, as it requires an additional explanation of the principles of the writing. The following is the list:

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Line] I. *Occurrence of the Definite Article in the Bronze Tablet.*

(1.) *ta.* A.s.f., agreeing with πτολιν. Final *n* not written.

to. i. D.s.n., agreeing with ſετει, after preposition *i*[ν]. *ι* adscript written.

to. G.s.m., agreeing with proper name. Its noun is the next word, and begins with *O.* No elision.

(2.) *a.* N.s.f., agreeing with πτολις.

to. no. A.s.m., agreeing with proper name. The *o* of the final *no.* begins the next word, the proper name aforesaid.

(3.) *to. ni.* A.s.m., agreeing with ἰιατηραν, which immediately follows, and whose initial *i* is the vowel part of the *ni.*

to. se. A.p.m., agreeing with κασιγνητος. (-τος is preferred to -τως.) Final consonant regularly the *se.* character.

to. se. A.p.m., agreeing with *a*[ν]θρωπος.

to. se. A.p.m., with participle after preceding noun.

ta. i. D.s.f., agreeing with μαχαι, after preposition *i*[ν]. *ι* adscript written.

(4.) *a.* N.s.f., agreeing with πτολις.

(5.) *to. i. se.* D.p.m., agreeing with indirect object κασιγνητοις.

to. G.s.m., agreeing with μισθων, after prep. *a*[ν]τι.

ta. G.s.f.; probably for *ta. se.*, analogous to *ka.* for *ka. se.* Agrees with ὑχηρων.

to. i. D.s.m., agreeing with ſοικωι after preposition ἐξ.

(6.) *to. i.* D.s.m., in adjective phrase belonging to last noun.

ta. i. D.s.f., agreeing with πτολιι, after prep. ἐξ.

to. G.s.m., agreeing with ἀργυρων, after prep. *a*[ν]τι.

(7.) *to.* G.p.n., agreeing with partitive gen. ταλα[ν]των. It immediately precedes its noun (which commences with a dental mute), and final *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

a. N.s.f., agreeing with πτολις.

to. i. se. D.p.m., same as l.(5.).

(8.) *ta. i.* D.f.s., agreeing with ζαι (= γῃ), after ἀπυ (= ἀπο). *ι* adscript written.

ta. i. Same as last, in adj. phrase following ζαι.

ta. i. Same as last.

to. i. D.s.m.(?), agreeing with ῥωνι (new word) after participle of nearness.

to. i. Same as last, in adj. phrase after ῥωνι.

to. A.s.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding χωρον. Final *n* or *ne.* suppressed.

(9.) *to. ni.* A.s.m., in adj. phrase after χωρον above. The *i* of the last syllable is the preposition *i*[ν].

to. i. D.s.n., agreeing with ἑλει, after the preceding preposition *i*[ν], just mentioned.

to. A.s.m. in adj. phrase limiting χωρον above. It precedes a palatal mute, and the *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

ta. A.p.n., agreeing with τερχνιια (new word).

ta. A.p.n., following the last mentioned noun in adj. phrase.

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(10.) *to. se.* A.p.m., agreeing with *κασιγνητος.*

(11.) *to. se.* A.p.m., agreeing with *παιδας.*

to. G.p.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding *παιδων.* The final *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

to. no. G.p.m., agreeing with proper noun, of which the *o* in this syllable *no.* is the beginning.

to. i. D.s.m., agreeing with *χωρωι,* after prep. *ἐξ.*

(12.) *o.* N.s.m., subject of a verb, and used like a relative pronoun.

to. i. se. D.p.m., agreeing with *κασιγνητοις.*

(13.) *to. i. se.* D.p.m., agreeing with *παισι.*

to. na. A.s.m., agreeing with *ἀργυρον,* of which the *a* in *na.* forms the first letter.

(14.) *to.* G.p.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding *κασιγνητων.* The final *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

to. na. G.p.m., following the last noun in adj. phrase. The *a* in *na.* forms first letter of next word.

(15.) *a.* N.s.f., agreeing with *πτολις.*

ta. G.s.f., same as in l. (5.).

to. G.s.m., same as in l. (5.).

(16.) *a.* N.s.f., agreeing with *πτολις.*

(17.) *to.* G.s.m., agreeing with *ἀργυρω.*

ta. i. D.s.f., after *ἀπυ,* agreeing with *ζαι.*

ta. i. D.s.f., in adj. phrase following last.

ta. i. D.s.f., in adj. phrase following last.

(18.) *ta. i.* D.s.f., agreeing with *πεδιαι,* after prep. *ἰ*[*ν*].

to. A.s.m., agreeing with *χωρον* and immediately preceding it. The *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

to. A.s.m., in adj. phrase following last. Precedes a palatal mute, and *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

ta. A.p.n., same as in l. (9.) first time.

(19.) *ta.* A.p.n., same as in l. (9.) second time.

to. A.s.m., in adj. phrase following *χωρον.* It immediately precedes a labial mute, and the *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

to. Probably G.s.m., agreeing with proper name; but it may be A.s.m. with final *n* or *ne.* suppressed, before a dental. In that case it would agree with *χωρον* in adj. phrase following.

(20.) *ta. ni.* A.s.f., agreeing with *ἱερειιαν,* after prep. *πος.* The *i* in *ni.* forms first letter of this noun.

ta. se. G.s.f., agreeing with *Ἀθανας.*

to. A.s.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding *καπον.* The *n* or *ne.* is suppressed.

to. ni. A.s.m., in adj. phrase following *καπον* above. The *i* in *ni.* is the prep. *ἰ*[*ν*].

(21.) *to.* A.s.m., used as relative pronoun, with *καπον* as antecedent. It precedes a dental, and the *n* is suppressed.

o. N.s.m., agreeing with a proper name or patronymic.

to. A.s.m., in adj. phrase following *καπον* understood; but may also be construed as a relative pronoun. It precedes a dental, and *n* is suppressed.

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(22.) *to. no.* A.s.m., agreeing with *υἱον* understood. The *o* in *no.* is the first letter of next word.

ta. A.p.n. Same as l. (5.) first time.

ta. A.p.n. Same as l. (5.) second time.

(23.) *to. se.* A.p.m., agreeing with *παιδας*.

to. se. A.p.m., in adj. phrase following the last.

(24.) *ta. i.* D.s.f., agreeing with *ζαι*, after prep. *ἐξ*.

to. i. D.s.m., agreeing with *καπωι*, after prep. *ἐξ*.

(25.) *o.* N.s.m., used as pronoun, relative, subject of verb.

to. i. se. D.p.m., agreeing with indirect object *παισι*.

to. na. A.s.m., agreeing with *ἀργυρον*, of which the *a* in *na.* forms the first letter.

(26.) *ta.* Probably G.p.f., agreeing with, and immediately preceding *δαλτων* (= *δελτων*); and the *n* suppressed. Another, less probable, opinion makes it A. p. n., agreeing with *Γεπια*.

ta. A.p.n., agreeing with *Γεπια*.

(27.) *a.* N.s.f., agreeing with *πτολις*.

ta. A.s.f., agreeing with and immediately preceding *θιον* (= *θεον* or *θεαν*) after prep. *i*[*ν*]. The *n* is suppressed.

ta. na. A.s.f., agreeing with *'Αθαναν*, in apposition with *θιον* just above. The *a* in *na.* is the first letter of *'Αθαναν*.

ta. ne. A.s.f., in adj. phrase after the last. It is written in full. The next word commences with a labial, but is a preposition.

(28.) *ta. se.* A.p.f. agreeing with *Γρηταις* (= *ρητρας*).

(29.) *ta. se.* A.p.f., agreeing with *Γρηταις*.

ta. sa. ke. A.p.f., agreeing with *ζας* (= *γας*) The words here are *τάς γε*; and the character *sa.* is regular. If it were *ta. se. ke.* the reading would be *τασεκ* or *τὰς ἐκ*, or *τὰς γέ*.

(30.) *to. se.* A.p.m., agreeing with *καπος*.

o. i. N.p.m., agreeing with *παιδες*.

to. G.p.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding *παιδων*. The *n* is suppressed.

o. i. N.p.m., agreeing with *παιδες*.

(31.) *o. i.* N.p.m., used as relative pronoun, subject of a verb.

to. i. D.s.m., agreeing with *ῥωνι*, dat. of place in which.

to. i. D.s.m., in adj. phrase following the last.

Including the few cases where the article passes, or seems to pass, into the relative pronoun, this inscription presents upwards of ninety occurrences of the article. To make clear the cases of its occurrence as a relative, the following example (l. 25) will serve: it reads *ὁ ἐξορυξε πεισει*; which Ahrens renders into "the common" by "*ὃς* (*ἂν*) *ἐξώσῃ τίσει*." Here, if the *ὁ* were an article simply, we should have a participle (*e.g.*, *ἐξορυξας*) in place of *ἐξορυξε*. But neglecting the pronominal

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use, as well as other doubtful cases, we may sum up as follows:

The N.s.m. occurs uniformly in this inscription as *o.*, which may be represented by the ordinary Greek ὁ. As a relative it is perhaps to be transliterated as ὅ.

The N.s.f. is uniformly *a.;* the Greek ἁ.

The N.s.n. appears not to occur in this inscription.

The G.s.m. is uniformly *to.;* the Greek τῶ.

The G.s.f. occurs once as *ta.se.*, that is, τᾶς; and twice as *ta.*, each time with a noun of the second declension fem. in -ων, and immediately preceding ὑ. It is probable that this is a shortened form for *ta. se.*, or τᾶς. Analogous is the occasional contraction of *ka. se.* (κας, = καί) into *ka.* The G.s.f. is therefore τᾶς or τᾶ[ς].

The G.s.n. appears not to occur in the inscription.

The D.s.m. occurs often, and uniformly as *to.i.;* that is, τοῖ, (τωῖ,) or τῷ. In other inscriptions the *i.* is often omitted, according to the general practice of writing. But the omission is demonstrably only in the writing, and is not a variation of the form.

The D.s.f., also occurs often, and uniformly as *ta.i.;* that is, ταῖ or τᾷ. This also, in other inscriptions, sometimes omits the *i.*

The D.s.n. occurs just once. It is exactly like the masc., *to.i.;* that is, τοῖ, (τωῖ,) or τῷ.

The A.s.m. occurs many times. It occurs as *to.na.*, *to.no.*, *to.ni.*, and *to.* In the first three cases the vowel portion of the second syllable is the beginning of the next word, which is commonly (but not always) the word to which the article belongs. In the last case, the *n* is suppressed; but in each occurrence the following word commences with a mute. Five instances of this occur before a palatal, one before a dental, and two before a labial. Generally, too, the succeeding word is that to which the article belongs. The form is therefore clearly τόν or τό[ν]; but whether the *n* was sounded or not in cases where it is suppressed, is a question that cannot be discussed here.

The A.s.f. occurs a few times; once as *ta.ne.*, once as *ta.ni.*, once as *ta.na.*, and twice as *ta.* The first is the full form, and

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is to be transliterated as τάν. In the next two cases, the vowel of the second syllable commences the next word; and in the last the *n* is suppressed; once before a labial mute commencing the next word, and once before a dental. Its form is therefore τάν, or τά[ν].

The A.s.n. appears not to occur in this inscription.

The N.p.m. occurs a few times; though in one case it fills the office of a relative pronoun. It is uniformly *o.i.*, that is, *oi*; and in the last case, perhaps *oĩ*.

The N.p.f. and n. do not appear to occur in the inscription.

The G.p.m. occurs a few times. It occurs as *to.no.*, *to.na.*, and *to*. In the first two cases the last vowel commences the next word; in the last case the *n* is suppressed, the next word commencing with a labial or palatal mute, and being the noun to which the article belongs.

The G.p.f. occurs once (l. 26.), as *ta*. The *n* is suppressed before a dental mute which commences the following word. The form is therefore τᾶ[ν] or τᾶν. This case has also another less probable solution. The one here adopted seems to be the only one which avoids all the difficulties.

The G.p.n. appears not to occur in the inscription.

The D.p.m. occurs several times; always as *to.i.se.*, or τοῖς. In each case the word following commences with a mute. There seems to be no reason why the last syllable should not be *sa.*, *so.*, *si.*, or *su.*, when the following word should commence with the appropriate vowel; though the analogy of the A.p.m. points differently.

The D.p.f. and n. do not appear to occur in the inscription.

The A.p.m. occurs several times, and always as *to.se.*; that is, τός (or τώς). In one of these cases the following word commences with the vowel *a*.

The A.p.f. occurs twice; once as *ta.se.*, the next word commencing with a digamma, or *w* syllable; and the other time as *ta.sa.ke.*, the last syllable being the enclitic γε. By the rules of combination, *sa.* here is regular; but it shows that the two words were looked upon as one, at least for purposes of pronunciation. The form is therefore τάς; while *ta.sa.ke.* is τάςγε or τάς γε; but the γε could not have had

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accent as a separate word. The combination *ta.se.ke.* would have been τάς ἐκ or τασεκ; or τὰς γέ or τὰς ἔκ, if either is conceivable.

The A.p.n. occurs several times, and always as *ta.*; that is, τά. Twice the next word begins with an *e* vowel, once with the digamma, and in other cases with a mute. In other inscriptions there is a plain elision; and then the *a* coalesces with the initial *a* of the next word; but no such case occurs in this inscription.

From the Bronze Tablet, therefore, the declension can be made out as follows:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N.	ὁ	ἁ	—	οἱ	—	—
G.	τῶ	τᾶς, τᾶ[ς]	—	τῶν	τᾶ[ν]	—
D.	τοῖ(τῷ)	ταῖ, τᾷ	τοῖ(τῷ)	τοῖς	—	—
A.	τόν	τάν	—	τός, τώς	τάς	τά.

Enough appears to show the coincidence throughout with the Doric; and it would be easy to fill the blanks from analogy. But some of the gaps can be filled from the other inscriptions, to which we will now proceed.

II. *The Bilingual Tablet of Dali.*

This tablet is now in the British Museum. It is a fragment of a marble pedestal upon which was doubtless once a statue to Apollo Amyclaean, the Phoenician Resheph Mikal. The Cypriote portion consists of four lines. The article occurs as follows:

(1.) Not once; but the line is fragmentary.

(2.) *to.* G.p.f. Its word, immediately following, and a partitive genitive, commences with a labial mute; and the *n* is suppressed.

to.na. A.s.m., agreeing with and immediately preceding ἀνδρια[ν]ταν. whose initial vowel is that of the *na.*

o. N.s.m., just preceding and agreeing with ϝαναξ.

(3.) *a.* N.s.m., agreeing with and preceding a proper name which commences with 'A.

to. D.s.m., agreeing with proper name. ι adscript is omitted, but the case is marked by the termination of its noun.

ta.se. A.p.f., agreeing with and immediately preceding εὐχωλας. The *e* in the *se.* does not form part of the next word.

(4.) The article does not occur in this line.

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This inscription entirely confirms the results of the first, and adds two things. (1.) It gives τῶν as an additional form for the G.p.f.; and (2.) it gives an instance of the D.s.m. written simply as τῶ, without the ι adscript. It hints that this last had disappeared in pronunciation. In the A.p.f., moreover, it shows that it could be written in full without the vowel sound of the final *se.* affecting at all the writing of the next word; and as far as it teaches anything, seems to show that this syllable, when final, was disregarded as to its vowel element. Analogous is silent final *e* in English and French.

III. The next inscription is the longest one in the Cesnola collection. Though not completely unriddled, its teaching as to the article is clear. It contains it only once (in l. 4), in the neut. pl., probably acc., and is written *ta.* The next word, not its noun, but yet presenting a case where elision would be allowable in Greek, begins with *a.*, and yet is written separately. It may turn out that this *ta.*, or τά, is N.p.n.

IV. In the first Cesnola collection (old number, 256) is another inscription, never yet correctly published, consisting of a fragment of two lines. In l. (2.) occurs *ta.*, A.s.f., with *n* suppressed, before its noun which commences with a digamma. This gives us τά[ν]. This inscription seems to hint that the *n* was suppressed in the writing, and not in the pronunciation; for the pronoun τά[ν]δε and the adj. νεα[ν] follow in the same construction, both with *n* suppressed.

V. The inscription on a bronze votive implement in the DeLuynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains the article twice in its first line, both D.s.f. The first agrees with a proper name, and the other is in an adj. phrase following the same. The first is written *ta.*, and the second *ta.i.* This seems to leave it indifferent whether the D.s.f. should be written with or without ι adscript. In the first case the article precedes a word which should begin with *a*, but which a probable false stroke of the engraver has made to read *e*. The second immediately precedes an initial *e*.

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VI. The inscription on a bronze votive spoon in the British Museum has the article twice; both in D.s.f., and both written *ta.i.;* that is ταῖ or τᾷ. The reading that includes them is this: *i*[ν] ται θιοι ται Γολγιαι.

VII. One doubtful case occurs on an inscription of three lines in the Cesnola collection; where the article apparently occurs twice in l. (1.) as *to*. Whether nom. or acc. neut. sing., or gen. sing. masc. or neut., or gen. pl. masc. or neut., is not yet clear. This is No. 29, Pl. vii, in my article, Jour. Am. Or. Soc., x. 201 ff.

VIII. In an inscription from Soloi, published by De Vogué (Mélanges, Pl. iv), now in the Louvre at Paris, the article occurs in l. (1.) in the N.s.m., as *o*, immediately before its noun, which commences with the digamma.

IX. On a British Museum inscription of two lines, recording a votive offering to Apollo Hylates, the article occurs three times in the first line; *to.i.*, and *to.*, both in D.s.m.; the first preceding and agreeing with θεοι or θεωι, the second following in an adj. phrase. The third occurrence is N.s.m., with a proper name following. It is written as *o*. The inscription is published by Deecke and Siegismund as their No. 7.

X. In another Cesnola inscription (Jour. Am. Or. Soc., x. 201 ff., No. 9 Pl. ii), the article occurs once in line (1.) and once in l. (2.), both D.s.m.; the first is written *to.i.*, and the other *to*. The one precedes and the other follows the dative θεω, which latter is written without ι adscript.

XI. Another of the same (*supra*, No. 24 Pl. vi), contains the article in l. (1.) in D.s.m., as *to.i.* In the next line is a doubtful *ta.* for the same case; which may be a stone-cutter's mistake for *to*. However, it may not be the article at all; or there may be an elision.

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XII. In another of same (*supra*, No. 23, Pl. vi), in l. (3.), occurs the D.s.m. written simply as *to.*; its noun immediately following being marked as dat. by termination.

XIII. Another of same (*supra*, No. 31, Pl. viii) contains the article and a Cypriote enclitic written *ta.sa. pa.i.*; that is, τάς παι. Here *sa.* is regular, to mark the union of the two words, or their close connection. The article seems here to have the force of a relative pronoun.

XIV. An inscription of four lines found at Pyla, still, so far as I know, in Cyprus in possession of D. Pierides, contains in the third line the article in the D.s.m., written simply as *to.* The mutilation of the stone cuts off the termination of its noun; but there is every reason to believe that it was marked as dative by its termination.

XV.–XXII. Eight inscriptions found at Kythrea by Gen. di Cesnola just before leaving Cyprus for the last time. These are not yet adequately published; though the chief one is figured in my article in Scribner's Monthly for June, 1880. That contains all that occurs in the others, so far as the article is concerned, and more besides. The others are mere repetitions. In this the article occurs as follows:

(1.) *ta.se.* G.s.f., agreeing with and just preceding Παφιας.
to. G.s.m., immediately preceding its noun, which commences with *i.*
(2.) *ta.i.* D.s.f., agreeing with and just preceding Παφιαι.
(3.) *ta.i.* D.s.f., agreeing with and just preceding 'Αφροδιται.

XXIII. A bilingual or digraphic inscription, in possession of D. Pierides, in Larnaka, Cyprus, contains two Cypriote lines, in which the article occurs as follows:

(1.) N.s.m., written as *o.*, before and belonging to noun beginning with *so.*
N.s.m., written as *o.*, before and belonging to noun beginning with *pa.(ba.).*
(2.) D.s.f., written *ta.*, before and belonging to a proper name beginning with *a.*

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XXIV. Inscription De Vogué, Mélanges, Pl. iii, 2, a, contains in the second line the article in G.s.f., written *ta.se.*, before its noun commencing with the digamma. In the third line occurs the G.s.m., written *to.*, before its noun commencing with *i.*

XXV. De Vogué, Mélanges, Pl. iii, 2, b, c, contains the article in G.s.f., written as *ta.*, before its noun commencing with the digamma. It is another case of the contraction for *ta.se.*

XXVI. De Vogué, Mélanges, Pl. iv, 5, has in first line the N.s.m., written as *o.* before its noun commencing with *i.* In the second line occurs the G.s.f. written *ta.se.*, before its noun commencing with the digamma.

XXVII. XXVIII. These two inscriptions, intended as duplicates, at Alonia tou Episcopou, near New Paphos, on the artificial grotto dedicated to Apollo Hylates, though obscure and fragmentary, are very interesting. One is outside, over the outer doorway; the other is within, by the side of the inner doorway leading to the second apartment. The first is written in four lines, the second in two. Taking the first to represent both, its first line contains *o.*, N.s.m., preceding its noun, which is a proper name commencing with *a.* The second line contains *to.*, A.s.n., preceding its noun which commences with *se.pe.* (= σπε). The second inscription repeats the N.s.m. *o.* in an adj. phrase following the noun; at a place where the first inscription is mutilated. These two inscriptions give the first clear example thus far of the A.s.n.; which is τό.

XXIX. To these add the inscriptions of the gold armlets of King Ethevander found at Curium, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art with the other Cesnola collections, where the G.s.m. occurs in each as *to.*, before a proper name commencing with a labial; and we have before us all the inscriptions which at present are worth the trouble of searching for this special purpose. Some cases, as well as sundry other

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inscriptions, are omitted; because, though interesting, they are more or less doubtful. Moreover, I have mentioned none of which I have not seen and studied the original inscription itself.

The whole number here considered amounts to twenty-eight; or in number (excluding coins), about one-seventh of the whole; though in quantity of material, much more than six-sevenths of all the Cypriote writing known. In most of the inscriptions the article does not occur at all; while the predominance of the dat. sing., masc. and fem., is explained by the fact that most of the inscriptions are votive, and give the article along with the proper or attributive name of the divinity to whom the offering is made.

It will be observed that for this particular discussion, as well as for the general subject of the writing, the Bronze Tablet furnishes far more material than all the other sources united. After the declension of the definite article has been deduced from that, the rest do little more than confirm inferences therefrom which are so inevitable that suspicion would attach to anything contradictory. The gaps actually filled by other inscriptions thus far appear to be nothing more than the A.s.n., and a G.p.f. in *τῶν*. The material which *may* fill other gaps is not yet demonstrated to do so. The shorter inscriptions add more to show the principles of the writing, especially of the combination of the characters in particular cases, than to fill out the declension table.

The following is the declension of the article as thus far shown to occur in the inscriptions:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N.	*ὁ*	*ἁ*	—	*οἱ*	*αἱ*	—
G.	*τῶ*	*τᾶς, τᾶ[ς]*	—	*τῶν*	*τᾶ[ν], τῶν*	—
D.	*τοῖ (τῷ)*	*ταῖ (τᾷ)*	*τοῖ (τῷ)*	*τοῖς*	—	—
A.	*τόν*	*τάν*	*τό*	*τός (τώς)*	*τάς*	*τά.*

The cases which do not actually occur (though some really may, unrecognized or undemonstrated) are the nom. and gen. sing. neut., the dat. fem. pl., and the nom., gen., and dat. pl. neut. As the acc. neut., sing. and pl., can scarcely fail to be the same with the nom.; and as the gen. and dat. neut. can

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scarcely fail to be the same with the corresponding cases of the masc., there remains only the dat. pl. fem. to fill in from analogy outside of that furnished by the writing itself. But of that no one can feel a doubt. The declension, so far as made out from undoubted, existing examples, coincides exactly with that exhibited in the Doric dialect.

V.—*Observations on Lucian.*

By JULIUS SACHS, Ph.D.,

NEW YORK CITY.

The new avenue of philological communication which the initial numbers of the Philological Journal have opened seems to me to react in more than one way upon the character of these our annual meetings; since they have ceased to be our *only* means of presenting the results of our individual inquiries, they will probably assimilate themselves more and more to the model of the German Philological meetings. In addition to the final maturity of linguistic research that may challenge the world's criticism, the scholars of Germany very frequently test in these gatherings the strength and coherency of their private speculations; in this, the common workshop as it were, the crucial test is most readily applied to each new hypothesis, and under the investigation of unbiased critical minds the stability of arguments is best confirmed or else opportunely questioned. Starting from these premises I venture to propose some thoughts, elicited by a study of several of Lucian's writings. From a general conception of the literary, social, and moral atmosphere of Athens and Rome in the 2d century p. Ch. it is necessary to gather that experience of the temper of our author, which may serve as the common background of his artistic labors. So much had been effected by the older commentators and writers of the literary history of this period; but then the elusive quality of Lucian's mood, the subtle play between wit and seriousness, make it doubtful at the end of

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each treatise, whether we are to adopt the superficial line of argument as the end and aim of his effort or must delve lower; for we may perchance find a substratum of thought, which transfigures the commonplace of the apparent argument, and introduces the ἦθος of a deeper philosophic reflection. From the analysis of *each* treatise must be evolved the mental traits, out of which, however complex, the personality of Lucian must finally be substantiated and reduced to a simpler and coherent form. This process as the only satisfactory one, however slow in its workings, Director Schwarz has applied in the course of the last seventeen years to a number of Lucian's dialogues.

But in such a detailed scrutiny of the individual treatise there seemed to me at the outset to lurk a danger of great import, to wit, that complete search after truth in the one treatise might find an offset in too cursory a survey of the bearing of another, until *its* turn for exhaustive treatment had arrived; and the inconsistencies arising from such a method have awakened in me the conviction that it were more in consonance with the advance in Lucianic criticism to attempt the solution of the many vexed problems from a consideration of the writings by *groups;* let the philosophic tenets, the ethic standards, the artistic criteria, the rhetorical practices be culled separately, and the sympathetic student of Lucian will not find it impossible to gather all these experiences into a living embodiment of an essentially artist-nature, which would then stand permanently for our ideal of the teacher of Samosata.

Let us take up a special case. Who exerted a decided influence on this brilliant, yet thoughtful representative of later Greek speculation? Nigrinus and Demonax conjointly corresponded to Lucian's ideal of a true philosopher's character, say many of the best commentators, among them such authorities as Jacob, C. F. Hermann, Preller. Of the existence of both philosophers the writings of Lucian, the Νιγρῖνος and Δημώνακτος βίος respectively convey our only information to us; now the *Nigrinus* Anton Schwarz after a careful analysis summarizes as a satire, a ridicule of the pretensions of philosophers (Nigrinus as type) that they could create conviction in the minds of their hearers by a single rhetorical effort. I confess

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that his argumentation appears, on the whole, quite satisfactory to me. It lacks conclusive force however in one single point, to which I should like to invite your attention. Lucian sends to Nigrinus with an exceedingly complimentary prefatory letter a reproduction of a discourse which Nigrinus pronounced in his presence on the corruption of the Romans of his day, and which convinced him (Lucian) of the superior mental qualities of the philosopher. The discourse of Nigrinus is introduced by a conversation between Lucian and his friend; and the latter finds Lucian so unusual in demeanor, so elated, that he inquires into the cause. Lucian informs him that it is due to the impression made by Nigrinus' discourse, which he thereupon proceeds to give in full. Now the speech itself with the dialogue that introduces it I could readily conceive of as a refinement upon the Socratic method; instead of the *reductio ad absurdum* that is clearly marked in the progress of the Platonic dialogues (e. g. Gorgias, Theaetetus), we would find quite in keeping with the spirit of a later age a more artificial, or if you will have it, a more artistic method of overthrowing the weak views of Nigrinus. The conviction that the argument is a strained and unnatural one would then force itself upon every intelligent reader and hearer, and only the principal actor would appear from sheer conceit not to see the unmeaningness of his own assumptions. Such a development from the *εἰρωνεία* of the Platonic method, though I cannot substantiate its existence as a feature of later Greek dialectics, appears quite in keeping with the spirit of literary *ἐπίγονοι*; it is even possible to go a step farther; recall, if you please, those Platonic dialogues, in which, as in the Cratylus, the logical deductions are seemingly left in abeyance; how often have ancient and modern expositors of Platonic philosophy doubted to which side of the issue Plato was ready to commit himself finally! In these dialogues the first step toward this satiric envelopment of the dialogue would be fairly marked. But I find an impassable difficulty in the case of the Nigrinus in the introductory epistle addressed to Nigrinus. Of its genuine character no editor has ever entertained any doubt; it enters therefore into the scope

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of our discussion on the same basis as the treatise itself. Divested of the proverbial and historical references that introduce and close it, its central thought is expressed in the following words: *μόνην σοι δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐθέλω, ὅπως τε νῦν ἔχω καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρέργως πρὸς τῶν σῶν λόγων εἴλημμαι.* 'I only wish to prove to you what opinion I now entertain and that I have not been superficially affected by your discourse.'

It is needless to say that for Schwarz and his views this statement ought to constitute the cardinal difficulty; for, if genuine and sincerely meant, it disposes at once of Schwarz's theory, that the whole discourse is a huge joke at the expense of Nigrinus. Schwarz surmounts the difficulty with an ease altogether suspicious; "Diese Worte bekommen aber je nach der Anschauung des in Eitelkeit befangenen Philosophen oder des vorurtheilsfreien Lesers einen verschiedenen Sinn." Can we conceive that a man writes a parody on a philosopher's activity, so artfully devised, that its true character has escaped the critical faculties of generations of scholars, that he sends this treatise to the philosopher in question, accompanies it with a letter of hearty recognition, and yet at the same time wishes every other reader to recognize that there is not a candid statement in all that he has said? The reader, free from prejudice, would methinks conclude otherwise; it is a preconceived notion that Nigrinus does not adequately represent Lucian's ideal of philosophy, that has led to this far-fetched conclusion. According to our opinion of the introductory epistle the whole treatise must be judged; and I am free to confess that I consider it a straight-forward expression of a philosophic standpoint. I would go a step farther. Schwarz in a later treatise on the "Gallus" says of his earlier treatise on the Nigrinus, that he still maintains his views on its *general* purpose and period of composition, but is not ready to maintain every position therein indicated. It would not be surprising to me, if calmer reflection had made his earlier assumption appear too audacious. With this suggestion I proceed to another point.

Many commentators on Lucian, as has been previously stated, ascribe a prominent influence on the philosophic *habitus* of their favorite author to Nigrinus *and Demonax;*

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the same general principles of a well conducted life appertain to both, the same tendency to eclecticism as a philosophic rule of conduct, rather than pronounced adherence to any school. To Demonax is ascribed the sentiment, *ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτην μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Διογένην καὶ φιλῶ Ἀρίστιππον.* It is quite another matter however to reason that because Nigrinus and Demonax were Lucian's types and standards of a noble, reflective life, his literary treatment of them should be similar. It would verily be *γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε* to cite instances in which the same writer according to his varying mood cultivates now the ornate, now the more sober narrative style; and yet this essential condition of the creative faculty *Sommerbrodt*, the well known editor of Lucian in the Weidmann collection, seems to have disregarded; in his general introduction he rejects the *Δημώνακτος βίος* as a genuine production of Lucian's, with the words: "eine stümperhafte characteristik" unworthy of the master of style. He makes no comments in defense of his abrupt condemnation, and yet it would have merited a fuller discussion, for Fritzsche, the editor *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of Lucian, unhesitatingly accepts the treatise. It cannot be because of any serious discrepancies in language between the wording of this treatise and the body of Lucian's writings, such a discrepancy as Guttentag has revealed in the *Toxaris*, where the awkward attempts at imitation make the difference of style only the more apparent; a survey of the style of the *βίος* fails to reveal any of those ineptitudes which might point to surreptitious authorship. The "blundering" quality of the description, as alleged by Sommerbrodt, must therefore appear from comparison with analogous works of our author, and such a work is preëminently that, in which he presents his other ideal philosopher, Nigrinus. Let us hear what he finds worthy of commendation in the treatise "Nigrinus": "its delicacy of observation and pregnancy in characterization." These are preëminently artistic qualities, but we may have *impressive* and *truthful* delineation of character, and yet not find these evidences of the artistic temper. And here we reach that distinguishing line, which, it seems to me, should settle the mooted question. The *Νιγρῖνος* is as

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truly a piece of artist-work as any of the earlier Platonic dialogues; subject-matter and form are of equal importance to Lucian; in reproducing the contents of Nigrinus' discourse, he wishes to show that it is the hand of a master in the literary art that shapes the environments of the whole; it is what the Germans are apt to call "ein literarisches Paradestück." How entirely different in intention and execution is the *βίος Δημώνακτος!* That it must have been written at a much later period than the Nigrinus, is manifest from this fact: The discourse delivered by Nigrinus marks the beginning of Lucian's philosophic studies; the *βίος* is composed after the death of Demonax, of whose philosophic method Lucian had gained intimate knowledge throughout a sympathetic intercourse of many years. Immaturity of style is therefore out of the question: the lack of elegance, the unadorned presentation of the salient points of Demonax' character will all explain themselves, if we remember that it is a *βίος*. From the Alexandrine period on, the general outlines of the *βίος* are definitely marked; the facts and tendencies of a life are supplemented by a store of anecdotes, illustrative of these facts and tendencies. According to the skill of the author we must either content ourselves with this scanty array, or else we find the theme appropriately introduced, judiciously disposed, and harmoniously concluded; and to this latter category we may fairly assign the biographical notice of Demonax, and credit Lucian with its composition, unless arguments of far greater weight than those hitherto advanced be adduced against his authorship.

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VI.—*Virgil and Plato.*

By ERNEST G. SIHLER, Ph.D.,

NEW YORK CITY.

I.

Professor Sellar of Edinburgh in his excellent volume on Virgil, page 313, speaks of the three great passages of the Aeneid in which the action is prophetically advanced into the Augustan age. These are: Aen. I 223–296, Jupiter's consolation to the mother of Aeneas; VI 756–860, vision of Roman worthies destined to ennoble Roman history; and VIII 626–731, the shield of Aeneas, wrought by Vulcan. "These, better than any other passages, serve to bring out the relation both of dependence on the Homeric epic, and of contrast with it, which characterizes the Virgilian epic." On the artistic plausibility it may be appropriate to comment further on. Now it is characteristic of the way in which Virgil follows Homer that as far as the order in his own epic is concerned, Virgil does not follow the succession of Homeric figures and episodes. The Virgilian Odyssey comes first and the Virgilian Iliad second, each occupying one-half of the Aeneid. Thus too in his Inferno: the Trojan hero's helmsman Palinurus who lost his life by accident, comes first, begging for burial 337–383, corresponding closely enough to Homer's Elpenor who lost his life by accident Od. XI 51–80. The dreary typical moan of Achilles over shadow life 489 *βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ*, has its palpable counterpart in the (more impersonal) lines of Virgil VI 436 sq.

> quam vellent aethere in alto
> nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!

The mute aversion of Dido, 469 sqq., corresponds to the way in which Ajax nurses his hatred even in the nether world, 543–564. The most woful thing in Virgil's Inferno is Deiphobus relating his destruction through the treachery of a woman, Helen, to Aeneas who had been ignorant of such an end of his friend. The prototype of this is Homer's Agamemnon

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relating his destruction through the treachery of a woman, Clytaemnestra, to Odysseus who had been ignorant of such an end of the former (387–464). The most prominent passage in Virgil's Inferno, where adaptation most nearly approaches translation, are the verses on Tityus 595 sqq. It is notable, too, that the Roman poet in one of his figures blends the functions of two distinct Homeric persons: the functions both of the seer Teiresias and of Odysseus' mother Anticleia are sustained by Anchises in Virgil's Inferno. But at a certain point the Roman poet utterly forsakes his Homeric guide. It is with this departure that our present inquiry is occupied. What does Virgil mean by it? Whence has he drawn his materials, if he does not move along alone? Have we here any proof of personal philosophy or of personal belief on the part of Virgil?

II.

After meeting his sire, the Roman hero, 703 sqq., beholds vast clouds of spirits hovering on the banks of the Lethaean stream. His father informs him that these—

> animae, quibus altera fato
> corpora debentur. Lethaei ad fluminis undam
> securos latices et longa oblivia potant. 713 sqq.

Naturally Aeneas is much astonished at this new coming into the flesh and its grounds and ends:—*quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?* Anchises, satisfying his curiosity, begins with a philosophic diatribe *ab ovo:* "At the beginning Spirit and Mind pervaded the universe, as life does the human body; and from this union of the universal mind and spirit with the dead primeval mass have sprung the individual living organisms; their life is a part and effluence of that cosmic life and spirit." Abstract as these statements are, they are not quite concise enough to permit us to attach them to a specific doctrine of one Greek thinker. Some points indeed suggest the cosmic doctrine of Plato as presented in the Timaeus, e. g. the idea of the *anima mundi*, Tim. 34 b *ψυχὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ θεὶς διὰ παντός τε ἔτεινε.* Plato also calls the universe a *ζῷον ἀΐδιον* Tim. p. 37 d. And there is some resemblance to Stoic teaching, cf. Ritter and Preller, 5 ed., § 412. So much,

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briefly, as to the beginning of life. Anchises then goes on, 730 sqq.,

> igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
> seminibus, quantum non corpora noxia tardant
> terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
> hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
> dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

These five lines I trust we can attach more distinctly to Platonic doctrines or reminiscences of such. Plato frequently treats of the incorporation and incarnation of spirit as a process of degradation by which the spiritual and mental faculties are fettered, cut short and weakened. Especially so in one dialogue which was much read and discussed at that time in Rome even in the courses of *rhetorical* instruction (vid. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Caecilius of Cale Acte, etc.), the Phaedrus. As for the present philosophic views, compare especially Phaedr. 246 d sqq. or 250 c, *καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι τούτου, ὃ νῦν σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὀστρέου τρόπον δεδεσμευμένοι.* As to the souls in Virgil's line being *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*, while living with the body on earth, see the famous passage, Rep. VII 514 sqq., where the human souls are compared with captives kept in a cave underground. The soul's power and sight is cramped like the outlook of these captives who can see only the shadows of the things and persons passing by reflected on a wall at the narrow mouth of the cave. Returning now to Virgil we find that the further doctrine is even more distinctly Platonic; Aen. VI 737 sqq.: Even after death men are still subject to a process of purgation and of atonement for the evils done in the flesh, in various ways, until the proper period has been exacted and the spots utterly removed. The same doctrine recurs in Plato again and again so often and indeed so elaborately set forth in mythic and half-mythic form, that there is no need of supposing with Nettleship (Suggestions introductory to a study of the Aeneid, Oxford, 1875, p. 30) that Virgil borrowed this from the Orphic poems. The Platonic dialogues which embody these doctrines were then as always amongst those which were most in the hands of philosophical readers and of literary and rhetorical scholars; they are principally

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the Gorgias, Phaedrus, Phaedo, Republic. As to the Apology, its conclusion is genuinely Socratic both in other regards and in this that nothing of purgation is advanced there. But at the conclusion of the Gorgias (the ideal apology of the best career), p. 526 sqq., we find the theory of retribution, atonement, and purgation, a myth which the author himself however considers a veritable λόγος: that judgment will be made by the standards of abstract and ideal justice, not of conventional and worldly morality. The myth at the end of the Phaedo is mainly concerned with the topography of the abode of the blessed and of the nether world; but the theory of the final reward is also brought out, e. g, 113 a; and with Virgil's statement of time (745),

> donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
> concretam exemit labem,

compare Plato's words (ibid.), *οὗ αἱ τῶν τετελεσμένων ψυχαὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καί τινας εἱμαρμένους χρόνους μείνασαι, αἱ μὲν μακροτέρους, αἱ δὲ βραχυτέρους, πάλιν ἐκπέμπονται εἰς τὰς τῶν ζῴων γενέσεις.* Very succinctly the doctrine is stated as a part of transcendental psychology in the Phaedrus 249 a: *αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι, ὅταν τὸν πρῶτον βίον τελευτήσωσι, κρίσεως ἔτυχον. κριθεῖσαι δὲ αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς δικαιωτήρια ἐλθοῦσαι δίκην ἐκτίνουσιν, αἱ δὲ κτέ.* The following Virgilian lines, 743–4, involve considerable difficulties for the commentators:

> quisque suos patimur manis; exinde per amplum
> mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus.

Virgil says of all those souls who have finished their purgation and atonement that they are sent through the vast Elysium, but that to a few only is granted the privilege of dwelling there, including in this instance the speaker Anchises himself. Are the eventual dwellers in Elysium at any stage of their life after death subjected to any degree or kind of atonement? Will they lead their Elysian life forever? The want of clearness in Virgil's life is unmistakable. Conington, who is not satisfied with the several suggestions of other commentators and critics, including Jahn and Munro, winds up a long note with the remark that "we have here one of the passages in the Aeneid which Virgil left unfinished." Here

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then there is a notable divergence from the line of Platonic doctrine if indeed we are sure of understanding Virgil aright. All souls according to him are compelled to go through some kind or degree of purgation. But in Plato (Gorg. 526 c) there present themselves *sometimes* (ἐνίοτε) those who have led a pure and just life, and who are sent to the isles of the blessed forthwith from the judgment seat. Again in the passage quoted from the Phaedrus above, 249 a; αἱ δὲ (opposed to those who δίκην ἐκτίνουσιν) εἰς τοὐρανοῦ τινὰ τόπον ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης κουφισθεῖσαι διάγουσιν ἀξίως οὗ ἐν ἀνθρώπου εἴδει ἐβίωσαν βίου. At the judgment seat, according to the *apologus of Er* in the Republic X 614 c, there are simply two categories of decisions and two classes of those dismissed: the δίκαιοι, who are bidden to go the way upward διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; and the others, who are despatched to the lower world. Returning now to Virgil's Anchises, we come to the important point of metempsychosis, 748,

> has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
> Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
> scilicet immemores super ut convexa revisant
> rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

The mille anni of Virgil are found in Plato in the same connection, Rep. X 615, εἶναι δὲ τὴν πορείαν χιλιέτη, both of those who were punished and of those who went to bliss; and also in the passage from Phaedrus 249 b τῷ δὲ χιλιοστῷ ἀμφότεραι ἀφικνούμεναι ἐπὶ κλήρωσίν τε καὶ αἵρεσιν τοῦ δευτέρου βίου. As for the god's calling up (evocat), Virgil no doubt has metempsychosis in his mind when he says, Aeneid IV 242,

> tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco
> pallentis.

In the present passage, the god calls them *all* up, and thus in Plato *all* souls come back from their thousand years' experience of reward or atonement, *descending* (Rep. X 614 d) from heaven or *ascending* from the earth below. All then with great pleasure move into the meadow where they stay for a while. And this the final portion of the entire process is the one which the visitor Aeneas is then himself witnessing in Virgil's poem: the state of expectancy which precedes the

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second terrestrial life of the souls who fill the river and there (715)

securos latices et longa oblivia potant.

As regards the Greek prototype, Conington suggests that it is a translation of Plato's words παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητον ποταμόν.

III.

We have reviewed this remarkable episode on transcendental psychology in Aeneid VI. It now behooves us to inquire after the *design* of this parabasis: what is it in the economy of the Epic? When Aeneas met his sire, the latter was just occupied (679) with reviewing the souls who were to become descendants and go into life, and in this review he was also studying their ordained lot of life, their character and deeds. This however was not prophetic vision. All these things were implied in the mere presentation of the several souls standing on the threshold of incarnation. The real purpose of this mystic and philosophic parenthesis is embodied in the words, 717 sqq.:

jam pridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.

The worthies of Roman history pass in review before the founders of the Julian house, and in their passing they exhibit as on a shield or on a coat of arms their character and career. Notice the order of this pageant. First come some names of the Alban period, then Romulus—a rapid and cursory review. From Romulus a great leap is taken to the Julian house; first the glory of Augustus' universal sway is described; then Caesar and the civil wars; the order of time is inverted. The poet's patron precedes. Then come the six remaining kings, each characterized in about two lines, and all within the limit of ten lines. The heroes of the Republic are reviewed in some twenty lines without any regard to the order of time, the Gracchi preceding the Scipios, and these again coming before Fabius Cunctator. The largest amount of space is given to the laudatio funebris of young Marcellus, the hope of Augustus, his son-in-law and heir apparent;

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twenty-five lines form the garland which the grateful poet hangs on the urn containing the ashes of his patron's and benefactor's beloved.

I now desire to show that this review of the souls of great Romans to come, is itself a close imitation of Plato: it is the shift by which the learned Virgil advances his Epic into a vista of Roman glory, and this contrivance he has borrowed from the Greek philosopher. The latter in his Phaedrus 249 b, c, says: "In the thousandth year they (the souls) come to the drawing of lots and to the choosing of second life, and they choose whichever each one will." Of this epitome the elaboration is found in the narrative of Er. The latter himself saw how the souls chose lots of life (Rep. X 617 c, sqq.) in accordance with definite examples and types: the life of tyrants both prosperous and wretched, the lives of famous men, of rich and poor. Some chose the opposites of their former life: thus Ulysses chose the life of a private person free from any great worry or trouble. But in the case of all, their course of second life was fully determined when once their choice was made and Er could review the several lives of the several men while they were on the threshold of a new incarnation. Anchises, therefore, in the Roman epic, is not a prophet; but he beholds those lives chosen by certain souls which Aeneas and the Sibyl see and review from the hill past which the souls move; a mere plain prediction put into the mouth of Anchises would have been too severe a strain upon the opportunities of the pure Epic, and so the learned Roman has resorted to a shift which he very probably owes to the scheme of metempsychosis set forth especially in Plato: All the transcendental psychology in Anchises' exposition was merely a necessary introduction leading up to metempsychosis. Virgil as a beneficiary of Augustus was obliged to advance his narrative from the mythical beginning to the historical end, and to the Augustan present in which he lived. The glorification of Augustus and the glorious past back of the civil wars were, to the utilitarian Augustus, objects the treatment of which he expected and desired from his literary beneficiaries.

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His great aim was the *consolidation* of that empire for the possession of which he himself had waged five civil wars. This is the reason why Maecenas so urgently begged Horace to essay a great heroic Epic and why Horace, who had taken his own literary measure correctly, refused (Carm. 2, 12, 1),

> nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
> nec dirum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
> poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
> aptari citharae modis.

IV.

It now remains to inquire into the philosophical reading or philosophical convictions of Virgil. At the age of seventeen Virgil came to Rome where he studied both grammar and rhetoric, and also philosophy under the guidance of the Epicurean Siro (Σείρων). Compare the lines from the Catalecta (VII),

> nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,
> magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,
> vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.

There is little doubt that the gentle and reverential spirit of Virgil had little sympathy for the bold and bald statements of Epicurean physics and ethics. But Epicurism was the doctrine of the day in the Roman world. "Epicuri ratio quae plerisque notissima est," says Cicero, De Finibus I, 13; cf. Ritter, History of Greek and Roman philosophy, IV, p. 84 sqq. Virgil formed some historical and learned acquaintance with Epicurean philosophy, and in the earlier portion of his career he exhibits vestiges of his philosophic preferences. Thus in Ecl. 6, 31 sqq. Silenus sang,

> uti magnum per inane coacta
> semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent
> et liquidi simul ignis, etc.

The same poem betrays a kind of blending of philosophic tenets with the conventional and traditional forms of mythology. Another Epicurean doctrine is suggested Ecl. 8, 35:

> nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam.

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In Georg. I 415 sqq. we have a passage which controverts a view held probably by the Stoics: speaking of the joyful cawing and fluttering of crows at the end of rain-storms, the poet goes on by explaining,

> haut equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
> ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia major,

but from purely physical causes. The Stoics explained instinct and similar phenomena in organic nature as manifestations of the anima mundi which pervaded the universe and the practical effect of which constituted providence itself (cf. Ritter and Preller, 5th ed., p. 392). The Epicurean aim of emancipating the soul through a full understanding of the natural history of the universe is clearly presented in Georg. II 490 sqq.,

> felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere caussas
> atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
> subjecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Compare the exposition of this practical point in sede doctrinae, Lucretius I 62 sqq. The passage too on the generative principle in nature (Georg. III 242 sqq.) reminds one of Lucretius. The Stoic argument of deducing the anima mundi from the instinct of bees, e. g., is again introduced, IV 220,—

> his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
> esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus
> aetherios dixere,—

without the adding of any controversy however on the part of the poet himself. Professor Sellar, pages 119–257, has discussed at some length the influence exerted by Lucretius' de Rerum natura on the Georgica of Virgil, from the several points of view coming into question, and on p. 38 Mr. Sellar says concisely: "Virgil may have been as assiduous a student of philosophy as Lucretius, but he does not feel the same need of consistency of view and firmness of speculative conviction." At no time probably in the history of Roman letters had so much attention been bestowed upon the Greek philosophic writers as prevailed at the end of the Republic and at the beginning of the Augustan age. The evolution of Greek philosophy had been completed, and this varied inheritance

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of letters was becoming an intellectual or spiritual property of many; but more were they to whom these things were mainly matters of erudition. Lucretius, the thorough-going Epicurean, shows ample acquaintance (book I) with Thales, Anaximander, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras. In the Augustan age, as was noted above, there was a great deal of philosophic study involved or implied in the courses of rhetorical instruction, and their very refined and advanced character is reflected in the rhetorical and critical monographs and controversies of Dionysius, where, e. g., the chronological order of Aristotle's books was quoted in an argument intended to defend the originality of rhetorical composition in Demosthenes. In the preceding generation, Caesar, Cicero, Brutus, and Atticus had studied at one or more seats of Greek erudition. Augustus, Horace, and others had done the same in the present generation (Sueton. Aug. 89). It was the correct thing for eminent men to keep a Greek philosophic scholar in their establishment. Cicero in his day wrote (Tuscul. 2, 8); Platona reliquosque Socraticos..... legunt omnes; in most of Cicero's philosophic books are evidences of his Greek philosophic library. Augustus himself wrote Hortationes ad Philosophiam (Sueton. Aug. 85), and on the Palatinus he built (Ibid. 29) porticus cum Bibliotheca Latina Graecaque. At one time, too, when all foreigners were expelled from the capital, the physicians and teachers were favored by an exception. Horace in many places reflects the philosophic reading of the day; thus, Carm. 1, 29, 13:

> cur tu coemptos undique nobilis
> libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
> mutare loricis Hiberis,
> pollicitus meliora, tendis?

or Epodes 8, 15 sq.,

> quid quod libelli Stoici inter Sericos
> jacere pulvillos amant?

Cf. Sat. 2, 3, 11, 43 sqq.

So much for the philosophic erudition of the day. If we return to Virgil and direct our attention to the very decided contrast between the Epicurism in his earlier writings and

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the half-mythic Platonism in Aen. VI, are we to assume a grave and deliberate change of schools? Prof. Sellar (p. 84) is of opinion that the tenets advanced in the Aeneid present real philosophic convictions of Virgil; Mr. Nettleship (Introduction, pp. 11, 13, 38) takes them at least as seriously. I hesitate to dissent from these eminent scholars; but it seems safer to me to consider the philosophic element of Aen. VI merely as a matter of erudition. Virgil had a practical desire to advance the legend of Aeneas into the glorious future of Roman history and Roman greatness and so down to the universal empire of Caesar Augustus. The metempsychosis of Plato offered to his learned glance a convenient literary shift to accomplish that practical aim. One thing more should be noticed. Some years before the Aeneid was in its long course of construction, Cicero wrote his de Republica, which, in imitation of Plato's Πολιτεία, he wound up by a vision, the Somnium Scipionis. There the first Africanus spoke to the second about eminent Roman dead and about the life of the soul: about the deceased qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt (p. 241, ed. of Baiter and Kayser); Macrobius (p. 238) speaks of Cicero as indicans quo his perveniendum vel potius *revertendum* sit, qui rempublicam cum prudentia fortitudine ac moderatione tractaverint. Cicero's imitation or adaptation of Plato seems to have been a very accurate one; it is, then, quite probable that the apologus of the Platonic Er suggested itself all the more readily to the learned eye of Virgil. Erudition was a principal element in Virgil's preparation and work. He did not rely on bursts of poetic inspiration; but, rather, with his compeer Horace, he could truly say,

> me *doctarum* hederae praemia *frontium*
> Dis miscent superis.

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VII.—*The Battle of Mons Graupius.*

By WILLIAM F. ALLEN,

PROFESSOR OF LATIN AND HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

The battle in which, after a resistance of many years, the people of northern Britain were finally defeated and the subjugation of the island was completed, is described by Tacitus in the 35th, 36th, and 37th chapters of his Life of Agricola; a splendid piece of narrative, which is said to have inspired Milton in one of his most famous descriptions. The account of this battle is no doubt the most perplexing passage in the work in which it is contained, its inherent difficulties being increased by the uncertainties and corruption of the text. Not feeling entirely satisfied with the explanation given to this passage in any of the commentaries with which I am acquainted, I have thought that the difficulties arose largely from a failure to comprehend the operations of the battle as a whole: and that the successive points of detail in these operations could be best understood, and especially that the uncertainties of the text could be best cleared up, from the point of view of the military operations. My aim, in the present paper, is to obtain a clear and consecutive notion of the operations of the battle, and incidentally to discuss the successive questions of text and commentary as they arise.

First a word as to the locality of the battle. It was observed by Wex that the manuscript reading, Chap. 29, is not *ad montem Grampium*, but *Graupium;* it was by some error on the part of the early editors that the more familiar name made its way into the text. But Wex did not know that the familiar name finds as little support in Scotch geography, as in Latin manuscripts. The "Grampian Hills" of our modern maps, of Scotch tourists, and of the friend of our youth, Norval, are wholly a modern invention. The name does not occur before the fifteenth century, and appears to have been adopted from an erroneous reading of Tacitus' Agricola. But even supposing that the name were a genuine one, and were

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found in the manuscripts, we could not identify it with the "Grampian Hills." It would be hard to believe that Agricola carried his troops more than fifty miles in a straight line from his base of operations upon the Frith of Forth, into the savage and barbarous Highlands; even so great a general as Agricola could hardly have escaped a defeat as signal as that of Varus had been, or as that which was sustained sixteen hundred years later on the same ground, in the fatal field of Killiecrankie. It should be remarked, further, that this hill *quem jam hostis insederat* cannot readily be understood to be a range, like the Grampians, but a detached hill or ridge. Moreover, it is certain from the narrative in the twenty-ninth chapter that the Roman commander did not march inland, but along the coast; this follows necessarily from the words "*praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret.*" Most certainly this fleet did not ascend the Tay to the Grampius mountains. The Graupian mount of Tacitus must therefore in all probability have been in Fifeshire, not very far from the northern coast of the Frith of Forth.

The account of the battle begins in the thirty-fifth chapter, with a description of the arrangement of the Roman troops, followed by that of the Caledonians. The order of the Roman troops presents no difficulties until we reach an allusion at the close of the chapter. Agricola, like a thrifty husbandman, kept his legions, consisting of Roman troops, entirely in reserve; and, as we shall see, they took no part in the battle whatever. The whole brunt of the battle was thrown upon the auxiliaries—eight thousand infantry, composing the main line, with three thousand cavalry upon the wings. The order of the Britons, on the other hand, is less certain, and is a matter of a good deal of importance. They occupied higher ground, the front rank being upon the level ground, *aequo*, the other ranks rising gradually up the slope. The cavalry, instead of being stationed upon the wings, like that of the Romans, occupied the level ground between the two armies. Here we find the first point of difficulty; the text reads *media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat.* This

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reading is retained by most of the best editors—Kritz, Halm, Dräger, Church and Brodribb—and is explained to mean that the war-chariots (*covinnarius*) were a kind of cavalry. They certainly may be so regarded, but we know from Caesar that the Britons had cavalry as well as war-chariots, and the two arms are carefully distinguished by him: B. G. iv. 24, *equitatu et essedariis;* iv. 32, *equitatu atque essedis;* v. 15, *equites hostium essedariique.* And it would be very strange if in this important battle they used no cavalry except these clumsy war-chariots. We shall find, moreover, when we come to the operations of the battle in the next chapter, that the account is much simpler and clearer if we suppose there were both cavalry and war-chariots in the ranks of the Britons. I prefer, therefore, in this passage to follow the older editions and insert *et* between *covinnarius* and *eques.* A simple emendation here will preclude the necessity of a more extensive emendation further on.

The armies being thus drawn up, Agricola, seeing that the enemy largely outnumbered him, and fearing to be outflanked, had his choice of two alternatives. His officers advised him to bring up the legions; he held, however, to his determination, to keep these in reserve, and preferred to extend his line, at the risk of making it too thin and weak, and thus exposing it to an attack on the flank. The expression used here is, in the manuscripts, *simul in frontem simul et latera,* a harsh expression at best, and hardly grammatical. It is usually corrected by omitting the first *simul,* so as to read *in frontem simul et latera,* a perfectly good expression. I will suggest that a simpler emendation would be to change *et* into *ad,* a quite common change, in which case we should read *simul in frontem simul ad latera.*

There is one more difficulty in this chapter, where Agricola is said, after dismissing his horse, to have taken his stand *pedes ante vexilla.* What were the *vexilla* here referred to? Both Kritz, and Church and Brodribb explain them as being the same as the *legionum vexilla* in the eighteenth chapter; that is, detached bodies of legionary troops. Such detached bodies, it is well known, were placed under a *praefectus,* and

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were provided with a *vexillum*, or cloth standard, leaving their *signa*, or metal standards, with the legion. Church and Brodribb add that among the *peditum auxilia*, composing the main line, "would be several bodies of troops, termed *vexilla;*" forgetting that the *vexilla* were legionary troops, and that Tacitus has said that this line was composed of auxiliaries only. I cannot think, therefore, that this explanation is correct; at the same time I cannot present any other explanation with confidence, because I have not been able to find any authority as to the use of the *vexillum* by the auxiliaries. I cannot help thinking, however, that the *vexilla* here mentioned were simply the standards of the auxiliaries, as *signa* were the standards of the legion. Even supposing that there were detached bodies of legionary troops mixed in with the auxiliaries, I can see no reason why the general should have stood directly in front of these; but it is wholly credible that a commander like Agricola placed himself in front of the standards of his main line, themselves being placed somewhat in advance of the line. The matter is of no practical importance in the interpretation of the passage. In either case the substance is the same, that Agricola took his stand in front of his troops to lead them into battle.

The battle began (see chapter 36) *eminus*, with a throwing of missiles on both sides. In this the Britons evidently had the best of it, being easily able with their great broadswords and small bucklers to ward off the Roman missiles, while they themselves showered an abundance upon the Romans. Agricola, seeing this, hastened to have recourse to the genuine Roman method of fighting *cominus:* "The race that shortens its weapons lengthens its boundaries," says the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. Agricola sent in his Batavian cohorts and two cohorts of Tungrians, who soon changed the face of things. For the enormous swords of the Britons, having no point, are not suited to fighting *in aperto*, say the manuscripts; but most editors with good reason change *aperto* to *arto:* fighting "in the open," *in aperto*, is just what the broadsword is fit for; but it is not suited to close quarters, *in arto*. The Caledonian infantry were therefore soon routed, and the

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Roman cohorts (it should be observed that the auxiliary *cohorts* are here as elsewhere clearly distinguished from the Roman *legions*) pushed up the hill after them.

So far the account of the battle has presented no serious difficulties, and the course of the operations is simple and intelligible. But now follows a passage of great difficulty. In the rest of the chapter the reading of the manuscripts is very corrupt, and in many places must be emended in order to give any meaning at all.

It begins: *Interim equitum turmae fugê: covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere; et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant.*

The first question that arises is: what were these *equitum turmae?*

The word *turma* is the most general one for divisions of cavalry; it is used for the cavalry of the early Roman legion, for subdivisions of the *alae* or large bodies of auxiliary cavalry, and for the cavalry of foreign or barbarous nations. The word *ala*, on the other hand, has a fixed signification, being applied to the cavalry of the auxiliaries in the Roman army. It is never used for any other bodies of cavalry, and is regularly, if not invariably, used for these. It has therefore as distinct and technical a meaning for auxiliary cavalry as *cohortes* for auxiliary infantry. Now most editors take these *equitum turmae* to be the three thousand auxiliaries who stood upon the wings of Agricola's army; and this is certainly possible, inasmuch as these auxiliaries must have been divided into *turmae*. But it is almost certain that they would have been spoken of as *alae*, as we shall see is the case in the next chapter. Moreover the reading is *equitum turmae fugere;* and as as Agricola's cavalry certainly did not run away, the editors who take the *equitum turmae* to have belonged to the Roman army (among them Halm, Kritz, and Dräger) insert *ut* before *fugere*, and change the punctuation, so that the passage reads: *interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere:* "the Roman cavalry, after the flight of the war-chariots, mingled in the infantry battle." It is an objection to this, although perhaps in itself not a

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very strong argument, that it assumes, without saying, that the war-chariots as well as the infantry had been repulsed. This is certainly not impossible; I prefer, however, the reading of the text, as on the whole, without any emendation, presenting a more natural order of operations. As I have said above, it seems probable that the Britons had cavalry as well as war-chariots, *covinnarii et eques;* the insertion of *et* in this passage makes it unnecessary to change the passage now under consideration, and the *equitum turmae* as well as the *covinnarii* may be referred to the Britons. I interpret the passage to mean that the British cavalry were repulsed, while the war-chariots mixed themselves in the infantry battle. By this they at first partly restored the day, *recentem terrorem intulerant*, but were soon brought to a stand, *haerebant*, on the uneven ground closely crowded with the ranks of their own men, called by Tacitus, from his point of view, *hostium.*

This view appears to take no note of the cavalry of the Romans, who can hardly be supposed to have been inactive; and probably a portion of the cavalry had already joined the infantry in the pursuit of the retreating Britons. But the greater part of the cavalry, as we learn from the next chapter, were still held in reserve. The *ala* of cavalry consisted of either 480 or 960 men; the three thousand cavalry, therefore, mentioned in the preceding chapter, composed at most six *alae.* Now in Chap. 37 we find mention of four *alae*, which had been held in reserve for emergencies; not more than a third of the cavalry could therefore have been engaged up to this time. This is a strong argument against considering the *equitum turmae* to have been Roman; there would have been some restricting or defining expression, if it had referred to only one third of the body. A still more decisive objection is that the course of the battle as depicted by the reading adopted by Halm, Kritz, and Dräger makes the Romans to have been worsted at this point, while the sequence shows that this was not the case. Church and Brodribb retain the reading of the manuscripts, giving it the interpretation that I have done. But at the same time they retain the manuscript reading *covinnarius eques*, and thus make no provision for Caledonian

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cavalry. It seems to me indispensable either to insert an *et* in the one place or an *ut* in the other.

The condition of things, therefore, at this point, seems to be as follows. A hard infantry battle is going on upon the slope of the hill, the war-chariots attempting ineffectually to support the infantry of their countrymen; the cavalry of the Britons has disappeared, while a part of the Roman cavalry must be understood to have accompanied the infantry directly into the fight. Now follows a very corrupt and perplexing passage: *miêque equestres ea enim pugnae facies erat, cum egra diu aut stante simul equorum corporibus impellerentur.* These words, taken by themselves, are wholly unintelligible. The difficulties lie chiefly in *equestres* and *diu*, which have been emended respectively into *aequa nostris* and *clivo*. I can see no reason for the first change. The rest of this chapter is occupied with a description of the confusion caused by empty chariots and riderless horses, and the next chapter begins with an attempt of the Britons to take the victorious Romans in the rear. Evidently the battle was not *minime aequa nostris* at this juncture, and although I cannot suggest any entirely satisfactory expression of this hopelessly corrupt passage, yet it seems to me that it was the most natural thing in the world for Tacitus to say, as Livy does of the battle of Cannae,* that the look of the battle was not that of a cavalry engagement. The war-chariots on one side, and the three thousand cavalry on the other, were in full action; but they were so intermixed and confused with the infantry, that the writer only goes on to describe this confusion—*equorum corporibus impellerentur—vagi currus—exterriti sine rectoribus equi—transversos aut obvios incursabant.* The other emendation, *clivo* for *diu*, seems every way good; only I should read with Halm and Dräger, *adstantes* (for *aut stante*), rather than *instantes* with Kritz. *Adstantes* not merely resembles more nearly the manuscript reading, but is the proper word to use for the Britons (see *adstiterant*, a few lines above), while *instantes* would naturally apply to the Romans making their way up the hill.

* Book xxii. ch. 47, *minime equestris more pugnae.*

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The thirty-seventh chapter begins with an attempt of certain British forces which had up to this time taken no part in the battle, to take the Romans in the rear, *circumire terga vincentium coeperunt;* and this expression, showing that the Romans still had the better of their antagonists, completely disproves Kritz' reading *minime aequa*, with his interpretation of the previous words, referring the check in the words *haerebant* to the Roman cavalry. Agricola met this aggressive movement by bringing up four *alae* of cavalry which had until now been held in reserve; auxiliary cavalry of course, inasmuch as the term *ala* is confined to divisions of auxiliary cavalry. The mention of this reserve of four *alae* implies that the rest of this cavalry was already engaged, as I have assumed. It also serves to support the opinion already expressed that the *equitum turmae* were British; the word *alae* would probably have been used had it been the Roman cavalry. Not merely were the advancing Britons repulsed, but the fresh cavalry were themselves carried round to the enemies' rear, *aversam hostium aciem invasere.*

The description of the slaughter which followed is in the picturesque style characteristic of Tacitus, but calls for no special remark. The enemy appears to have been steadily pushed up the hill until they reached a piece of woods which has not been mentioned before, where they again made a stand, and gained some advantages by their familiarity with the ground. And again Agricola called up fresh troops, this time infantry, *validas et expeditas cohortes*, who searched the woods in conjunction with mounted and dismounted cavalry. These fresh troops must also have been auxiliaries. It is true the word *cohortes* is not decisive, although this is the term regularly used for the auxiliary infantry, in contrast with the Roman legions; for the legions too were divided into cohorts, just as the *alae* were divided into *turmae.* But if it had been detachments from the legions, the word *manipulos* would have been more likely to be used, and at any rate the statement that they were light-armed, *expeditas*, proves that they were auxiliaries; for the Roman legion contained at this period no light-armed soldiers. The same thing is proved by the fact that the officer

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killed in this engagement, Aulus Atticus, is called *praefectus cohortis;* the term *praefectus* is never used for a legionary officer. This movement finally brought the resistance to an end; the British lines broke and fled, and the conquest of Britain was complete.

It appears, if this sketch is correct, that the battle was fought by Agricola wholly with his front line, of auxiliaries; the legionary soldiers not being brought into the engagement at all. It appears further that there was never any serious check—except, indeed, at the very beginning of the contest—and never any actual repulse. The battle nevertheless was in three distinct stages, or rather presented three distinct crises. First, when the fighting *eminus* proved ineffectual, a charge of Batavians and Tungrians was ordered, followed no doubt by a portion of the cavalry; the fighting was then upon the hill-side, confused and disorderly, especially by reason of the presence of the war-chariots. The second crisis was the attempt of the Caledonians to take the Romans in the rear; this was frustrated by the prompt bringing up of divisions of cavalry, which themselves came round upon the rear of the enemy, and effected a general slaughter. The third was the fight in the woods, determined likewise by the commander bringing up fresh troops, with which the victory was secured.

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VIII.—*On Inconsistency in Views of Language.*

By W. D. WHITNEY,

PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.

If the study of language is to reach and maintain the rank of a science, those who arrogate to themselves the position and authority of teachers of it ought above all things to see that the views they put forth are fairly consistent throughout. Attention to this would remove at least a good part of the lamentable discordance of view which now prevails among them respecting even matters of fundamental consequence. There is a body of well-ascertained and undeniable facts within the reach of every linguistic student sufficient, if logically combined, to establish an abiding outline of scientific doctrine —one which, however much it may be filled in and made more definite by the labors of coming generations of investigators, will be neither swept away nor essentially altered.

As a noteworthy example of the errors arising from carelessness of logical consistency, we may take the opinions brought forward by certain contemporary authorities respecting the relations to one another of dialects and languages.* There is a connected series of objectionable doctrines on this subject, which, so far as has been observed, began with M. Renan, being laid down by him in his work on the "Origin of Language" (second edition, 1858; it has been since more than once reissued). In the eighth chapter of that ingenious and eloquent work, the author calls attention to the "impossibility of a homogeneous language spoken over a considerable territory in a rude state of society;" and adds that "civilization alone can spread languages through great masses of population." No careful scholar will think of differing with M. Renan on these points; nor, indeed, will he dispute the

* In the paper as read before the Association, and since printed, in substantially the same form, in the American Journal of Philology (vol. i., pp. 327–343), this specimen of the common offenses against consistency was much more briefly treated; it has seemed best to make the fuller discussion of it here a substitute for the already published original article.

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theoretical soundness of the latter's inference: namely, that "at the beginning there were as many dialects as families—I might almost say, as individuals." Only, he will ask, how many families, or individuals, are we to regard as having been in existence "at the beginning"? M. Renan's conception of a beginning seems to be a somewhat peculiar one; for he immediately goes on to say that "each group of men formed its language on a foundation established, indeed, by an anterior tradition, but following its own instincts," and so on: a "beginning," accordingly, with an "anterior tradition" behind it! Such a "beginning" can, it should seem, only be that of our historical knowledge of the communities in question; and this, as abundantly appears from other parts of his work, is the author's real meaning. He everywhere evinces the utmost unwillingness to allow that the pre-historic periods of language-growth are to be investigated by analogical inference from its historic periods; as we actually find the facts to be when they come within our field of view, such they must have been from the outset. Hence it is that he holds every language to have been produced "at a single stroke," its whole characteristic structure complete at the start, "like Minerva sprung from the brain of Jove"—a comparison which provokes the reply that it precisely fixes the *status* of the author's doctrine: as science, the one thing is just as acceptable as the other. All our knowledge of the history of language shows that changes, and quite especially changes of structure, are of very gradual, or even extremely slow, progress and accomplishment; and the bringing into being of a tongue like the Indo-European by a single effort of its speakers could only be paralleled with the production of a full-grown and completely armed goddess from that womb of masculine products the brain, after a slight headache, with the cæsarean aid of a blacksmith's hammer. The facts appealed to by M. Renan in support of his theory of original indefinite dialectic variety are, among others, the extreme diversity of the Polynesian languages: which, accordingly, represents to him the beginning of things in that wide-spread linguistic family. What to others appears the unquestionable certainty with reference

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to these languages does not even rise before his mind as a possibility: namely, that their extension has taken place in connection with the growth and migration of a single limited community, of uniform speech, which necessarily involved the divarication of the forms of that speech: a process so abundantly illustrated for us in the recorded history of language, and so well understood in all its parts, that to refuse to apply it to explain the facts of language-distribution in general seems equivalent to shutting one's eyes. To illustrate by a nearly parallel case: we find occupying most of southern and a part of central Europe a large body of communities, using languages which show in abundance correspondences of the kind called by us dialectic: thus, they all alike say something like *tu* for 'thou,' and *pater* for 'father,' and *fuit* for 'was,' and so on. If we simply found these dialects thus distributed, and had no information as to their history save what their existence and distribution gives us, M. Renan's method applied would require us to speak of them thus: "No uniform language could possibly have been spoken in prehistoric times of darkness over so wide a region; hence these mutually resembling tongues cannot be the descendants of one original; they are examples of the infinite dialectic variety of primitive speech, out of which sometimes grows a uniform language." M. Renan does not draw this particular conclusion, because it is refuted by historical record; he only inculcates the necessity of drawing it in the other analogous instances where history happens to be silent.

And the same thing is done, in the plainest and most outspoken way, by another noted writer and reputed authority on language, Professor Müller of Oxford in England. The special occasion of this scholar's denial of an original unity as underlying and antedating dialectic variety is his treatment of the Germanic dialects (in the fifth lecture of his first published course). We will glance through his reasonings on the subject, which are marked with even more than his usual vagueness and ambiguity. After pointing out that we can follow Low German and High German back to about the 7th century of our era, he says "we must not suppose that before

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that time there was *one* common Teutonic language," etc. This might seem to mean only that there was no unity of speech subsisting all the way down to the period named, a doctrine from which no one would think of dissenting; but he immediately goes on: "There never was a common, uniform Teutonic language; nor is there any evidence to show that there existed at any time a uniform High-German or Low-German language, from which all High-German and Low-German dialects are respectively derived." One is a little puzzled by the difference here: why should the existence of a general Germanic mother-tongue be categorically denied, while respecting that of a general High-German or Low-German it is only denied that there exists evidence to prove it? But what Müller understands by the absence of evidence is set in a peculiar light by the next sentence, where he points out that we cannot derive Anglo-Saxon and the rest from "the continental Saxon of the 9th century:" a quite needless statement, having no bearing whatever on the topic under discussion, since no one ever thought of making such a derivation. What in the view of others is the real and sufficient evidence is mentioned by him a sentence further on, where he allows "that, with every century that we go back, the convergence of these dialects becomes more and more decided." Steadily converging lines, it is generally held, will be found to meet if one follows them up far enough; or, if they run off the field and we lose their trace, we still hold that they *would* be found to meet if we *could* follow them up; and there is no difficulty about applying the analogy to the history of language, because we have abundant historical examples of a unitary language divaricating into dialects, and understand very well the operation of the causes that bring about such a result. But Müller, overlooking all this, merely repeats in the same sentence his assertion that "there is no evidence to justify us in admitting the historical reality of one primitive and uniform Low-German language:" he continues, "this is a mere creation of grammarians who cannot understand a multiplicity of dialects without a common type;"—to which we may further add, "and rejected only by those who are not

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grammarians enough to understand that a multiplicity of dialects absolutely demands for its explanation a common type." As a closing argument, he declares a little later that the various tribes which descended upon the Roman empire had already their dialects, High and Low and so on—which is much as if an Englishman were to assert that Müller himself had never been an infant, because when he first descended on the British empire, thirty years and more ago, he was just as full-grown a man as he is at present. Indeed, it is worse; for we should unquestionably find in their dialects, if we had record of them, a more decided degree of that "convergence" which points unmistakably to an original unity.

Professor Müller, in all this, evidently occupies the same point of view with M. Renan; when he had gotten thus far in his exposition, his imaginative eye was filled with the spectacle of a broad and half-savage Germany and Scandinavia, filled with a host of separate and mutually hostile tribes; and he is perfectly certain, as well he may be, that these tribes cannot possibly have spoken one uniform language. To make this point of view more manifest, he says: "As there were families, clans, confederacies, and tribes, before there was a nation, so there were dialects before there was a language:" thus it read in the first editions, the author having forgotten that every dialect is a language, and every language (of a family, like the Indo-European, at any rate) only a dialect. Now the cadence has been amended to "before there was one classical language;" but the change has not been to the advantage of the author's argument; in place of an error it has substituted a truism, to which no one, indeed, can object, but from which also no one can derive any conclusion. The rise of a single dialect to the dignity of "classical language" —as in the case of the Parisian French, the Tuscan Italian, the Castilian Spanish, and the modern High-German—of course implies the prior existence of a variety of dialects; but this does not touch the question respecting the origin of the various dialects: whether, namely, as the Romanic dialects came into being by the extension and divarication of a unitary Roman speech, the Germanic dialects also sprang by a like

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process from a unitary Germanic speech. In this particular connection, it did not occur to Professor Müller to look further back, and ask himself how there should have come to be clans and tribes and so on in the wide region he was contemplating. As things go on in this world of ours, they must, it should seem, either have been created, one and all, on the spot where we find them, or have come thither by immigration. Does Müller, or any other living man, really believe the former? It is not to be credited except on his own direct and unqualified declaration—if even then. But if immigration was the populating cause, we have to look to see in what way it acted; and if we find the clans and tribes to resemble one another in their physical and mental characteristics and in their social institutions, including language, and if, above all, we have the means of following up their languages for some distance, and find them to "decidedly converge," how can we possibly avoid inferring that the region was filled by the multiplication and spread of an originally limited community, of homogeneous customs and speech—a spread which necessarily brings with it a dialectic divarication like that which we have before us? Whether it was an extension into vacant territory, or involved a partial displacement and a partial absorption and assimilation of an earlier population, is obviously unessential, though a matter of much interest, to be determined, if possible, on any evidence found attainable. When, therefore, Mr. Müller goes on to assert that "the grammarian who postulates a historical reality for the one primitive type of Teutonic speech, is no better than the historian who believes in a Francus, the grandson of Hector, and the supposed ancestor of all the Franks, or in a Brutus, the mythical father of all the Britons," he makes a comparison of which he himself, on a little reflection, cannot but see and acknowledge the falsity. We do not question that the Franks and the Britons had ancestors, and, far enough back, a narrowly limited number of them; and this is the truth whose concession is really analogous with the assumption of an originally unitary Germanic tongue; nor can either the one or the other possibly be avoided. But to talk of Francus and Brutus is equivalent to what it would be

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to maintain that the original Germanic community came from a certain point in a stated year and settled on such a river, and that they were so many families and bore such and such names. Any grammarians whom our author can find teaching this may be readily abandoned to his ridicule; until they are discovered, the laugh is rather against himself.

What is strangest, however, about these views of Professor Müller's is that they form part of a chapter which has for its object to establish, on the authority of an obvious "convergence of dialects," the unity of the great family of languages of which the Germanic constitute only a branch, and the fact that at some time long ago "there must have existed a language more primitive than Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, and forming the common background of these three, as well as of the Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavonic branches of speech." It is, in fact, in no small measure on the authority of Müller that the English-speaking public so widely believe the languages of a great part of Europe and Asia to be the common descendants of an original Aryan (so he prefers to call it) tongue, developed to a certain degree of fulness of forms in a single community, and handed down from them by living tradition in an ever increasing number of diverging lines. His books, like those of every other writer on language, are as it were permeated by the doctrine of Aryan unity. What should have led him at this particular point to go off upon another tack, denying the validity of methods on which he elsewhere relies, probably not he himself, certainly not any other person, could tell. This aspect of the matter, perhaps, happened to strike his mind, and he set it down, in his genial way, heedless of its inconsistency with what he was accustomed to teach in general. But the methods of linguistic investigation are not thus to be played fast and loose with. If the converging lines of Germanic and Italic and Greek and Indian speech conduct to an original unity, then those of High and Low German and Scandinavian and Gothic must do the same. We are accustomed to call "dialectic" such correspondences as, according to our experience and knowledge of language, are only to be explained by common descent from one original.

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We can conceive of some one's denying this whole inference of kinship and ultimate unity, just as of some one's denying the Copernican system or the truths of geology, if his knowledge, or his sense of the connection of cause and effect, is of a kind and degree to let him do so; we can even conceive of a person as recognizing dialectic divergence where it has taken place in historic time, as in the case of the Romanic tongues, but refusing to believe in it where it is pre-historic, as in Germanic and "Aryan" and Polynesian; what is hardest to understand is the state of mind of a man who accepts one pre-historic case and denies another of the same kind. To hold, in short, that such diversity in unity as characterizes the Germanic dialects is to be accounted for otherwise than by the variation of a common original is to throw away that law of uniformity which alone makes the study of language a possible science. Dialects are related languages; and relationship is only by common descent; to claim that there were dialects before there was a language is like claiming that there were fathers and brothers and nephews before there were men.

The passage here discussed is not, however, the only one in which Professor Müller has brought forward views respecting the relationship of languages which are wholly at variance with, or subversive of, linguistic science. A kindred and even more remarkable doctrine is to be found in the third of his Lectures on the Science of Religion (delivered in 1870, published in book form in 1873), being there for the first time, so far as noticed, broached by him. Long before, at the very outset of his career as writer on the general subject of language, he had been the responsible author of a classification of the languages of the world which divided them, with insignificant exceptions, into three families, Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian—the last being a sort of *omnium gatherum*, or refuse-heap, into which were thrown together all those tongues of which philologists, or at least the authors of this classification, did not know enough to put them into separate well-defined groups. The division and nomenclature were strongly opposed from the beginning, and, it is believed, never

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accepted by other scholars of independent authority: although gaining, of course, a degree of popular currency which has not even yet been wholly lost. It is not without evident reference to the general condemnation passed by competent critics upon his trio of speech-families that Müller, in the lecture referred to, adverts to the subject thus: "People wonder why the students of language [really, himself alone] have not succeeded in establishing more than three families of speech—or rather two, for the Turanian can hardly be called a family," until the Chinese shall be fitted with a place in it. "The reason why scholars have discovered no more than these two or three great families of speech is very simple. There were no more, and we cannot make more. Families of languages are very peculiar formations; they are, and they must be, the exception, not the rule, in the growth of language." Here, now, is something entirely new and original, for which a parallel may be sought in vain throughout the whole body of previously existing discussions of language; and it plainly calls for a careful examination on our part.

Müller allows the so-called Aryan or Indo-European languages to constitute a family: and on what ground? Simply because in this body of speech, existing or recorded, there have been found traces of common material and common structure sufficient to give us good ground for believing that the languages are related to one another: that is, that they are descended from one ancestor; or, dropping the figure, that they are the altered representatives of a common original. In the term "family," as used in the science of language, there is involved no other meaning than that of relationship as thus defined; neither the number of members, nor the antiquity of their traceable lineage, nor the elegance of their culture, nor their wealth in literature, nor their prominence in the history of mankind, has anything to do with it. From the scientific point of view it is not allowed to speak of the two or three families of language as one might speak of the two or three "county-families" of an English shire, or as a princeling might refer to the "European families," meaning

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the reigning ones, with which the rest were unworthy to be classed. Wherever there is found in the world a group of dialects traceably related among themselves, and not traceably related with any others, that group is called a family. If all the branches of the great Indo-European family were blotted out of existence and out of record except the Germanic, the Germanic branch would be a family by itself; if all the Germanic dialects except the Low German, the latter would be a family; if of the Low German all but English, the various dialects of English would still be a family. We do not know, and cannot ever know, whether some of the groups of existing languages as few in number and as insignificant in their range of dialectic differences as are the dialects of Britain may not be the solitary relics of families once exhibiting an extension and variety comparable with the Indo-European. The Celtic branch of our own family is an instructive example of what may happen in the way of wholesale effacement of a once wide-spread body of dialects. So as regards what Müller still calls the Turanian languages, though uncertain whether they should be regarded as a family: the Finnish and Turkish and their congeners are beyond all doubt related languages, and it only remains to determine more fully the boundaries of the family to which they belong; the question as to whether the Chinese can be shown to be a link connecting them with the tongues of Further India, the Himalaya, the Dekhan, and the islands of the Pacific is one only of less and more, of one comprehensive family or of a number of minor ones. This is, as already said, the current and alone-accepted use of the word "family;" and, according to it, instead of "scholars" having discovered only two or three families of speech, they have (as may be seen by referring to any recent work on the varieties of human language) discovered a great and indefinite number: indefinite, because new information is all the time bringing about changes of the hitherto received classification. Families, in short, instead of being exceptional, are nearly or quite universal; for there is hardly a form of human speech, if there be a single one, so isolated and limited that it has not by its side another or others dialectically different from it, and so forming with it a related group, a family.

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But even though all authorities on language (including Müller himself, up to the time of publication of the views we are considering) may have been accustomed to employ a certain name in a certain sense, any one, of course, has a right to alter the prevailing terminology, provided he can show the change to be an improvement worth the trouble of making. We have, then, to see what Müller brings forward in justification of his new use of the word "family." He does not, indeed, it is to be observed, introduce the change as a change, and defend and establish it; he slips it in as if it were the most natural thing in the world, and not open to objection from any quarter. While other scholars were innocently supposing families of speech to be met with all over the world, and of quite simple explanation by the well-understood and historically illustrated laws of linguistic growth, he breaks in with the startling *dictum* quoted above, that they are and of necessity must be the rare exception in language-history. He goes on: "There was always the possibility, but there never was, as far as I can judge, any necessity for human speech leaving its primitive stage of wild growth and wild decay. If it had not been for what I consider a purely spontaneous act on the part of the ancestors of the Semitic, Aryan, and Turanian races, all languages might forever have remained ephemeral, answering the purposes of every generation that comes and goes, struggling on, now gaining, now losing, sometimes acquiring a certain permanence, but after a season breaking up again," etc. And, on a previous page: "we find that in the vast desert of drifting human speech three, and only three, oases have been formed in which, before the beginning of all history, language became permanent and traditional, assumed in fact a new character, a character totally different from the character of the floating and constantly varying speech of human beings. . . . In these three centres . . . language ceased to be natural; its growth was arrested, and it became permanent, solid, petrified, or, if you like, historical speech."

This is the whole story; nothing found elsewhere in Müller's writings, so far as observed, casts any further light upon the

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matter; except that the word "concentration" is repeatedly applied in the Lecture, in a compendious way, to designate the process by which a family is thus formed.

It appears, accordingly, to be Müller's opinion that there is a peculiar character belonging to the languages of these three families—or rather, we should say, to the family-languages among mankind—a character which he can only account for by postulating an original concentration, which need not have taken place, but which is to be credited to the spontaneous action of certain highly meritorious people in a pre-historic age. As to the nature of the process of concentration, we are left completely in the dark; not an illustrative analogy is (or can be) brought up to explain it; it seems to belong in one category with the Flood and the dispersion of Babel, things that could happen, by miraculous agency, long ago, but are not to be expected to occur now-a-days. Nor is our information much better as to the wonderful nature of the products of concentration; for, when Müller's rhetoric is reduced to simple statement, it seems to imply nothing that is not equally true of other tongues also. We are told that the languages in question thus became "permanent and traditional." As regards the latter characteristic, it would be highly interesting to know what the author thinks he means by it. Are not all languages traditional? Is not every one, all over the world, learned by each generation from its predecessor, by each individual from his elders? Or, if any one denies (and there are such) that languages are learned by their speakers, does he not deny it just as much with reference to one of Müller's family-languages as to any other? Let Müller demonstrate, if he can, a difference in regard to traditionality between English and Arabic and Hungarian on the one hand, and Basque and Maya and Japanese on the other. And how is it as to the permanency—a permanency which is held to be so marked that it needs to be further qualified as "solidification, petrifaction"? Take, for example, a range of Indo-European dialects like English and Welsh and Russian and Wallachian and Kurdish and Marâthi—they certainly have the air of being uncommonly alterable petri-

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facts. A curious sort of solidification must that have been which has allowed the highly synthetic "Aryan" speech to become the almost monosyllabic English. From the beginning down, it has only been necessary for the speakers of any Indo-European tongue to break up into separate communities, and their precious solidified family-language has broken up incontinently into dialects, just as if it had no family-character to sustain. Not even in a tight little island like Britain, and with the enormous help of a civilization and literature almost as old as the introduction of its present inhabitants, has it been possible to avoid the growth of dialects. Semitic speech has, to be sure, been of much slower change; but differences in the rate of alteration have been characteristic of different languages all the world over, outside the "family" lines as well as within them. And what, too, becomes of the asserted connection between Hamitic and Semitic? if that be admitted, it involves the utmost conceivable variation. And how, once more, about all those Asiatic and insular languages which are waiting for some one to shape the Chinese into a general tie of connection, in order to be dragged within the pale of the Turanian family? Their infinite actual variety, it appears, will be, according as that attempt on the Chinese shall prove unsuccessful or successful, an illustration on the one hand of the drifting and floating character of general human speech, or, on the other, of the solid petrifaction of family language. Where in all the wide world is there a language that has not been "answering the purposes of every generation that comes and goes," "struggling on," "constantly varying," and all the rest of it, and which might not therefore in an outburst of poetic exaltation be styled "ephemeral," or "drifting"—perhaps even "floating," if one fancies himself for the moment an adherent of the diluvial philosophy? That, however, any language or body of languages has ever "ceased to be natural" is more than we are prepared to concede, even to a poet in his highest mood of inspiration. And in this claim and in the assertion of a certain "wildness" (which can hardly be argued against, because of the difficulty of understanding what it means) belonging to the growth and decay of languages out-

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side the family-circle, lies the whole remaining substance of Müller's theory. Its scientific statement, then, is this: other languages grow and decay wildly; but the family-languages have ceased to be natural; and this can only be the result of a pre-historic spontaneous concentration.

The relation between this new doctrine and the one formerly criticised is clear. Professor Müller seems unable to conceive of a world not already thickly peopled in all its parts, and by tribes which, though speaking wildly and floatingly, are yet in general prepared to maintain each its own speech against all comers. If in this chaos of conflicting languages there is ever to be any unity, somebody, he thinks, must be public-spirited enough to concentrate. If this conjecture is wrong, the responsibility lies with the author of the theory to let us know what it really does mean. Perhaps, as the disposition and ability to concentrate might be supposed also, not less than the language itself, to have become solidified and traditional in the families, he will further explain the extension of the Latin and that of the Arabic—the two most notable instances of their kind in the recorded history of language—as examples of spontaneous concentration.

But to speak more seriously: any one may be safely challenged to find in all the annals of modern scientific discussion of language a theory more destitute of a basis in fact, more opposed to all that is sound and well-established in linguistic science, than the one here criticised. If it had an inconspicuous name behind it, it would need simply to be passed over with a smile, or with a sentence curtly pointing out that its producer could only be listened to with the utmost caution, even if he had the right to demand public attention at all. But whatever Müller puts forth is sure to find its admiring acceptors; and these doctrines, of the trinity of language-families, their production by the concentration of dialects, and the consequent antecedency of dialects to language, may be found cropping-out in the writings of a whole circle of younger disciples and imitators—which is the only, but sufficient, reason for the examination and discussion here given them. We may close with a brief notice of them as they

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appear in the most ambitious recent work on language, published in the course of the present year (1880): namely, the "Introduction to the Science of Language" (in two volumes, near nine hundred pages together) of Rev. A. H. Sayce, Müller's substitute as professor in the University of Oxford, and widely known as one of the most prominent and meritorious Assyriologists now living.

It is almost needless to say that Mr. Sayce, like Mr. Müller, uses throughout the greater part of his work the term "family" in the same sense in which philologists generally use it, and in numerous places either expressly states or distinctly implies that dialects are related forms of speech, descended from a common ancestor: these things are so thoroughly wrought into the foundation and superstructure of the science of language that no one who writes on the subject can do without them. For example: he speaks (ii. 31) of "the genealogical classification of languages, that which divides them into families and sub-families, each mounting up, as it were, to a single parent-speech." He approves and accepts (ii. 32) Friedrich Müller's estimate of "about 100 different families;" and then proceeds (ii. 33–64) to give his own (own by modification and addition) list of seventy-six "linguistic families." He speaks in various places of the Bantu family (even Müller, to be sure, allows that there may have been a Bantu "concentration"), of the Malay family and its parent-speech (ii. 207), of the Dravidian family, and so on. He regards (ii. 138) the corresponding Sanskrit *asmi* and Lithuanian *esmi* as "relics of a time when the ancestors of the Hindus and the Lithuanians lived together, and spoke a common tongue"—in "the primæval Aryan community," as he calls it elsewhere (ii. 123): and a plenty more of the same sort. But, in doing all this, he is leaving wholly out of sight and forgetting what he has taught earlier, when laying down the laws of "change in language." There he says (i. 215): "As we shall see hereafter, families of languages are exceptional in the history of speech." What, under his direction, we actually do "see hereafter," has been just pointed out; it is something as different as possible from

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this. He goes on: "Professor Müller very truly says:" and proceeds to quote from him the passages which we have given in full and commented on above. Then he adds, out of his own head: "And these oases, these families of speech, it is important to remember, are themselves made up of dialects, only dialects with a common grammar and a common stock of roots." What sort of things dialects without those common characteristics would be, we are somewhat puzzled to imagine. But further: "We may, if we like, construct a hypothetical 'parent-speech,' from which we may derive the several dialects and languages which are the only facts we have to work upon; but we must not forget that such a parent-speech is purely hypothetical, the product of reflective analysis and logical deduction." If these are matters important to remember, and not to be forgotten, Mr. Sayce might himself be fairly called upon to bear them in mind, at least to the end of his second volume; no one speaks oftener of a "parent-speech," in spite of his occasional hearty denunciation of such a thing as "purely hypothetical." Hypothetical of course it is, in a certain way; but only as everything in the world of which we have not had personal knowledge is hypothetical. The doctrine that language, or man, or the earth had a beginning, is also hypothetical, arrived at by a process of "reflective analysis and logical deduction." Does Mr. Sayce mean to deny that such a process is capable of leading us to the discovery of results that may be received with all confidence? If, exploring along a coast hitherto unknown to us, we come upon a stream of fresh water flowing out into the sea, our conclusion that it is what we have been accustomed to call a river, and comes down from the blue heights which we see in the distance, is only a hypothesis; perhaps it runs out of a hole in the ground a mile further inland, or is produced by the coalescence of oxygen and hydrogen atoms under peculiar magnetic conditions. If on a newly discovered island we find a tribe of people speaking a dialect akin with that of their nearest neighbors, it is by hypothesis that we hold them to have emigrated thither; perhaps they grew on trees, or rained down. And we might

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illustrate further without end. The cases are strictly parallel: we think we know by observation something of the way in which men come into being, and something of the way in which rivers are gathered and flow; and therefore, when we fall in with a new community of men or a new river, we infer, with a degree of confidence corresponding to our previous knowledge, and to the solidity of our conviction of the uniformity of cause and effect in nature, what we are convinced must be true of their origin. It is generally held among scholars that we have also gained from observation and comparison some knowledge as to the way that things go on in the history of language, so that, applying the principle of uniformity, we can tell, within reasonable limits, what effects are to be expected from the operation of certain causes, and to the operation of what causes certain effects are to be traced: if Mr. Sayce is not one of those who believe this, it is difficult to see why he should feel called upon to write a book about the "science of language." There are times, as we have seen above, when he does believe it; his statement, already quoted, that Skt. *asmi* and Lith. *esmi* prove the ancestors of the Hindus and Lithuanians to have once spoken together a common language, is enough, if held fast and carried out to its logical consequences, to sweep out of his pages all this meaningless talk with which, under pressure of his master's authority, he is confusing himself and trying to confuse his readers.

But Mr. Sayce is also in the same trouble as his two predecessors with reference to a beginning of things in language. Thus, when pointing out (ii. 99) the difficulty that has been met with in establishing the true genealogical table of the Slavonic dialects, rather than adjourn its solution to the time of more information and stricter method, he prefers to draw the inference that "the several Slavonic languages" are "relics of co-existing dialects which existed from the beginning." And this, although he holds and teaches that the ancestors of the Slavonians once spoke a common tongue together with those of the Lithuanians and Hindus! We have no right to be surprised, then, that in his more theoretic

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chapters we meet with some very curious statements and inferences. Thus (i. 214): "the more barbarous a society is, the more numerous will be the languages that it speaks." This is far from being true in its form as given; for "a society" is a more restricted entity even than a community; a single society, barbarous or enlightened, speaks but a single tongue. But we may conjecture that the author meant to say something like this: "in a given territory, of considerable extent, the more barbarous the state of society, the more numerous will be likely to be the varieties of speech;" and then we may give our assent, only adding that, if the territory in question has been populated from a single centre of linguistic dispersion, those numerous varieties will all be kindred dialects; if from more than one, they will be so many different groups of dialects. To the next assertion—"the further we go back into the past, the greater must be the linguistic anarchy with which we meet"—we totally object: it is true only if we stop at that nearer "beginning" at which the Slavonic languages are co-existing dialects, instead of going back to the yet remoter period (still far enough from the actual beginning) when Sanskrit and Lithuanian and Slavonian were "one common language." But farther: "A language begins with dialects, and since language is the product and reflection of the community that uses it, the primæval languages of the world must have been as infinitely numerous as the communities that spoke them" (and again, in nearly the same words, at ii. 32 and ii. 322). This demonstration of the original infinity of dialects, by the way, reminds us of nothing so much as of the theory put forward some years ago by a certain distinguished French scholar (still living) as to the original population of the globe. Since, he pointed out, each person has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on, the numbers doubling with each generation, and becoming, even in the limited period between us and the patriarch Joseph, expressible only by a row of figures reaching clear across the page, it follows that there must have been vastly more people living some thousands of years ago than there are at present. Here we have, ready

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made and provided, the infinitely numerous "confederacies, clans, and tribes" who are to speak Müller and Sayce's infinite number of dialects; and one does not see how they could have been obtained in any other way. But to come back to Mr. Sayce's assertion: each one of us may be willing to allow that the varieties of speech have at every epoch in the world's history been *as* numerous as the communities; but the question at once comes up: how many were the "primæval" communities? Have we here another of those beginnings behind which lies a series of yet earlier beginnings? If Mr. Sayce will plant himself on any definite point in the development of man and of language, and will say: "this is, for the moment, my primæval beginning; look around, and you will observe that there are just as many languages as there are communities," we shall all heartily answer "quite so." Then if he goes on: "yes; but you see that the languages are dialects;" we shall retort: "true enough, but each body of dialects is the result of common descent from a pre-primæval ancestor; and if you will go back to that pre-primæval time, or still farther, to an ante-pre-primæval—or, let us say, to the real simon-pure ultimate beginning, behind which there actually is not anything, you will find that there are still just as many languages as communities, whether one or more than one; but, if they are more than one, they are not dialects."

Only a sentence or two more remain to be quoted before leaving Mr. Sayce. "We start with the Babel of confusion, with the houseless savage who did that which was right in his own eyes." This, like part of the preceding sentence, has a tone and value much more rhetorical than scientific. A language is certainly not the "product," except to a very limited extent, of the community that at any given time are using it; it is in the main their inheritance, something handed down to them; and either individual or community can receive in this way a tongue not produced even by his or their own ancestors. If it becomes their "reflection"—which we may allow to be true, because the indefiniteness of the term at any rate admits a true interpretation—it becomes so simply because they do with it that which is right in their own eyes:

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that is to say, they use it for their own purposes and in adaptation to their own circumstances, and no others. That this is true of savages, whether houseless or housed, any more than of civilized people, is not to be admitted. The savage has not, any more than the civilized man, either the disposition or the power to change his speech arbitrarily, for the sake of change; and the assent of their communities is just as necessary in the one case as in the other; but civilization brings to bear on language a number of conservative influences which check the rate of its alteration. All the perfection of Roman house-architecture, we see, has not prevented the growth and infinite divarication of the Romanic dialects. Mr. Sayce even has a peculiar theory, which peeps out here and there, that civilization is the real ruin of a language. Moreover, we have to contrast with his theory of the houseless savage dealing savagely with an equally shelterless speech that other one which is later (ii. 318) put forth by him: namely, that language "did not grow up until man had become a 'social animal,' and had passed from the merely gregarious stage of existence into that of settled communities." If we must choose between them, we shall be apt to choose the former as the better of the two; for the picture of men settling themselves down in communities without the possession and aid of speech is one that few minds will be able to conceive. Nor is it clear how this is to be reconciled with the doctrine of the next sentence in the passage with which we have been dealing: "Language, it is true, first cemented society together;" although our author immediately adds, by way of antidote, "but it also made each society a body of hostile units." This sounds very like the "attraction of repulsion," or the affirmative negative; but possibly Mr. Sayce only meant to say "it also made each society a unit hostile to other similar units;" even this form of statement, however, would need further modification to be made true; and its amendment may be best given up, as a too difficult and ungrateful task.

We have thus examined a single conspicuous example, but an example only, of the way in which the great problems of

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language are dealt with by what may be called the Genial school of linguistics, the school which at every point strives to say something interesting or striking, without heeding what relation this bears to what has been said elsewhere. There is obviously nothing in such work which has just title to the name of scientific. Science implies a certain solidity of basis, rigor of method, and coherency of results obtained. If an author on optics were to maintain in one chapter that black is green, and in another that it is red, he would not be likely to receive much attention from his colleagues, however he might succeed for a while in keeping the ear of the public by his power of lively description. That thus far it is otherwise in linguistics is due partly to the newness of the study, and partly to the less material and palpable character of the matters with which it deals. Doubtless the case will by degrees improve, and the time will come when, even respecting language, a writer will not be listened to unless he has the ability and takes the pains to think deeply and consecutively enough to make the doctrines he teaches logically coherent.

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IX.—*The Kindred Germanic Words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their Consonant-Relations.*

By A. H. EDGREN, Ph.D.,

LATELY INSTRUCTOR IN YALE COLLEGE, NOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LUND, SWEDEN.

The object of this paper is to put together, for convenience of reference and use, the historically-related words of English and German, so far as they illustrate the so-called "Grimm's Law" of the Germanic rotation of mutes. The general law is stated by Grimm as follows: "In the labial, lingual, and guttural sounds the Gothic (Saxon, Frisian, Scandinavian) surds correspond to the High-German aspirates, the Gothic sonants to the High-German surds, and the Gothic aspirates to the High-German sonants. Or, more exactly, as follows:

Goth.	*p*	*b*	*f*	*t*	*d*	*th*	*k*	*g*	
H. Germ.	*f*	*p*	*b(v)*	*z*	*t*	*d*	*ch*	*k*	*g*"

The law as thus stated, however, expresses only the general relation of High German to the other Germanic languages. Even in those High-German dialects which had most fully carried out the second process of rotation, some exceptions have to be recognized in the guttural and labial series; and these exceptions become much more numerous when the whole body of High-German speech is considered. The term "Old High-German" is generic; it comprises a variety of dialects, used by different authors; and they show a great many discrepancies, not least in regard to the change of mutes, illustrating by various intermediate steps the gradual progress from Low to High-German. In order to emphasize this variety and indicate what High-German he is speaking of, Grimm frequently recurs to the expression *strengalthoch-deutsch* (i. e. Alemannic and Bavarian), and he would prefer to use, instead of the generic term "Old High-German," the specific terms Alemannic, Bavarian, Frankish, etc., if the literary remains allowed of such a strict classification.

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A matter not always sufficiently considered should here be noticed, namely, the relative uncertainty of pronunciation during the periods in question; for the want of a strict phonetic spelling, as well as the inaccuracy of copyists, will of necessity veil more or less the phonetic nature of all ancient records.

This variety and uncertainty within the Old High-German dialects nowise detract from the significance of the general law demonstrated by Grimm; they only show that, here as elsewhere, linguistic changes are effected not by a wholesale ideal regularity, but by the realistic irregularity—determined, however, ultimately by law—of historical growth. The rotation of mutes within the Germanic tongues is once for all clearly proved, but the very unevenness of the process—whatever be its cause—will of necessity bring to light many varied phases of change, if only a sufficiently comprehensive research is made; and it thus warns us to be cautious about applying its theoretic formula rigidly in all cases.

This applies with especial force to the comparison of two such languages as English and German. Modern German is somewhat loosely spoken of as a descendant of the Old High-German and an inheritor of its phonetic laws. But the vagueness of the name Old High-German itself, as pointed out above, involves this statement in an uncertainty which can be removed only by a more exact definition. The literary language of Germany sprang undoubtedly, in the main, from one of the Old High-German dialects, though with a goodly admixture from the others and from Low-German; but that dialect was more nearly related to the idiom used in Otfried and in the version of Tatian (which bordered on the Low-German) than to the strictest Old High-German. The result is that Modern German shows a considerable deviation from the full requirements of Grimm's law, especially in regard to palatals and labials; in this, partly agreeing with the Middle High-German—which, however (with various differences between initials, medials, and finals), is more closely related to the rigid Old High-German than is the New-German. But, aside from this derivation, the phonetic character of the New-

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German vocabulary is removed from the theoretic norm of the High-German not only by borrowing from other Teutonic tongues, especially from different High-German dialects and from Low-German (and, indeed, from non-Germanic tongues as well, though that is not here considered), and to some degree, by the reactive influence of this borrowing, but also by the inner changes wrought out during a long period of independent existence.

New-German, on the one hand, is a varied form of a less strict Old High-German dialect; but, on the other, English, the descendant of Anglo-Saxon and the inheritor of its phonetic structure, has also not remained stationary during the many centuries of its life. Aside from the sweeping changes effected by the loss of single letters and endings and by the mutation of vowels—changes with which we are here only indirectly concerned—the consonant-system has been variously altered: witness, for instance, the development of the sounds *ch* and *j*, the change of *g* to *y*, of *sc* to *sh*, of *f* to *v*, etc., noticed below. The phonetic relation between German and English must therefore show many deviations from that which existed between Anglo-Saxon and the rigid Old High-German. It is intended in the following to exhibit definitely that relation, by means of a tolerably complete collection of kindred words illustrating it.

The principle followed in collecting the words has been this: to give, along with its English and Anglo-Saxon correspondent, every German root-word and its strictest extant Old High-German form (but other older forms only when they throw light on the point in question); and, further, every derivative of that root-word in so far as it exhibits any new phonetic combination, or has deviated otherwise in form to such an extent as not to be easily recognizable in its relation to the root. It would evidently be a waste of space to give compounds or derivatives whose connection is evident at a glance (such, for instance, as *Sprecher* from *sprechen*, *frachten* from *Fracht*, etc.), unless they exhibit a varied phonetic relation (as in *Sprache*, *speech*, from *sprechen*, *speak*), or combination (as in *Macht* from *mögen*, *Tode* from *Tod:* see

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below). But, on the other hand, it would be impracticable to trace all words back to their ultimate sources and to exclude some on account of their remote relationship with others of a quite different form and meaning (to exclude, for instance, *garden*, because it is derived from the root represented by Goth. *gairdan* = *gürden*, or *Wald*, because it probably comes from the same root as *wild*). The only acceptable way seemed to be to give all words which are not clearly akin in form and meaning with other German words, and which have therefore an independent existence in the mind of the common speaker. Further, proper names and onomatopoetic interjections have, for evident reasons, been excluded. Further, Germanic words which have passed through Latin or any of the Romance languages before they were again incorporated in a new sense into German or English (such as *Glocke*, through Lat. *clocca* from O.H.G. *cloccon*) are omitted. Once more, non-Germanic words borrowed from foreign languages, even when they have been so fully naturalized as to follow the general current of transmutation (like *Sichel*, *sickle*, from Lat. *secula; Pech*, *pitch*, from Lat. *pix; Schule*, *school*, from Lat. *schola; Ziegel*, *tile*, from Lat. *tegula; Wittwe*, *widow*, apparently from Lat. *vidua;* and many others).

In regard to arrangement the method followed is, to make the comparison throughout from a German starting-point, except in the rare cases where English words contained consonants which have been dropped in German. For the sake of unity of treatment and ease of reference, it seemed best to proceed always from one of the two languages to the other; and the German offers the advantage of possessing fuller forms, and of having lost original consonants much more rarely than the English. Further, the words are arranged according as the consonants under consideration occur at their beginning, middle, or end.

Finally, the whole subject is, for convenience of comparison, treated under these four heads:

I. Palatal mutes, fricatives, and nasals;
II. Dental (lingual) mutes, and fricatives;
III. Labial mutes, and fricatives;
IV. Nasals (except palatal), semi-vowels, and *h*.

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The abbreviations used (as O.H.G. for Old High-German, A.S. for Anglo-Saxon, O.N. for Old Norse, etc.), and the designation of some English sounds, are all self-explaining from their connection. The words given in parentheses after the German and English words are invariably their corresponding strict Old High-German and Anglo-Saxon forms, unless otherwise specified.

I.—Palatal Mutes, Fricatives, and Nasals.

1. German *k* = English *k*.

A. Initial: *kahl* (chalo), *callow* (calu); *Kalb* (chalp), *calf* (cealf); *kalt* (chalt), *cold* (ceald); *Kamm* (champ), *comb* (camb); *keck*, *quick* (chëch, quëc), *quick* (cwic); *kennen* (chennan), *ken* (cennan); *Kerbe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *kerp* (cyrf); *Kern* (chërno), *kernel* (cyrnel); *Kiel* (chiol), *keel* (ciol); *Kiel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *quill* (wanting in A.S.); *klappen*, *klaffen* (chlaphôn), *clap* (clappan); *Klaue* (chlâva), *claw* (clawu); *kleben* (chlëpên), *cleave* (cleofian); *Klee* (chlêo), *clover* (claefer); *Klei* (from L.G.), *clay* (claeg); *Kleid* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cloth* (clâdh); *klein* (chleini), *clean* (claene); *klieben* (chliopan), *cleave* (cleofan); *klingen* (chlingan), *clink*, *clang* (wanting in A.S.); *Klippe* (from L.G.), *cliff* (clif); *klopfen* (chlophôn), *clap* (clappan); *Kloss*, *Klotz* (chlôz), *clod* (clot); *Kluft* (chluft), *cleft* (from clifan); *Klumpen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *clump* (wanting in A.S.); *Knau(e)l*, *Knäuel* (dimin. of chliwi), *clew* (cliwe); *Kohle* (chol), *coal* (col); *kommen* (chuëman), *come* (cuman); *König* (chunninc), *king* (cyning); *Korn* (chorn), *corn* (corn); *krachen* (chrahhôn), *crack* (cracian); *Kraft* (chraft), *craft* (cräft); *Krähe* (chraia), *crow* (crawe); *Krahn*, *Kranich* (chranuh), *crane* (cran); *Krampe* (chrampâ), *cramp*-iron (wanting in A.S.); *Krampf* (wanting in O.H.G., but from chrimphan), *cramp* (wanting in A.S., but see krimpen); *krank* (wanting in O.H.G.), *crank* (cranc); *kratzen* (chrazôn), *(s)cratch* (wanting in A.S.); *kriecken* (chriohhan), *crouch* = *crook?*; *krimpen* (chrimphan), *crimp* (crimpan); *Krippe* (chrippa), *crib* (cryb); *kritteln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *crowd* (creodan); *Krücke* (chruchâ), *crutch* (crycc?) (perhaps from Lat. *crux*); *Krume* (wanting in O.H.G.), *crum(b)* (crume); *krumm* (chrump), *crump* (crumb); *Krüppel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cripple* (crypel); *Kuh* (chuo), *cow* (cu); *kühl* (chuoli), *cool* (col); *kühn* (chuoni), *keen* (cyne); *Kuss* (chus), *kiss* (coss); *Qualm* (qualm), *qualm* (cwealm).

B. Medial: *Acker* (acchar), *acre* (acer); *backen* (pachan), *bake* (bakan); *Bake* (pouhhan), *beacon* (beacen); *Balken* (palcho), *balk* (balc); *baxen* (fr. L.G. baksen; M.H.G. puxen), *box* (wanting in A.S.); *blinken* (wanting in O.H.G., but planch, 'blanc'), *blink* (blican?); *Borke* (fr. L.G.), *bark* (wanting in A.S.); *decken* (decchan), *deck* (theccan); *denken* (denchan), *think* (thencean); *ducken* (from tûhhan), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *Ecker* (wanting in O.H.G.), *acorn* (aecern); *Enkel* (anchal), *ancle* (ancleov); *Flachs* (flahs), *flax* (fleax); *Fuchs* (fuhs), *fox* (fox); *gackeln* (M.H.G. gagen), cackle (wanting in A.S.); *glucken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cluck* (cloccan); *hacken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *hack* (haccan); *Haken* (haccho), *hook* (hoc); *Höke* (wanting in

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O.H.G.), *hawker* (wanting in A.S.); *knacken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *knack* (wanting in A.S.); *lecken* (lechôn), *lick* (liccan); *lenken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *link* (wanting in A.S.); *Locke* (locch), *lock* (locc); *Luke* (wanting in O.H.G.), *lock* (loc); *melken* (mëlchan), *milk* (melcan); *nächst* (nâhist), *next* (nexta); *Nacken* (hnacch), *neck* (hnaecca); *nackt* (nachot), *naked* (nacod); *Ochs* (ohso), *ox* (oxa); *pflücken* (ploccôn), *pluck* (pluccian?); *picken* (picchan), *pick* (pyccan?); *Poike* (wanting in O.H.G.), *pock* (pocc); *Pökel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *pickle* (wanting in A.S.?); *recken* (recchan), *rack* (raeccan); *Rocken* (roccho), *rock* (wanting in A.S.); *Schenkel* (schenchil?), *shank* (sceanca); *Smack* (fr. L.G.), *smack* (snacc); *schuckern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shock* (wanting in A.S.); *sechs* (sëhs), *six* (six); *sinken* (sinchan), *sink* (sincan); *stecken* (stëhhan), *stick* (stician); *stinken* (stinchan), *stink* (stincan); *trinken* (trinchan), *drink* (drincan); *Wachs* (wahs), *wax* (veax); *wachsen* (wahsan), *wax* (veaxen); *winken* (winchan), *wink* (wincian); *Zecke* (wanting in O.H.G.), *tick* (wanting in A.S.); *zirken* (probably from E.), *chirk* (wanting in A.S.); *zwicken* (zuicchan), *tweak* (twiccian); *zwinken* (zuincho-), *twinkle* (twinclian).

C. FINAL: *Back* (fr. L.G.), *back* (bacc); *Bank* (panch), *bank* (banc); *Block* (piloh), *block* (wanting in A.S.); *Bock* (pocch), *buck* (bucca); *Dank* (danch), *thanks* (thanc); *dick* (dicchi), *thick* (thicce); *Glück* (wanting in O.H.G.), *luck* (wanting in A.S.); *keck* (chech, quec), *quick* (cwic); *krank* (wanting in O.H.G.), *crank* (cranc); *leck* (from L.G.), *leaky* (hlecc); *Mark* (marha), *mark* (meark); *Mark* (march), *mark* (marc); *Schmack* (smach), *smack* (smäc); *Schock* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shock* (wanting in A.S.); *stark* (starh), *stark* (stearc); *Stock* (stocch), *stock* (stocc); *Volk* (folch), *folk* (folc); *Werk* (wërach), *work* (weorc); *Wrack* (from L.G.), *wreck* (wanting in A.S.).

According to this list, German *k* corresponds to English *k* as initial in 53 words, as medial in 50 words, and as final in 19 words. Several of these words are not represented in the Old High-German; and in order to establish the relation between German and English, as compared with the Old High-German and the Anglo-Saxon, they should be excluded. The numbers are then: initial 44, medial 36, final 13. Many are likewise wanting in Anglo-Saxon, but being borrowed, as a rule, from dialects phonetically on a level with the Anglo-Saxon, they need not be specially considered.

The Anglo-Saxon forms have without exception *k* (*c*); and the Old High-German forms have all (save *ploccon*) *ch*, *hh*, or *h*, probably signs for very slightly differentiated pronunciations of the aspirated *k* (the theoretical *kh*), but used rather promiscuously, though *ch* prevails as initial, *hh* as medial, and *h* (*ch*) as final. The German *k* has, then, in these words remained stationary.

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2. German *k* = English *ch*.

A. INITIAL: *Käfer* (chëvar), *chafer* (ceafor); *karg* (charag), *chary* (cearig); *Kauf* (chouf), *cheap* (ceap); *Kiesel* (chisil), *chisle-* (cisil, cesel); *kiesen*, *küren* (chiosan), *choose* (ceosan); *Kimme* (fr. L.G.), *chimb* (wanting in A.S.); *Kinn* (chinni), *chin* (cin); *kippen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *chip* (wanting in A.S.); *Küchlein* (wanting in O.H.G.), *chicken* (cicen).

B. MEDIAL: *Birke* (piricha), *birch* (beorc); *Krücke* (chruchâ), *crutch* (crycc?) (perhaps from Lat. *crux*); *recken* (recchan), *reach* (recian); *renken* (-renkan), *wrench* (wrencan); *Stärke* (starchî), *starch* (in A S. only stearc, 'strong'); *sticken* (stitch, but not the verb), *stitch* (stician); *strecken* (strecchan), *stretch* (streccan); *zwicken* (-zuicchan), *twitch* (twiccian).

C. FINAL: *Bank* (panch), *bench* (benc); *Fink* (fincho), *finch* (finc).

Thus, German *k* corresponds to English *ch* as initial in 9 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 7 words, and as final in 2 words.

The Anglo-Saxon forms have, wherever found, *c* (always, except when final and in *wrencan*, *streccan*, preceding *e*, *i*, or *y*: compare *g* = *y*); and the Old High-German forms (except in *-renkan*), *ch*, the aspirated form of *k*.

3. German *k* = English *g*.

A. INITIAL: nothing.

B. MEDIAL: *drücken* (drucchan), *trig* (thryccan); *Hexe* (hagazussa), *hag* (hagtesse); *Nickel* (fr. L.G.), *nag* (wanting in A.S.); *Schlacke* (wanting in O.H.G.), *slag* (wanting in A.S.); *trecken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *drag* (dragan); *wackeln* (wagôn), *wag* (wagian).

C. FINAL: *Pflock* (wanting in O.H.G.), *plug* (wanting in A.S. ?).

German *k*, then, corresponds to English *g* as medial in 6 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final doubtfully in one. Two of the three Old High-German forms have *g*, in this agreeing with the Anglo-Saxon; and one *cch*, corresponding to Anglo-Saxon *cc*. The others are doubtful.

4. German *k* = English *j* (written *dg*).

MEDIAL: *Brücke* (pruccâ), *bridge* (brycg); *Ecke* (ekka), *edge* (ecg); *Hecke* (hegga), *hedge* (hegge); *Mücke* (mucca), *midge* (mycg); *Rücken* (brucki), *ridge* (hrycg).

In these five words (except for *Hecke*) the Old High-German form has *k* (also *g*), and the Anglo-Saxon *cg*. The words are nearly all of uncertain derivation and connection.

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5. German *k* = English *t*, *th*.

INITIAL: *Quehle* (duahilâ, M.H.G. twehele, N.G. also *Zwehle*), *towel* (wanting in A.S.); *quengeln* (from duengil, akin to M.H.G. twingen), *twinge* (wanting in A.S.); *Quirl* (thuiril = duiril?, from dueran), *twirl* (thwiril): *quer* (twër, late), *thwart* (thweor).

In three words, German *k* corresponds to English *t* and once to *th*. The lingual is the original sound, and the German *k* an abnormal deviation.

6. German *k* not represented in English pronunciation.

A. INITIAL: *Knabe* (knabo), *knave* (cnapa); *knacken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *knack* (wanting in A.S.); *knappen*, *Knapsack* (wanting in O.H.G.), *knap*, *knapsack* (wanting in A.S.); *knastern* (from L.G.), *gnash* (wanting in A.S.?); *Knauf* (= Knopf), *knob*, *knop* (cnaep); *Knecht* (chnëht), *knight* (cniht); *Kneif* (from L.G.), *knife* (cnîf); *kneten* (chnëtan), *knead* (chnedan); *Knie* (chniu), *knee* (cneov); *Knochen*, *Knöchel* (from L.G.), *knuckle* (cnucl); *Knollen* (chnollo), *knoll* (cnoll); *Knopf* (chnoph), *knob*, *knop* (cnaep); *Knoten* (chnodo), *knot* (cnot); *knütten* (from L.G.), *knit* (cnyttan).

B. MEDIAL: *Deichsel* (dîhsala), *thill* (thîsla); *trocken* (trucchan), *dry* (dryg, dryge).

C. FINAL: *Mark* (marac), *marrow* (mearh; O.N. mergr).

Here the German *k* is unrepresented in English pronunciation as initial in 14 words (7 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 2 words, and as final in one word. It is chiefly before *n* that English *k* (A.S. *c*) is dropped in pronunciation. The forms in Old High-German have generally the usual aspiration of *k*, *ch*. The vowel-substitute for the lost guttural in *dry* and *marrow* is analogous to that observed further on in words with a lost *g* (see German *g* = English vowel-change, in 13, below).

7. German *ñk* = English *ñ*.

MEDIAL: *henken* (henchan), *hang* (hangan); *schlenkern* (from slengira), *sling* (slingan).

In both these words, the German seems to represent better than the Old High-German the expected mutation (in this respect differing from the nearest kindred to *hang* and *sling*, *hangen*, *schlingen*).

8. German *g* = English *g*.

A. INITIAL: *Galgen* (kalgo), *gallow* (galga); *Galle* (calla), *gall* (gealla); *Gans* (kans), *goose* (gôs for gons); *Garten* (karto), *garden* (wanting in A.S.,

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but geard, 'yard'); *Gasse* (gaza, from kezan), *gate* (geat); *Gast* (kast), *guest* (gaest); *Gauch* (kouch), *gawk* (geak); *Gaum* (kuomo), *gum* (goma); *geben* (kepan), *give* (gifan); *gegen* (kakan), *'gainst* (gean); *gehen* (kan), *go* (gangan); *Gehre* (kero), *gore* (gar); *Geiss* (keiz), *goat* (gat); *gelten* (keltan), *-geld* (geldan); *gelzen* (only the noun galza), *geld* (only gylte); *Gerste* (kërstâ), *grist* (grist, gerst); *Giebel* (kipil), *gable* (wanting in A.S.; *gable* probably through Fr.); *giessen* (kiozan), *gush* (wanting in A.S.); *Gilde* (from L.G. gilde, and akin to *Geld*), *guild* (gild); *be-ginnen* (pikinnan), *be-gin* (beginnan); *Glanz* (glanz? but the verb clenzan), *glance* (wanting in A.S.); *Glas* (klas), *glass* (glaes); *glato* (klat), *glad* (glad); *Gold* (kold), *gold* (gold); *Gott* (kot), *god* (god); *graben* (krapan), *grave* (grafan); *gram* (gram, late, but kremjan), *grim* (gram); *Gras* (kras), *grass* (graes); *grass* (adv. grazzo), *grisly* (grislic); *grau* (krao), *grey* (graeg); *grauen* (-gruen), *grewsome* (wanting in A.S.); *greifen* (krîfan), *gripe* (gripan); *grell* (wanting in O.H.G.), *grill* (A.S. the verb grellan); *Griess*, *Grütze* (krioz), *grit*, *groats* (greot); *grob* (gerob), *gruff* (wanting in A.S.); *gross* (kroz), *great* (great); *grün* (kruoni), *green* (grene); *Grund* (krunt), *ground* (grund); *grunzen* (grunzen, but krunnizod), *grunt* (grunnan); *grüssen* (kruozan), *greet* (grêtan); *Gurt*, *gürten* (kurtan), *gird* (gyrdan); *gut* (kuot), *good* (god).

B. MEDIAL: *Flagge* (from L.G.), *flag* (wanting in A.S.); *mager* (magar), *meagre* (mäger); *schmiegen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *smug*, *smuggle* (smûgan); *tragen* (trakan), *drag* (dragan); *wegen* (wekan, wegan), *wag* (wegan): *Wagen* from *wegen*; *Zarge* (zarga), *target* (targe?).

C. FINAL: *Berg* (perac), *berg* (beorh); *Burg* (puruc), *burg* (byrig); *Zweig* (zuic), *twig* (twig).

According to this list, German *g* corresponds to English *g* as initial in 42 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 6 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 3 words. The Anglo-Saxon forms have *g* everywhere, except only in *beorh* (O.E. *bergh*); and the Old High-German shows in 41 of its 47 forms the expected *k*. The exceptions are *galza*, *grazzo*, *-gruen*, none of them direct correspondents, *gerob*, *magar*, *wegan*. (In four others, *k*, by inference from kindred words.)

It should be noticed that the frequent quasi-aspiration of final and medial *g* is here disregarded. When carried out, it is in fact a further progression of the Old High-German *k*.

9. German *g* = English *y*.

A. INITIAL: *Garten* (karto), *yard* (geard); *gähnen* (kenen), *yawn* (ganian, geonian); *gähren* (jesan), *yeast* (gist); *gar* (karo), *yare* (gearn); *Garn* (karn), *yarn* (gearn); *gelb* (kelo), *yellow* (geolo); *gelfen* (from këlf), *yelp* (gelpan); *gern* (kerno), *yearn* (georne).—Compare also: *Auge*, *eye*; *fliegen*, *fly*; *liegen*, *lie*; *lügen*, *lie*, below.

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In these eight words the Anglo-Saxon form has *g* (before an *e:* compare *k* = *ch*, above); and in seven of them the strictest Old High-German forms have the expected *k*.

10. German *g* = English *k*.

A. INITIAL: *gackeln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cackle* (wanting in A.S.); *glucken* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cluck* (cluccan).

B. MEDIAL: *biegsam* (from piokan), *buxom* (bocsum); *saugen* (sugan), *suck* (sucan).

The apparently retrogressive change of the palatal in these four words is of too uncertain a character to prove anything. Only two of them are represented in the Old High-German, and their palatals do not agree. The Anglo-Saxon is consistent in showing *k*.

11. German *g* = English *j*.

A. INITIAL: *Gimpel* (from M.H.G. gumpen, 'jump'), *jump* (not found in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *hegen* (hekjan), *hedge* (hegian).

12. German *g* = English *f*.

FINAL: *genug* (kannok), *enough* (genog, genoh); *Trog* (troc), *trough* (trog); *Twerg* (tuerc), *dwarf* (dweorg).

In these three words, the English *f* is an anamolous deviation from the original palatal sound.

13. German *g* is represented in English, for the most part, by some vowel-change or extension.

A. INITIAL: *ge-* = (ka-), *y-*, *e*-nough (ge-); *gleich*=*ge-leich* (ka-lîh), *like* (ge-lîc, lîc).

B. MEDIAL: *Auge* (ouga), *eye* (egge); *biegen*, *beugen* (piokan), *bow* (bugan); *bergen*, *Her-berge* (perkan, heri-përgon), *bury*, *har-bor* (beorgan, here-berga); *Bogen* (poko), *bow* (boga); *borgen* (porakan), *borrow* (borgian); *Degen* (dekan), *thane* (thegen); *eigen* (eikan), *own* (agen); *fegen* (fagon), *fair* (fäger); *Felge* (felaga), *felly*, *felloe* (felga); *Felge* (felaga), *fallow* (fealga); *fliegen* (fliokan), *fly* (fleogan); *folgen* (folken), *follow* (fylgan); *Galgen* (kalgo), *gallow* (galga); *gegen* (kakan), *gain-* (gegn, gean); *Hagel* (hakal), *hail* (hagal); *Hügel* (from M.H.G. huvel), *hill* (hill, hyl); *Lauge* (louga), *lye* (laeg, leah); *legen* (lekjan), *lay* (lecgen); *liegen* (likkan), *lie* (licgan); *lügen* (liokan), *lie* (leogan); *Magd* (makad), *maid* (maegedh); *Magen* (mago), *maw* (maga); *mögen* (magan), *may* (magan); *manig-* (manec), *many* (manig); *Morgen* (morkan), *morrow*, *morn* (morgen); *Nagel* (nagal), *nail* (naegel); *nagen*

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(gi-nakan), *gnaw* (gnagan); *Regen* (rekan), *rain* (regn); *Rogen* (rogan), *roe* (wanting in A.S.); *Roggen* (rocco), *rye* (ryge); *Sage* (saga, but saken), *saw* sagu. obs.); *Säge* (saga), *saw* (sage); *sagen* (saken), *say* (secgan); *schwelgen* (suelkan), *swallow* (svelgan); *Segel* (sekal), *sail* (segel); *Sorge* (soraga, but sorken), *sorrow* (sorg); *tragen* (trakan), *draw* (dragan); *Vogel* (focal), *fowl* (fugol); *wägen* (wekan), *weigh* (wegan); *Zagel* (zagal), *tail* (taegel).

C. FINAL: *Balg* (palk), *belly*, *bellows* (baelg); *Burg* (puruk), *borough* (byrig); *emsig* (emizico), *empty* (aemtig); *Honig* (honic), *honey* (hunig); *karg* (charag), *chary* (cearig); *Pflug* (plôh, phlough, phluoch), *plough* (wanting in A.S.); *selig* (salic), *silly* (saelig); *Tag* (tac), *day* (daeg); *Talg* (from L.G.), *tallow* (telg); *Teig* (teic), *dough* (dag); *Weg* (wec), *way* (weg); *zwanzig* etc. (zweinzuc), *twenty* etc. (twentig): to which should be added some rather freely formed adjectives in -ig like *wind-ig* (wint-ac), *wind-y* (wind-ig).

It thus appears that German *g* is unrepresented in English except by some vowel-change: as initial in one word (*ge-*, entering more or less clearly into several combinations), as medial in 37 words, and as final in 13 words (some of which are formed in common by the suffix *-ig*). It is worthy of notice that certain series of vowel-sounds occur in English before the lost *g*. The most common are those represented by *ai*, *ow* in *maid*, *gallow*, each (waiving some slight differences) occurring in 15 words; and by *y* in *empty*, occurring in 10 words (in some of which, however, it is only the Anglo-Saxon *i*). The remainder are about equally divided between those represented in *saw*, *bow*, and *lie*.

Wherever a word is found in Anglo-Saxon (in only two instances it is wanting), it has *g* (3 times *cg*), which corresponds to the German *g;* and the strict Old High-German has in 36 of its 48 words the expected *k* (a couple of times, by inference from kindred forms). Only two words are not found represented in the Old High-German. In regard to the pronunciation of final and medial *g* compare what is said on p. 121.

14. German *g* = English *ñ*.

FINAL: *König* (chunninc), *king* (cyning).

15. German *ñ* = English *ñ*.

A. MEDIAL: *bringen* (prinkan), *bring* (bringan); *dringen* (dringan, pret. dranc), *throng* (thringan); *fangen* (fahan), *fang* (fangan); *hangen* (hahan, pret. hianc), *hang* (hangan); *klingen* (chlingan, pret. chlanc, klinkan),

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clang (wanting in A.S.); *Lunge* (lungunna), *lung* (lunge); *Pranger* (wanting in O.H.G.), *prong* (wanting in A.S.); *ringen* (rinkan), *wring* (wringan); *schlingen* (slingen, but slinka), *sling* (slingan); *schwingen* (suinkan), *swing* (swingan); *singen* (sinkan), *sing* (singan); *Spange* (spangâ), *spang* obsol. (spange); *springen* (sprincan), *spring* (springan); *strenge* (strenki), *strong* (strang); *Zange* (zanka), *tongs* (tange); *Zunge* (zungâ), *tongue* (tunge).

B. FINAL: *Ding* (dinc), *thing* (thing); *Dung* (tunga), *dung* (dung); *jung* (junc), *young* (geong); *lang* (lanc), *long* (lang); *Ring* (hrink), *ring* (hring); *Strang* (stranc), *string* (streng). To these should be added words in *-ung* (-unka), akin to Engl. words in *-ing* (-ung, -ing).

There are thus 23 words (only one not found in the Old High-German) in which the German *ñ* and English guttural nasals correspond (in 15 of them as medial, and in 7 as final). The Anglo-Saxon forms of these words (wanting only in two instances) have everywhere *ñg*, and 15 of the strictest Old High-German forms (a few by inference from kindred forms) have the expected *ñk*. Four have *ñg*, and two *h*; but their representatives in Modern German, *fangen*, *hangen*, seem to have come through the Low-German.

16. German *ñ* = English *ñ-g*.

MEDIAL: *Angel* (angul), *angle* (angel); *Finger* (fingar), *finger* (finger); *mengen* (mengan), *mingle* (mengan).

In these three words, as is seen, the Old High-German and Anglo-Saxon forms agree in regard to the palatal nasal.

17. German *ñ* = English *ñ-k*.

MEDIAL: *Klingen* (chlingan, klinkan), *clink* (wanting in A.S.); *sprengen* (sprengan), *sprinkle* (sprengan, sprencan).

18. German *ñ* = English *ñ-j*.

MEDIAL: *Sengen* (senkan), *singe* (sengan); *zwingen* (duinkan), *twinge* (O. Sax. thuingan?).

19. English *g* not represented in German.

FINAL: *egg* (aeg), *Ei* (ei, pl. eigir; from an older egi).

20. German *ch* = English *k*.

A. MEDIAL: *brauchen* (prûhhan), *brook* (brûcan); *brechen* (prēhhan), *break* (brecan); *-chen* (-chîn), *-kin* (-cyn?); *dicht* (from dîhan), *thick* (thicce); *Eiche* (eih), *oak* (âk); *Habicht* (hapuh), *hawk* (hafok); *Hechel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *heckle* (wanting in A.S.); *horchen* (hôrechôn), *hearken* (hērcnian);

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Joch (joh), *yoke* (geoc); *Knochen*, *Knöchel* (from L.G.), *knuckle* (cnucl); *Küchlein* (wanting in O.H.G.), *chicken* (cycen); *lechen* (lëchen), *leak* (leccan); *Lerche* (lêrahhâ), *lark* (lâverke); *machen* (mahhôn), *make* (makian); *rächen* (rëhhan), *wreak* (wrekan); *Rechen* (rëhho), *rake* (race); *rechnen* (rehhanôn), *reckon* (reknan); *riechen* (riohhan), *reek* (rêkan); *Sache* (sahha), *sake* (sacu); *schleichen* (slîhhan), *slink* (slincan); *Speiche* (speichâ), *spoke* (spâce); *sprechen* (sprëhhan), *speak* (sprecan); *streichen* (strîhhan), *strike* (strîcan); *suchen* (suohhan), *seek* (sêkean); *tauchen* (tûhhan), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *wachen* (wahhên), *wake* (wakian); *Woche* (wëhhâ), *week* (wike, wuke); *Zeichen* (zeihhan), *token* (tâken); *Zieche* (ziechâ), *tick* (wanting in A.S.?).

B. FINAL: *auch* (ouh), *eke* (eac); *Bach* (pah), *beck* (becc); *bleich* (pleih), *bleak* (blêk); *Bloch* (piloh), *block* (wanting in A.S.); *Bruch* (pruoh), *brook* (brôk); *Buch* (puoh), *book* (bôk); *Deich* (fr. L.G.), *dike* (dîk); *Elch* (wanting in O.H.G.), *elk* (elch); *Ente-rich* (anetrëcho), *drake* (wanting in A.S.?); *Gauch* (kouch), *gawk* (geak); *gleich* (kalîh), *like* (gelîc); *lech* (wanting in O.H.G., but lëchen), *leaky* (hlecc); *Loch* (lôh), *lock* (loc); *Milch* (miluh), *milk* (miluc); *Schmauch* (fr. L.G.), *smoke* (smocca); *siech* (sioh), *sick* (seok); *Storch* (storah), *stork* (storc); *Teich* (wanting in O.H.G.), *dike* (dic); *Tuch* (tuoh), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *weich* (weih), *weak* (wâc).

German *ch*, then, corresponds to English *k* in 47 words, in 29 as a medial, and in 21 as a final. Deducting words not represented in the Old High-German the relation is, as medial 25, and as final 17. The Anglo-Saxon form has everywhere *k* and the Old High-German form *hh* or *ch*, both these signs (probably very slightly differing in their utterance) being found for nearly every word. The permutation is therefore here complete, in so far as the German *ch* represents the aspirated *k*.

21. German *ch* = English *ch*.

A. MEDIAL: *Buche* (puohha), *beech* (bêce); *bleichen* (blîchan), *bleach* (blîcan); *Hechel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *hatchel* (wanting in A.S.); *kriechen* (chriochan), *crouch* (wanting in A.S.); *Leiche* (lîh), *lich* (lîc); *reichen* (reichen), *reach* (raecan); *Sprache* (sprâhha), *speech* (spraec, spaec); *wachen* (wahhên), *watch* (wacian), prov. G. *wachten*.

B. FINAL: *Bruch* (pruh), *breach* (brike); *Dach* (dah), *thatch* (thaec); *reich* (rîhhi), *rich* (rîce); *solch* (sôlîh), *such* (sulic); *welch* (huëlîh), *which* (hwylic).

In these 13 words the Anglo-Saxon form, wherever met with (wanting for two words), has *k*, and the Old High-German form (wanting for one word), the expected *h*(*h*) or *ch* (generally both) 7 times as medial and 5 as final. It is then the English which, by changing its original *k*-sound to the

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palato-lingual *ch*, has broken the theoretical relation between the Low and High-German dialects.

22. German *ch* = English *f*.

A. MEDIAL: *lachen* (hlahhan), *laugh* (hlehhan); *sacht* (from L.G. sacht= O.H.G. samfte), *soft* (sôfte); *Schacht* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shaft* (wanting in A.S.)?; *sichten* (through L.G. from sib), *sift* (siftan).

B. FINAL: *rauch* (rûh), *rough* (rûh, hreog, reow etc.).

In these five words, the English and the German share equally the claim of originality in regard to the sounds *f* and *ch*. In two English words (*soft*, *sift*), and in two German words (*lachen*, *rauch*). the originality of the *f* and the *ch*-sounds are confirmed by both the Anglo-Saxon and the Old High-German; in two others (*laugh*, *rough*; *sacht*, *sichten*) the English *f* seems anomalously changed from the earlier palatal, and the German *ch* introduced from the Low-German. *Schacht*, *shaft* is of uncertain connection.

23. German *ch* = English *t*.

FINAL: *Zwerch* (duërah), *thwart* (thweorh). Akin seem to be also *flach*, *flat*.

24. German *ch* is represented in English pronunciation by some vowel-change.

A. MEDIAL: *acht* (ahtô), *eight* (eahta); *dicht* (from dîhan), *tight* (tyged, tyht); *fechten* (fëhtan), *fight* (feohtan); *Flucht* (fluht), *flight* (flyht); *Fracht* (from L.G. fracht = O.H.G. frêht, 'merit'), *freight*, *fraught* (wanting in A.S.); *Furcht* (forahta), *fright* (fyrhtu); *Knecht* (chnëht), *knight* (cniht); *leicht* (lîhti), *light* (leoht); *Licht* (lioht), *light* (leoht); *Macht* (maht), *might* (meaht); *Morchel* (morhila), *moril*, perhaps through French (wanting in A.S.); *Nacht* (naht), *night* (neaht, niht); *nicht* (nêowiht, nieht), *nought*, *not* (nâviht, nâht); *Pflicht* (fliht), *plight* (pliht); *Pracht* (praht), *bright* (briht); *recht* (rëht), *right* (riht); *schlecht* (slëht), *slight* (wanting in A.S.); *Schlacht* (slahta), *slaughter* (sleaht); *Sicht* (siht), *sight* (siht); *tüchtig* (tuhtîc?), *doughty* (dyhtig); *Wicht* (wiht), *wight* (wiht); *-wicht* (wiht), *weight* (wiht).

B. FINAL: *doch* (doh), *though* (theah); *durch* (duruh), *through* (thurh); *euch* (iwih), *you* (eowic); *hoch* (hôh), *high* (heah); *ich* (ih), *I* (ic); *Loch* (lôh), *ley*, *lay* (leah); *man(i)ch* (probably from L.G.: O.H.G. form manec), *many* (manig); *nach* (nâh), *nigh* (neah).

The preceding list shows 32 English words in which the old consonant corresponding to German *ch* has been lost and compensated for by some vowel-change. The most frequent

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vowel-sound is ī (always, except in *I*, written *igh*: e. g. *Licht, light*). The remaining vowels vary among five or six sounds, and are in nine words followed in writing by the mute *gh*. The German *ch* is found in 20 words as a medial, and in 8 words as a final, one of each not being High-German.

The Anglo-Saxon and the Old High-German agree in 25 words in having an *h* corresponding to the New-German *ch*. They differ only in *ic*, *eowic*, *manig* (A.S.) and *ih*, *iwih*, *manec* (O.H.G.).

German *sch*. This palatal sibilant in German is of two kinds, organic and inorganic. In the former case it corresponds to an original *sk*, which commenced very early to be changed into *sch* before vowels (at first before *e*, *ei*, *i*), and *r*. The latter or inorganic *sch* is an anomalous palatalization of the pure dental *s* (mainly from the 14th century onward) before *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, *u*. In English a parallel change of *sk* has taken place, but not for the pure dental sibilant. The two kinds will be kept apart.

25. German organic *sch* = English *sh*.

A. INITIAL: *schaben* (scapan), *shave* (scafan); *Schacht* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shaft* (wanting in A.S.)?; *Schaf* (scâf), *sheep* (sceâp); *schaffen* (scafôn), *shape* (scapan); *Schaft* (scaft), *shaft* (sceaft); *Schale* (scala), *shell* (scell); *Scham* (scama), *shame* (sceamu); *Schar* (scara), *share* (scear); *scharf* (scarf), *sharp* (scearp); *Schatten* (scato), *shade*, *shadow* (sceadu); *Schaub* (scoup), *sheaf* (sceaf); *Schauder*=*Schauer* (scûr), *shudder*, *shower* (sceor); *schauen* (scouvôn), *show* (sceavian); *Schaufel* (scûvalâ), *shovel* (sceofl); *Scheibe* (scîpâ), *sheave* (wanting in A.S.); *Scheide* (sceidâ), *sheath* (scaedh); *scheinen* (scînan), *shine* (scînan); *Schenkel* (scincel), *shank* (sceanca); *Scherbe* (scirpî), *sherd* (sceard); *scheu* (scioh), *shy* (sceoh); *schieben* (sciopan), *shove* (sceofan); *Schiene* (scëna), *shin* (scinu); *schier* (scioro), *sheer* (scîr); *schiessen* (sciozan), *shoot* (sceotan); *Schiff* (scif), *ship* (scip); *Schild* (scilt), *shield* (scild); *schimmern* (from scîman), *shimmer* (scimerian); *Schock* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shoc* (wanting in A.S.); *Schote* (from L.G., but O.H.G. scôz), *sheat* (scête); *schreien* (scrîan), *shriek* (wanting in A.S.)?; *schroten* (scrôtan), *shred* (screadian); *schrumpfen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shrimp* (scrimman; prov. Engl. scrimp); *Schuh* (scuoh), *shoe* (scô); *Schulter* (scultarra), *shoulder* (sculdor); *Schurz* (fr. L.G.), *shirt* (wanting in A.S.: O.N. skirta).

B. MEDIAL: *Asche* (ascâ), *ashes* (axe=acse); *dreschen* (drëscan), *thresh* (therscan); *Esche* (asc), *ash* (aesc); *Masche* (masca), *mesh* (masc).

C. FINAL: *Fisch* (fisc), *fish* (fisc, fics); *Fleisch* (fleisc), *flesh* (flâsk); *frisch* (frisc), *fresh* (fersc); *Marsch* (from L.G.), *marsh* (mersc); *Wunsch* (wunsc), *wish* (wanting, but wyscan).

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According to this list there are 44 words in which German *sch* corresponds to English *sh*; in 35 as initial, in 4 as medial, and in 5 as final. The palatal sibilant is in every case the resultant of an earlier *sk*, which is found alike in every Anglo-Saxon and Old High-German form: only for *Schacht*, *shaft* no older form is found.

26. German *sch* = English *sk* (*sc*).

A. INITIAL: *Schade* (scado), *scath* (sceadha); *Schaum* (scûm), *scum* (wanting in A.S.); *schief* (wanting in O.H.G.), *skew* (wanting in A. S.; O.N. skeifr); *schinden* (scintan), *skin* (noun scinn); *schöpfen* (scephan), *scoop* (wanting in A.S.); *Schorf* (scorf), *scurf* (scurf); *Schraube* (fr. L.G. scrûve), *screw* (wanting in A.S.); *schreien* (scrîan), *screech* (wanting in A.S.)?; *schrubben* (fr. L.G.), *scrub* (wanting in A. S.); *Schurz* (from L. G.), *skirt* (wanting in A.S.; O.N. skirta).

B. MEDIAL: *heischen* (eiscon), *ask* (ascian); *mischen* (miscan), *mix* (miscan, by inversion).

C. FINAL: *Wisch* (wisc), *whisk* (wanting in A.S.; O.N. visk).

German *sch* corresponds then to English *sk* in 13 words; in 10 as initial, 3 of which are not found in the Old High-German, in 2 as medial (one Eng. *ks*), and in one as final. The earlier forms, wherever found, show *sk*.

27. German organic *sch* = English *g*.

FINAL: *Frosch* (frosc), *frog* (frox, frocga, froga).

28. German inorganic *sch* = English *s*. This *sch*, as stated above, was originally a pure dental *s*. It will be sufficient to give the German and English words alone.

INITIAL: *Schlacht, slaughter;* (*schlagen, slay; Schlacke, slag;*) *schlafen, sleep; schleifen, slip; schlipp, slap; schlau, sly; schlecht, slight; Schlehe, sloe; schleichen, slink: schleim, slime; schleissen, slit; schlenken, slink; schliessen, slot; schlimm, slim; schlingen, sling; schlüpferig, slippery; Schlitten, sled; Schlosse, sleet; Schlummer, slumber; Schlupe, sloop?; Schmack* (*Geschmack*), *smack; Schmacke, smack; schmall, small; Schmauch, smoke; schmeissen, smite; schmelzen,* (*s*)*melt; Schmied, smith; schmiegen, smug; schmieren, smear; schmuggeln, smuggle; Schmutz, smut; Schnake, snake; schnappen, snap; schnarchen, snore; schnauben, snuff; schnauze, snout; Schnee, snow; schneiden, snithe; Schnell, snell; Schnepfe, snipe; Schwad, swath; Schwalbe, swallow; Schwan, swan; Schwären, sore?; Schwarm, swarm; Schwarte, sward; schwarz, swart; schweifen, sweep; Schwein, swine; Schweiss, sweat; schwelgen, swallow; schwellen, swell; schwer, sore?; Schwert, sword; Schwester, sister; schwimmen, swim; Schwindel, swindel; schwingen, swing; schwören, swear.*—Compare also words in *sp, st.*

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This list shows 60 words in which the German inorganic *sch* corresponds to English *s* (in all of them as initial). Some of the German words (as *Schlosse*, *Schlupe*, *Schmacke*, *schmuggeln*, *Schake*, *Schwad* etc.) do not appear in the Old High-German, and are mostly borrowed from the Low-German. All earlier forms, wherever found, have an *s*. To these might be added 80 words in which *s* occurs before *t* or *p* (see these letters), since in them also it is prevailingly pronounced, though not written, as *sch*.

29. German inorganic *sch* = English *t*.

FINAL: *Hirsch* (O.H.G. hiruz), *hart* (heorot).

II.—DENTAL (LINGUAL) MUTES, AND FRICATIVES.

1. German *t* = English *d*.

A. INITIAL: *Tag* (tac), *day* (dæg); *taub* (toup), *deaf* (deaf); *tauchen* (tûhhan), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *taufen* (toufan), *dip* (dippan); *Teich* (wanting in O.H.G.), *dike* (dic); *Teig* (teic), *dough* (dag); *Thal* (tal), *dale* (dæl); *Thaler* (wanting in O.H.G., but oldest form taler), *dollar* (wanting in A.S.); *That* (tât), *deed* (dêd); *Thau* (tou), *dew* (deaw); *Theil* (teil), *deal* (dæl); *theuer* (tiuri), *dear* (deore); *Thier* (tior), *deer* (deor); *Thor* (tor), *door* (duru); *-thum* (-tuom), *-dom* (-dôm); *thun* (tuon), *do* (dôn); *tief* (tëof), *deep* (deope); *Tochter* (tohtar), *daughter* (dôhtor); *Tod* (tôd), *death* (deadh); *toll* (tol), *dull* (dol); *tragen* (trakan), *drag* (dragan); *Trauer* (trûrên), *drear* obs., *dreary* (dreorig)?; *Traum* (troum), *dream* (dream); *Treber* (trëber), *draff* (drof 'draffy'); *treiben* (trîpan), *drive* (drîfan); *triefen* (triofan), *drip* (dreopan); *trinken* (trinchan), *drink* (drincan); *trocken* (trucchan), *dry* (dryg); *Tropfen* (tropho), *drop* (dropa); *Tuch* (tuoh), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *tüchtig* (tuhtîc?), *doughty* (dyhtig).

B. MEDIAL: *bieten* (piohtan), *bid* (beodan); *Büttel* (putil), *beadle* (bydel); *Eitel* (îtal), *idle* (îdel); *Enterich* (anetrëcho), *drake* (wanting in A.S.)?; *falten* (faldan), *fold* (fealdan); *Futter* (fuotar), *fodder* (fôdor); *Garten* (karto), *garden* (wanting in A.S., but geard 'yard'); *gelten* (keltan), *-geld* (geldan); *Gestüte* (stuot), *stud* (stôd); *halten* (haltan), *hold* (healdan); *hinter* (hintaro), *hinder* (hinder); *kneten* (chnëtan), *knead* (chnedan); *kritteln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *crowd* (creodan); *leiten* (leitan), *lead* (lædan); *Leiter* (hleitar), *ladder* (hlæder); *Miethe* (mieta), *meed* (mêd); *Mitte* (mittil), *middle* (middel); *Natter* (natara), *adder* (nædre); *reiten* (rîtan), *ride* (rîdan); *Reiter* (rîterâ), *riddle* (hriddel); *retten* (retjan), *rid* (hreddan); *roden* (from L.G.), *root* (wrôtan); *Ruthe* (ruota), *rod* (rôd); *Sattle* (satul), *saddle* (sadol); *Schatten* (scato), *shade*, *shadow* (sceadu); *Schlitten* (slito), *sled* (wanting in A.S., but from slîdan,

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'slide'); *schroten* (scrôtan), *shred* (scredian); *Schulter* (scultarra), *shoulder* (sculdor); *Schwarte* (wanting in O.H.G.), *sward*, prov. Engl. 'skin' (sweard); *Seite* (sîta), *side* (sîde); *Sinter* (sintar), *cinder* (sinder); *Spaten* (from L.G. spado), *spade* (speada); *spreiten* (spreitan), *spread* (spraedan); *treten* (trëtan), *tread* (tredan); *unter* (untar), *under* (under); *warten* (wartên), *ward* (weardian); *waten* (watan), *wade* (wadan); *watscheln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *waddle* (wädlian); *Wette* (wett), *bet* (bad); *zotteln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *toddle* (wanting in A.S.). To these should be added the preterit in *-te*, from *that*, Engl. *-d*, from *did;* and *-wärts* (wërt), *-wards* (weardes).

C. FINAL (in several cases written *d*, but pronounced *t*, see below): *alt* (alt), *old* (eald): *bald* (pald, M.H.G. balt), *-bold* (polt), *bold* (bald); *Bart* (part), *beard* (beard); *bereit* (wanting in O.H.G.), *ready* (râd); *Bett* (petti), *bed* (bedd); *Blatt* (plat), *blade* (blæd); *blind* (plint), *blind* (blind); *Blut* (pluot), *blood* (blôd); *Bort, Bord, Brett* (wanting in O.H.G.), *board* (bord); *Brand* (prant), *brand* (brand); *Braut* (prût), *bride* (bryd); *breit* (preit), *broad* (brâde); *Brot, Brod* (prôt), *bread* (bread); *Brut* (pruot), *brood* (brôd); *Draht* (drât), *thread* (thræd); *dritt* and other ordinals (O.H.G. *-t*), *third* etc. (A.S. *-d*); *Feind* (flant), *fiend* (feond); *Feld* (fëld, fëlt), *field* (feld); *Freund* (friunt), *friend* (freond); *glatt* (klat), *glad* (glad); *Gold* (kold, colt), *gold* (gold); *Gott* (kot), *god* (god); *Grund* (krunt), *ground* (grund); *Gurt, gürten* (kurtan), *gird* (gyrdan); *gut* (kuot), *good* (god); *hart* (harti), *hard* (heard); *Haupt* (houpit), *head* (heafodh, O.E. haved); *Haut* (hût), *hide* (hŷd); *Hirt* (hirti), *herd* (hirde); *Hort* (hort), *hoard* (hord); *Hund* (hunt), *hound* (hund); *hundert* (hundert), *hundred* (hundred); *Kalt* (chalt), *cold* (ceald); *Land* (lant), *land* (land); *Last* (hlast), *load* (hlad; hlaest is in Engl. last); *Lied* (lit), *lid* (hlid); *Loth* (M.H.G. lôt), *lead* (lead); *Magd, Maid, Mäd-chen* (makad; M.H.G. maget, meit), *maid* (mägedh); *mild* (milti), *mild* (milde); *Mord* (mord; M.H.G. mort), *murder* (mordh); *Muth* (muot), *mood* (môd); *Noth* (nôt), *need* (nead); *roth* (rôt), *red* (read); *Saat* (sât), *seed* (sæd); *Sand* (sant), *sand* (sand); *satt* (sat), *sad* (säd); *Schild* (scilt), *shield* (scild); *Schwert* (suërt), *sword* (sweord); *stät* (stâti), *steady* (stedig); *Statt* (stat), *stead* (stede); *Strand* (M.H.G. strant), *strand* (strand); *That* (tât), *deed* (dæd); *tausend* (dûsunt), *thousand* (thûsend); *Wald* (wald, but M.H.G. walt), *wold* (veald); *Wat* (wât), *wad* (wæd); *weit* (wît), *wide* (vîd); *Welt* (wëralt, worolt), *world* (veoruld); *wild* (wildi), *wild* (wild); *Wind* (wint), *wind* (wind); *Wort* (wort), *word* (word); *wund* (wunt), *wounded* (wund); *Zeit* (zît), *tide* (tîd). To these should be added the preterits *lud* (hluot), *loaded; stand* (stuont), *stood; that* (tëta), *did; wand* (want), *wound.*

According to the preceding list German *t* corresponds to English *d* in 31 words as initial, in 41 as medial, and in 67 as final. (Deducting words not found in the Old High-German the relation is: initial 29, medial 34, final 64.) As terminating in *t* have here been counted all words spelled in Modern German with a final *d*, but pronounced with *t*, in obedience to the phonetic law as to finals which (as in Sanskrit) requires the conversion of a sonant mute into its corre-

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sponding surd. In Middle High-German, and usually in Old High-German (except in *pald*, *makad*, *mord*, *wald*, *wildi*), the surd is written as well as pronounced. Of course, the results of this law ought in strictness to be held apart from those of the great law of rotation of mutes, and the 27 words illustrating it should be deducted from the 64 final examples, leaving 37. Three other words, *Gold* (O.H.G. *kold*, *colt*), *Haupt*, *Saat*, though showing a *t* in their Old High-German, have a *th* in their Gothic forms. The Anglo-Saxon forms have everywhere *d*. It should be noticed also that the *th* which occurs in several German words above has no historical support, all the earlier forms showing *t*.

2. German *t* = English *t*.

A. INITIAL: *Talg* (from L.G.), *tallow* (telg); *Tau* (from L.G.), *tow* (taw); *taumeln* (tûmelôn), *tumble* (tumbian); *Thran* (from L.G.), *train*-oil (wanting in A.S.); *tippen* (from L.G.), *tip* (wanting in A.S.); *Topf* (late O.H.G. toph), *top* (wanting in A.S.); *Torf* (from L.G.), *turf* (turf); *trampen* (from L.G.), *tramp* (wanting in A.S.); *trauen* (trûwen), *trow* (trûwian); *Treppe* (from L.G.), *trap* (borrowed word; from Danish?); *treten* (trëtan), *tread* (tredan); *treu* (triwi), *true* (treowe); *trippeln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *trip* (wanting in A.S.); *Trog* (troc), *trough* (trog); *Trost* (trôst), *trust* (wanting in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *bersten* (from L.G.; O.H.G. prëstan), *burst* (berstan); *Beute* (from L.G.), *booty* (wanting in A.S.); *Beutel* (pûtil), *bolt*-bag (wanting in A.S.)?; *bitter* (pitar), *bitter* (biter); *Eiter* (eitar), *atter* (âtor); *fechten* (fëhtan), *fight* (feohtan); *flattern* (wanting in O.H.G., but old form fladern, flodern), *flutter* (wanting in A.S.)?; *Flinte* (from Engl.; but O.H.G. flins), *flint* (flint); *flittern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *flit* (wanting in A.S.); *Gerste* (kërstâ), *grist* (grist); *Gestüte* (stuot), *stud* (stôd); *Holfter* (from huluft, and that from hulst: Goth. hulistr), *holster* (akin to heolstor); *Hütte* (hutta), *hut* (wanting in A.S.); *Knoten* (chnodo, kinoto), *knot* (cnot); *knütten* (from L.G.), *knit* (cnyttan); *Leiste* (lîstâ), *list* (list); *leisten* (leistan), *last* (laestan); *Lunte* (from L.G.), *lunt* (wanting in A.S.); *Miete* (from L.G.), *mite* (mîte); *Ostern* (ôstarûn), *Easter* (eostra); *Otter* (ottar), *otter* (oter); *Polster* (polstar), *bolster* (bolster); *Ratte* (rato, raddâ), *rat* (raet); *reuten* (riutan), *root* (wrôtan); *rösten* (from *Rost*, rôst), *roast* (wanting in A.S.); *rotten* (from L.G.), *rot* (rotian); *schote* (from L.G., but O.H.G. scôz), *sheat* (scête); *Schwester* (suëstar), *sister* (sveostor); *sichten* (from L.G.), *sift* (wanting in A.S.); *spalten*, *splitter* etc. (spaltan), *split* etc. (wanting in A.S.); *Staar* (stara), *stare*, (staere, obs.); *Stab* (stap), *staff* (stäf); *Staffel*, *stapfe* (staphal, stapho), *staple* (stapul), *step* (staepe); *Stahl* (stahal), *steel* (stêl); *Stamm* (stam), *stem* (stemn); *stammeln* (stammalôn), *stammer* (the noun stamor); *stampfen* (stamphôn), *stamp* (wanting in A.S.); *stark* (starh), *stark* (stearc); *Stärke* (starchi), *starch* (in A.S. only steark, 'strong'); *starren* (starên) *stare* (starian); *stät* (stâte), *steady* (stedig); *Statt*

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(stat), *stead* (stede); *stauen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *stow* (wanting in A.S.); *staunen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *stun* (stunian); *stecken* (stecchan), *stick* (stician); *stehen* (stantan), *stand* (standan); *stehlen* (stëlan), *steal* (stelan); *steif* (from L.G.), *stiff* (stif); *Stein* (stein), *stone* (stân); *stellen*, *Stall* (stellan, stal), *stall* (steall); *Stelze* (stelzâ), *stilt* (wanting in A.S.); *sterben* (stërpan), *starve* (steorfan); *Stern* (sterno), *star* (steorra); *steuern* (stiuran), *steer* (steoran); *sticken* (stich, but not the verb), *stitch* (stician); *stief-* (stiuph), *step-* (steop); *Stier* (stior), *steer* (steor); *stille* (stilli), *still* (stille); *stinken* (stinchan), *stink* (stincan); *stippen* (from L.G.), *steep* (wanting in A.S.); *Stock* (stocch), *stock* (stocc); *Stoppel* (stupfulâ), *stubble* (diminut. of styb?): perhaps from Latin stipula; *Storch* (storah), *stork* (storc); *stottern* (from L.G.), *stutter* (wanting in A.S.); *Strand* (wanting in O.H.G.), *strand* (strand); *Strang* (stranc), *string* (streng); *streben* (streban), *strive* (straefan?); *strecken* (strecchan), *stretch* (streccan); *streichen* (strîhhan), *strike*, *stroke* (strîcan); *streifen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *stripe*, *strip* (strypan)?; *strenge* (strenki), *strong* (strang); *streuen* (strewjan), *strew* (streowian); *Strippe*, *Strüpfe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *strap* (stropp); *Strom* (strôm), *stream* (stream); *Stube* (stupâ), *stove* (stofe): from Lat.?; *Stüber* (from L.G.), *stiver* (wanting in A.S.); *Stufe* (stuofa), *step* (stepe); *Stuhl* (stuol), *stool* (stôl); *Stumpe*, *Stumpf* (stumph), *stump* (wanting in A.S.); *Sturm* (sturm), *storm* (storm); *Tochter* (tohtar), *daughter* (dôhtor); *Winter* (wintar), *winter* (winter); *zwitschern* (zuizerôn), *twitter* (wanting in A.S.).

C. FINAL: *acht* (ahto), *eight* (eahta); *Bast* (wanting in O.H.G.), *bast* (baest); *Boot* (from L.G.), *boat* (bât); *Brust* (prust), *breast* (breost); *Ernst* (ërnust), *earnest* (eornost); *Faust* (fûst), *fist* (fŷst); *fest* (fasti), *fast* (fäst); *Fett* (wanting in O.H.G.; but feizit = *feist*), *fat* (faet); *Fracht* (from L.G.), *freight* (wanting in A.S.); *Frost* (frost), *frost* (forst); *Furcht* (forahta), *fright* (fyrhtu); *Gast* (kast), *guest* (gest); *-gift* (kift), *gift* (gift); *Heft* (hefti), *haft* (häft); *Herbst* (herbist), *harvest* (härfest); *Hut* (huota), *hat* (hät); *Knecht* (cnëht), *knight* (cniht); *Kluft* (chluft), *cleft* (from clifan); *Kraft* (chraft), *craft* (craft); *Last* (hlast), *last* (hlaest); *leicht* (lîhte), *light* (leoht); *Luft* (wanting in O.H.G.), *loft* (lyft, 'air'); *Lust* (lust), *lust* (lyst); *Macht* (maht), *might* (meaht); 1. *Mast* (mast), *mast* (mäst); 2. *Mast* (mast), *mast* (mäst); *Nest* (nest), *nest* (nest); *nicht* (nêowiht), *not* (nâwiht); *oft* (ofto), *oft* (oft); *Ost* (ost?), *east* (east); *Pott* (from L.G.), *pot* (wanting in A.S.); *Rast* (rasta), *rest* (räst); *recht* (rëht), *right* (riht); *Rist* (wanting in O.H.G.), *wrist* (wrist); 1. *Rost* (rost), *rust* (rust); 2. *Rost*, see *rösten*; *sanft* (samfti), *soft* (sêfte); *satt* (sat), *sated* (sad); *Schaft* (scaft), *shaft* (sceaft); *schlecht* (slëht), *slight* (wanting in A.S.); *Sicht* (siht-), *sight* (siht); *Trift* (wanting in O.H.G.), *drift* (wanting in A.S.); *West* (wëst?), *west* (west); *Wicht* (wiht), *wight* (wiht); *-wicht* (wiht), *weight* (wiht); *wüst* (wuosti), *waste* (wêste). To these should be added the superlative termination *-st* (as in *best*, *best*; *erst*, *erst* etc.).

According to this list, German *t* corresponds to English *t*, as initial in 15 words (7 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 83 (19 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 45 words (8 wanting in O.H.G.). The two parent dialects, the Old High-German and the Anglo-Saxon (with one exception, *sad*), both show

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a *t*, wherever the corresponding form is found, and the few Gothic forms preserved agree in the case in question with the Anglo Saxon. This preservation of *t* throughout the Germanic tongues is clearly connected with the nature of the preceding consonant. The power of *s* to preserve its kindred *t* is especially noticeable. In not less than 85 words (in 64 as medial, and in 21 as final) the *t* is preceded by *s*. It is also preceded in 13 words by *ch*, and in 8 by *f*. It is worth noticing that not less than 34, or about one quarter, of all the words in question are wanting in the Old High-German (nearly as many in the Anglo-Saxon), and are mostly borrowed from the Low-German.

3. German *t* = English *th* (or *dh*).

A. INITIAL: *tausend* (dûsunt), *thousand* (thûsend); *thauen* (doan), *thaw* (thavan); *Trumm* (drum), *thrum* (wanting in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *Latte* (lata), *lath* (lattu); *Motte* (from L.G.), *moth* (modhdhe); 1. *Mutter* (muatar), *mother* (môdur); 2. *Mutter* (from L.G.), *mother* (wanting in A.S.); *Schaden* (scado), *scath* (sceadha); *Vater* (fatar), *father* (fäder); *Wetter* (wëtar), *weather* (weder).

C. FINAL: *Bad* (*pad;* M.H.G. bat), *bath* (baedh); *Eid* (eid; M.H.G. eit), *oath* (âdh); *fort* (wanting in O.H.G.), *forth* (fordh); *Geburt* (ka-purt), *birth* (beordh, byrd, gebyrdu); *Glied* (gilit), *lith* (lidh); *Gurt* (only kurtan), *girth* (gyrd); *Herd* (hërt), *hearth* (heordh); *Kleid* (wanting in O.H.G.; M.H.G. kleit), *cloth* (clâdh); *Leid* (leid), *loath* (lâdh); *lind* (lindi), *lithe* (lîdhe); *Mahd* (mâd, M H.G. mât), *math* (maedh); *Monat* (mânôd), *month* (mônâdh); *Mund* (munt, pl. mundâ), *mouth* (mûdh); *Nord* (nord, M.H.G. nort), *north* (nordh); *Pfad* (phad, M.H.G. phat), *path* (pädh); *Schmied* (smid, M.H.G. smit), *smith* (smidh); *Schwad* (from L.G.), *swath* (swadhu); *seit* (sîd), *sith* (sîdh); *Süd* (sund), *south* (sûdh); *Tod* (tôd, M.H.G. tôt), *death* (deadh); *Werth* (wërd), *worth* (weordh). To these should be added the verb-forms *schnite* etc., akin with *smithe*, and *sott* etc., *seethed*.

Accordingly, German *t* corresponds to English *th* (*dh*) as initial in 3 words, as medial in 7 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 23 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.). English *th* (*dh*) is represented in Anglo-Saxon as initial by *th*, as medial by *d* 3 times, *dh* 2, or *t* once, and as final by *dh* everywhere, except in *gyrd;* but the use of *th* or *dh* is of an uncertain value. The great majority of German cases of final *t* are, by the law as to pronunciation of a final sonant mute of a stem, explained above (under II. 1).

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The discrepancy between English and Anglo-Saxon in regard to final *th*, *dh* is noteworthy.

The relation between the two older languages in regard to the medial is different from that of the initial and final dental. In three words the Anglo-Saxon has *d* and the Old High-German the expected *t*. Here, then, the English shows an anomalous change. It should be noticed, however, that the Old Norse has *môdhir*, *fadhir*, *wedhr*, which agree better phonetically with the Latin *mater*, *pater* than the Anglo-Saxon *môdur*, *fäder*, *weder*. Only two of the remaining four words are found in Anglo-Saxon and Old High-German. In one the relation is there *t* = *t*, and in the other *dh* = *d*. In only two words (*modhdhe*, *sceadha*) is the Anglo-Saxon lingual aspirated in the middle of the word.

4 German *t* not represented in English pronunciation.

A. MEDIAL: *Borste* (purst), *bristle* (byrst, bristl); *Distel* (distil), *thistle* (thistel); *Drostel* (wanting in O.H.G.; M.G. trostel), *thrustle* (throsle for throstle?); *Mistel* (mistil), *mistletoe* (mistellâ).

B. FINAL: *Mond* (mâno, M.H.G. mânôt), *moon* (môna).

In all these words, except *Mond*, *t* is original. In *Mond*, *d* is a later derivative ending (M.H.G. *-ôt*).

5. German *d* = English *th* (*dh*).

A. INITIAL: *da* (*r*) (dâr), *there* (thaer); *Dach* (dah), *thatch* (thäc); *Dank* (danch), *thanks* (thanc); *dann* (danna), *then* (thanne); *dass* (daz), *that* (thät); *Daum* (dûmo), *thumb* (thûma); *Degen* (dëkan), *thane* (thegen); *dein* (dîn), *thine* (thîn); *denken* (denchan), *think* (thencean); *der*, *die*, *das* (*dër*, diu, daz), *the*, *that* (se, seo, thät); *Deube* (diuba), *theft* (theofdh); *dicht*, *dick* (dicchi), *thick* (thicce); *Dieb* (diup), *thief* (theof); *Diele* (dilo), *thill* (thile); *dies* (diz), *this* (thes); *Ding* (dinc), *thing* (thing); *Distel* (distil), *thistle* (thistel); *doch* (doh), *though* (theah); *Donner* (Donar), *thunder* (thunar); *Dorf* (dorf), *thorp* (thorp); *Dorn* (dorn), *thorn* (thorn); *Draht* (drât), *thread* (thraed); *drehen* (drâjan), *throw* (thrâwan); *drillen* (from L.G.), *thrill* (thyrlian); *drei* etc. (driâ), *three* etc. (thrî); *dreschen* (drëscan), *thresh* (threscan); *dringen* (dringan), *throng* (thringan); *drohen* (drouwan), *throe* (threaw, from threowan); *Drossel* (from L.G., but O.H G. droscelâ), *thrustle* (throsle), *thrush* (thrysce); *Drossel* (drosa), *throttle*, *throat* (throte); *du* (dû), *thou* (thû), *dulden* (dultan), *thole* (tholian); *dünn* (dunni), *thin* (thynne); *Durst* (durst), *thirst* (thurst).

B. MEDIAL: *Adel* (adal), *ethel*, obsol. 'noble' (edhel); *ander* (andar), *other* (ôdher); *beide* (pêdê), *both* (bâ; O. Saxon bêthia); *Bruder* (pruodar), *brother* (brôdhor); *Bude* (wanting in O.H.G.), *booth* (wanting in A.S.); *Bürde*

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(purdî), *burthen* (byrdhen); *Erde* (ërda), *earth* (eordhe); *Faden* (fadum), *fathom* (fädhm); *Feder* (fëdara), *feather* (fedher); *förder, fürder* (furdir), *farther, further* (furdhôr); *Fuder* (fuoder), *fother* (fôther); *Heide* (heida), *heath* (hädh); *Leder* (lëdar), *leather* (ledher); *linde* (lindi), *lithe* (lîdhe); *nieden* (nidana), *nieder* (nidari), *beneath* (neodhan), *nether* (nidher); *Scheide* (sceidâ), *sheath* (scaedh); *schmieden, schmiede* (smidôn), obsol. *smith, smithy* (smidhian); *schneiden* (snîdan), *smithe*, 'cutting' (snîdhan); *sieden* (siodan), *seethe* (seodhan); *weder* (huëdar), *whether* (hwädher); *Weide, Wiede* (wîdâ), *withe* (widhie); *werden* (wërdan), *worth*, 'be,' as in 'woe worth the day' (weordhan); *Widder* (widar), *wether* (wedher); *wider* (widar), *with* (widher).

C. Final. To these should be added the 15 words in final written *d* pronounced as *t* (above II. 3), which resume in inflection the sonant.

Here German *d* corresponds to English *th*(*dh*) as initial in 35 words (one wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 39 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 15 words. In the Old High-German, *d* is found everywhere, except in *gilit, hërt* (p. 133), and in the Anglo-Saxon is found *th, dh*. In regard to the use of the surd or sonant aspirate there is often a discrepancy between English and Anglo-Saxon; the nature of the latter, however, is uncertain.

6. German *d* = English *d*.

A. Initial: *dahlen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *dally* (wanting in A.S., but dol, 'foolish'); *Dam-* (tâmo), *doe* (dâ); *Damm* (M.H.G. tam), *dam* (wanting in A.S.); *Dämmer* (dëmar), *dim* light (dim; but Old Sax. thimm); *Dampf* (damph), *damp* (wanting in A.S.); *Daune, Dune* (fr. L.G.), *down* (wanting in A.S.); *decken* (decchan), *deck* (theccan); *Deich* (from L.G.), *dike* (dîk); *Diele* (dilo), *deal* (wanting in A.S.; L.G. dele; O.N. thili); *drillen* (from L.G.), *drill* (thyrlian); *Drohne* (from L.G.), *drone* (drân); *drollig* (from L.G.), *droll* (wanting in A.S.)?; *ducken* (from tûhhan), *duck* (wanting in A.S.); *Düne* (from L.G.), *dune, down* (dûn); *Dung* (tunga), *dung* (dung); *dürr* (durri), *dry* (dryg: thyrr is the nearest kin to *dürr*); *Dusel* (from L.G.), *dizziness* (dysig-ness); *Dust* (from L.G.), *dust* (dust).

B. Medial: *Adel* (adal), *adeling* (ædhel-ing); *binden* (pintan), *bind* (bindan); *Bürde* (purdi), *burden* (byrdhen); *Ende* (enti), *end* (ende); *Fehde* (fêhida), *feud* (fædhu); *finden* (findan), *find* (findan; Goth. finthan); *Fuder* (fuoder), *fodder* (fôdher); *Gilde* (from L.G.), *guild* (gild); *Hede* (from L.G. herde), *herd* (hirde); *Herde* (hërta), *herd* (heord); *Holder* (holantar, holter), *elder* (ellarn)?; *hudeln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *huddle* (wanting in A.S.); *Hürde* (hurd), *hurdle* (hyrdel); *laden* (hlatan), *load* (hladan); *Lende* (lenti), *lends* (lend); *Linde* (lintâ), *linden* (lind); *Mädel* (M.H.G. magetlîn), *maiden* (mägden, from mægedh); *Nadel* (nâdila), *needle* (nædl; Goth. nêthla); *Plunder* (wanting in O.H.G.), *plunder* (wanting in A.S.); *reden* (rediôn), *read* (redan; O. Sax. redhiôn); *Rhede* (wanting in O.H.G.), *road* (râd? or akin to E. ready); *Rinde* (rinta), *rind* (rind); *Ruder* (ruodar), *rudder* (rôdher); *Schauder* (want-

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ing in O.H.G.), *shudder* (wanting in A.S.); *Schwindel* (suintil), *swindle* (wanting in A.S.); *senden* (sentan), *send* (sendan); *sonder* (suntar), *sunder* (from sundor=*sonder*); *spenden* (spëntôn), *spend* (spendan); *Spindel* (spinnala), *spindle* (spindel, spinl); *wandern* (wanting in O.H.G.; but wantalôn=*wandeln*), *wander* (wandrian); *winden* (wintan), *wind* (windan); *Wunde* (wunt), *wound* (wund); *Wunder* (wuntar), *wonder* (wundor); *Zünden* (zuntan), *tind* (tendan obs.); *Zunder* (zuntrâ), *tinder* (tyndre). To these should be added the 26 nouns and adjectives given before, under II. 1, terminating in *d*, pronounced as *t*, which in their inflection resume the sonant *d*.

According to the preceding list, German *d* agrees with English *d* as initial in 17 words, as medial in 59 words, and as final in 26 words. Deducting words not found in the Old High-German, the relation is: initial 9, medial 53. The Anglo-Saxon forms have all *d*, with seven exceptions, which have the aspirated dental (2 initial *th*, 5 medial *dh*). The expected Old High-German *t* is found, in the prevailing number of words, in 4 as initial, and in 36 as medial. In its remaining 20 words, *d* is found, in 5 as initial, and in 15 as medial. Deducting the 6 Anglo-Saxon words with an aspirated dental, which warrants the Old High-German *d*, there remain 14 Old High-German forms which in regard to their dental sounds agree with the Anglo-Saxon forms. Nine of the latter, however, are represented in other dialects on a level with the Anglo-Saxon (Gothic, Old Saxon, etc.) by an aspirated dental. The result would seem to be, therefore, that while the English *d* is (with, perhaps, some fifteen exceptions) the regular representative of the original Germanic *d*, the German *d* is (with as many exceptions) the irregular representative of the same letter, instead of the expected *t* (which is found in 40 instances in the Old High-German). It should be noticed that here, as in the case where German *t* corresponds to English *t*, the borrowing from Low-German is quite frequent.

7. German *d* = English *t*.

A. INITIAL: *dicht* (from dîhan), *tight* (tyht); *Dienstag* (from L. Sax.; O.H.G. Ziestac), *Tuesday* (Tiwesdæg); *drücken* (drucchan), *trig* (thryccan).

B. MEDIAL: *Boden* (podam), *bottom* (botm); *Fladen* (flado), *flat*-cake (wanting in A.S.); *flädern*, in comp's (flëdarôn), *flutter* (wanting in A.S.); *roden* (from L.G.), *root* (wrôtan).

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The anomalous relation of these seven words is hard to account for, especially as the Gothic form is, for the most part, wanting. The English *t* seems in two words, *tight*, and *trig*, a deaspiration of an earlier *th* (Anglo-Saxon *thryccan*, Old Norse *thêttr*), and the German *d* is in two words (*Dienstag* and *roden*) borrowed. Of the remaining three words, two are wanting in Anglo-Saxon (all in Gothic).

8. German *d* not represented in English.

MEDIAL: *Luder* (M.H.G. luoder), *lure* (prob'ly through Fr.)?; *oder* (odar), *or*, contr'n of *other* (âdher); *Sünde* (suntëa), *sin* (synn, O. Sax. sundia, prob'ly from different though kindred sources : synn — Goth. sunja?).

9. English *d* not represented in German.

MEDIAL: *thunder* (thunor, thunder), *Donner* (donar); *yond*, *yond-er* (geond), *jen-er* (gënêr; Goth. jains).

In these two words *d* is in English (and Anglo-Saxon) an extension of the primitive form. The real correspondent to *jen* is *yon*.

10. English *th* not represented in German.

FINAL: *breadth* (O. Engl. bredethe), *Breite* (preiti); *depth* (Goth. diupitha), *Tiefe* (tiufi); *tooth* (tôdh), *Zahn* (zand); *width* (wanting in A.S.), *weite* (witi).

In *breadth*, *depth*, and *width* the final *th* is the remainder of an old ending, seen in the Gothic *diupitha*, which is lost in German. In *tooth* it is the primitive *t*, regularly represented in Anglo-Saxon and the Old High-German.

German *s*. The dental sibilant in German is of two kinds: one is the unaltered Indo-European *s*; the other, a representative of the oldest Germanic *t* (changed in the Old High-German to *z* instead of an aspirated dental, and in the New-German to *s*). The former, agreeing everywhere (except in a few sporadic cases given below) with the English *s*, need not be enumerated separately, especially as the list is very long (comprising a trifle over 200 cases). The latter, on the contrary, will be given in full below.

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11. German *s* (original *t*) = English *t*.

A. MEDIAL: *beissen* (pîzan), *bite* (bîtan); *besser* (peziro), *better* (betera); *Busse* (puoza), *boot* (bôt); *emsig* (emizico), *empty* (ämtig); *essen* (ëzan), *eat* (etan); *Fessel* (fezil), *fetter* (feter); *fliessen* (fliozan), *float* (fleotan); *Gasse* (gazâ), *gate* (gat); *grüssen* (kruozan), *greet* (grêtan); *heissen* (heizan), *hight* (hâtan); *lassen* (lâzan), *let* (lætan); *messen* (mëzan), *mete* (metan); *Nessel* (nezila), *nettle* (netele); *rasseln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *rattle* (wanting in A.S.); *reissen* (rîzan), *write* (wrîtan); *schiessen* (sciozan), *shoot* (sceotan); *schleissen* (slîzan), *slit* (slîtan); *schliessen*, see *schloss; Schlosse* (M.H.G. slôz), *sleet* (sliht); *schmeissen* (smîzan), *smite* (smîtan); *spleissen* (wanting in O.H.G.; M.G. splîzen), *split* (wanting in A.S.); *spriessen* (spriuzan), *sprout* (spreotan); *Wasser* (wazar), *water* (wäter); *wissen* (wîzan), *wit* (witan).

B. FINAL: *aus* (ûz), *out* (ût); *Eiss* (eiz), *atter* (âtor); *es* (îz), *it* (hit); *Fass* (faz), *vat* (fät); *Fuss* (fuoz), *foot* (fôt); *Geiss* (keiz), *goat* (gât); *Griess* (krioz), *grit, groats* (greot); *gross* (krôz), *great* (great); *Hass* (haz), *hate* (hete); *heiss* (heiz), *hot* (hât); *lass* (laz), *late* (lät); *Loos* (hlôz), *lot* (hlôt); *Niss* (niz), *nit* (hnitu); *Nuss* (hnuz), *nut* (hnyt); *Sass(e)* (sâzo), *setter* (from settan); *Schweiss* (sueiz), *sweat* (svât); *Spiess* (spiz), *spit* (spitu); *süss* (suozi), *sweet* (swête); *was* (hwaz), *what* (hwät); *weiss* (huîz), *white* (hwît): to which should be added the preterit *sass, sat.*

German *s*, then, corresponds to English *t* as medial in 23 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 21 words. The Anglo-Saxon forms have without exception *t*, and the Old High-German *z*, the permuted form of *t*, instead of the normal dental aspirate.

12. German *s* (original *t*) = English *d*.

FINAL: *Kloss* (chlôz), *clod* (clot).

13. German *s* (original *t*) = English *z*.

FINAL: *lass, lässig* (laz, M.H.G. lezzic), *lazy* (wanting in A.S.; O. Eng. lasie).

14. German original *s* corresponds to English *s*(*z*) in somewhat more than 200 instances. Only in the following cases is there a discrepancy:

Eisen (îsarn), *iron* (îsern, îren); *Hase* (haso), *hare* (hara); *sie* (siu), *she* (seo); *sollen* (scolan; that is, *s* here = *sc*), *shall* (scal, scealan); [doubtfully in *Bürste, brush* (fr. Fr.?), *giessen gush*]. In three words (see p. 149, No. 3) it has been changed to *r* while the English *s* has been retained.

15. German *z* = English *t*.

A. INITIAL: *Zagel* (zagal), *tail* (taegel); *zäh* (zâhi), *tough* (tôh); *Zahl* (zala), *tale* (talu); *zahm* (zam), *tame* (tam); *Zahn* (zan, zand), *tooth* (todh);

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Zange (zanka), *tongs* (tange); *Zapfen* (zapho), *tap* (täppa); *Zarge* (zarga), *target* (targe); *Zaun* (zûn), *town* (tûn); *Zecke* (wanting in O.H.G.), *tick* (wanting in A.S.); *Zehe* (zêha), *toe* (tâh); *zehn* (zëhan), *ten* (ten); *Zeichen* (zeihhan), *token* (tâcen); *Zeit* (zît), *tide* (tîd); *Zieche* = *Zecke*; *-zig*, in *zwanzig* etc. (-zuc), *-ty* (-tig); *ziehen* (ziohan), *tug* (teohan); *Ziesel-maus* (zisemûs), *tit-mouse* (sisemûs?)?; *Zimmer* (zimpar), *timber* (timber); *Zinn* (zin), *tin* (tin); *Zopf* (zoph), *top* (top); *zotteln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *toddle* (wanting in A.S.); *zu* (zuo), *to* (tô); *Zünden* (zuntan), *tind* (tendan obs.); *Zunder* (zuntrâ), *tinder* (tyndre); *Zunge* (zungâ), *tongue* (tunge); *zwanzig* (zweinzuc), *twenty* (twêntig); *Zwehle* (duahilan), *towel* (wanting in A.S.); *zwei*, *zwie-*, *zwi-*, *etc.* (zwei), *two* (twâ); *zwicken* (zuicchan), *tweak* (twiccian); *zwingen* (duinkan), *twinge* (O. Sax. thuingan)?; *zwinken* (zuincho-), *twinkle* (twinclian); *zwirlen* (from dweran), *twirl* (only thwiril); *zwirnen* (from zuir), *twist* (from twi); *zwischen*, from zwei, *between* from be-twain; *zwitschern* (zuizeron), *twitter* (wanting in A.S.); *zwölf*, from *zwei*, *twelve*.

B. MEDIAL: *beizen* (peizan), *bite* (bîtan); *grunzen* (grunzen), *grunt* (grunan); *Grütze* (kruzi), *grit* (grytta); *heizen* (heizan), *heat* (hätan); *Hitze* (hizëa), *heat* (häte); *Ratze*, see *Ratz*; *schmelzen* (smëlzan), *smelt*, *melt* (meltan); *schmerzen* (smerzan), *smart* (smeortan); *Schnauze* (from L.G.), *snout*, *snite* (snite); *sitzen* (sizzan), *sit* (sittan); *spritzen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *spirt*, *spurt*, *sprit* (sprytan, 'sprout'); *spützen*, *speuzen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *spit* (spittan); *Steltze* (stelzin), *stilt* (wanting in A.S.); *Warze* (warza), *wart* (weart); *Weizen* (hueizi), *wheat* (hwâte); *wetzen* (huazzan), *whet* (hwettan).

C. FINAL: *Bolz* (polz), *bolt* (bolt); *Filz* (filz), *felt* (felt); *Herz* (hërzâ), *heart* (heorte); *Holz* (holz), *holt* (holt obs.); *Lenz* (lenzo), *lent* (lengten); *Malz* (malz), *malt* (mealt); *Milz* (milzi), *milt* (milte); *Netz* (nezi), *net* (net); *Ratz* (rato), *rat* (raet); *Salz* (salz), *salt* (sealt); *Schurz* (from L.G.), *shirt* (wanting in A.S.); *schwarz* (suarz), *swart* (sweart); *Wurz* (wurz), *wort* (vyrt).

German *z*, then, corresponds to English *t* as initial in 36 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 15 (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 13 (1 wanting in O.H.G.). The Anglo-Saxon forms have everywhere *t* except in *thwiril*, and in the doubtful *sisemûs*. The Old High-German forms have the expected *z* everywhere except in *dweran* (which agrees with the Anglo-Saxon *thwiril*), *duinkan* (which agrees with the Old Saxon *thuingan*), *duahilan* (wanting in the older dialects, but from *duahan* = Gothic *thvahan*, Anglo-Saxon *thweahan*), and *rato*, in which the original *t* has been persistent.

16. German *z* = English *th*.

A. INITIAL: *Zwerch* (duërah), *thwart* (thweorh).

B. FINAL: *schwarz* (suarz), *swarth* (sweart).

Here, as seen, German has made an irregular change in *Zwerch*, but English in *swarth*.

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17. German *z* = English *s*.

A. INITIAL: *Zeischen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *siskin* (wanting in A.S. and kindred tongues); *zimpfern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *simper* (wanting in A.S. and kindred tongues).

B. MEDIAL: *letzt* (lezist), *last* (contraction of E. latest).

The first two words are of entirely doubtful connections; and in the last it is rather the medial *t* than *s* which has been dropped.

18. German *z* = English *d*.

A. INITIAL: *Zwerg* (tuërc), *dwarf* (dweorg).

B. MEDIAL: *gelzen* (from galza), *geld* (only gylte, 'castrated').

C. FINAL: *klotz* (chlôz), *clod* (clot).

In the first word, German has pushed the older dental (*t*) one step further. In the second, English *d* seems irregular, and is, perhaps, borrowed from the Scandinavian (O.N. *gelda*); and in the last, English has changed *t* to *d*.

19. German *z* = English *ch* (*tch*).

A. INITIAL: *zirken* (also *tschirpen*; wanting in O.H.G., and probably from Engl.), *chirp* (wanting in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *kratzen* (chrâzôn), *scratch*, O. Engl. *cratch* (wanting in A.S., probably imported).

20. German *z* = English *tz*.

MEDIAL: *walzen* (walzan), *waltz* (wanting in A.S.; probably from Germ.).

III.—LABIAL MUTES, AND FRICATIVES.

1. German *p* = English *p*.

A. INITIAL: *Plunder* (wanting in O.H.G.), *plunder* (wanting in A.S.); *Pocke* (wanting in O.H.G.), *pock* (pocc); *Pökel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *pickle* (wanting in A.S.)?; *Pott* (from L.G.), *pot* (wanting in A.S.); *Pranger* (wanting in O.H.G.), *prong* (wanting in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *Espe* (aspa), *asp* (æspe); *foppen* (from L.G.), *fop* (wanting in A.S.); *Gimpel* (from M.H.G. gumpen, 'jump'), *jump* (wanting in A.S.); *Haspe, Hespe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *hasp* (häsp); *Klumpen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *clump* (wanting in A.S.); *knappen, Knapsack* (wanting in O.H.G.), *knap, knapsack* (wanting in A.S.); *Krampe* (chramphâ), *cramp*-iron (wanting in A.S., but see next); *Krimpen* (chrimphan), *crimp* (crimpan); *Krüppel* (wanting in O.H.G.), *cripple* (crypel); *Lappen* (lappa), *lap* (lappa); *Lippe* (from

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L.G.), *lip* (lippa); *lispeln* (lispan), *lisp* (wlisp, 'lisping'); *Raspel* (wanting in O.H.G., but from raspôn), *rasp* (wanting in A.S.); *Schlupe* (from L.G.), *sloop* (wanting in A.S.); *spähen* (spëhôn), *spy* (wanting in A.S., and prob'ly through Fr.)?; *Spange* (spangâ), *spang*, obsol. (spange); *Spanne* (spanna), *span* (spann); *sparen* (sparôn), *spare* (sparian); *Spaten* (from L.G.), *spade* (speada); *Speer*, see *sper*; *Speiche* (speichâ), *spoke* (spâce); *speien* (spîwan), *spew* (spîwan); *spenden* (spentôn), *spend* (spendan); *Sperber* (sparwari), *sparrow* (spearwa); *Sper* (spër), *spear* (spere); *Spiere* (from L.G.), *spire* (wanting in A.S.)?; *Spiess* (spiz), *spit* (spitu); *spinnen* (spinnan), *spin* (spinnan); *spleissen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *split* (wanting in A.S.); *Sporn* (sporo), *spur* (spora); *sprechen* (sprëhhan), *speak* (sprecan, specan); *spreiten* (spreitan), *spread* (sprædan); *sprengen*, from *springen* (sprincan), *spring* (springan); *spritzen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *spirt*, *spurt*, *sprit* (sprytan, 'sprout'); *sprießen* (spriuzan), *sprout* (spreotan); *Spule* (spuolo), *spool* (wanting in A.S.); *Spur* (spor), *spoor* (wanting in A.S.); *sputen* (spuotôn), *speed* (spëdan); *spützen*, *spewzen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *spit* (spittan); *Stippen* (from L.G.), *steep* (wanting in A.S.); *Strippe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *strap* (stropp); *Stumpe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *stump* (wanting in A.S.); *trippeln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *trip* (wanting in A.S.); *Wespe* (wafsa), *wasp* (wäsp); *wispeln* (huisbalôn), *whisper* (hwisprian); *zirpen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *chirp* (wanting in A.S.).

C. FINAL: only in a few imperat. interjections, like *schnapp*, *snap*.

German *p* corresponds, then, to English *p* as initial in 5 words (all wanting in O.H.G.), and as medial in 46 words (19 of which are wanting in O.H.G.). As we have seen, nearly one-half of the German words are wanting in the Old High-German, and several of those found are clearly borrowed from the Low-German. The Anglo-Saxon forms, wherever found, have without exception *p*. The Old High-German forms have likewise *p*, except in *chramphâ*, *chrimphan*, *wafsa*, *huisbalôn*.

2. German *p* = English *f*.

A. MEDIAL: *Klippe* (from L.G.), *cliff* (clif); *schnuppen* (from L.G.), *snuff* (wanting in A.S.); *laubte*, *left*; *raubte*, *reft*.

B. FINAL (German written *b*, prevailingly pronounced *p*): *ab* (aba, apa), *of* (of); *Alp* (alp), *elf* (älf); *Dieb* (diup), *thief* (theof); *grob* (gerob; M.H.G. grop), *gruff* (wanting in A.S.); *halb* (halp), *half* (healf); *Kalb* (chalp), *calf* (cealf); *Laib* (hleip), *loaf* (hlâf); *Leib* (lîp), *life* (lif); *lieb* (liup), *lief* (leof); *Schaub* (scoup), *shief* (sceaf); *selb* (sëlp), *self* (self); *Stab* (stap), *staff* (stäf); *taub* (toup), *deaf* (deaf); *Weib* (wîp), *wife* (wif).

German *p* corresponds, then, to English *f* in 18 words. In all, except *schnuppen*, *Klippe* (both from Low-German), and the two preterits, *laubte*, *raubte*, it is final; everywhere, save in

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Alp, it is written *b;* and the relation is due, accordingly, to the law as to surd pronunciation of a final mute. The Anglo-Saxon forms all have *f;* but they are often derived (as shown by the Anglo-Saxon or Gothic) from forms having *b* instead of *f*.

3. German *p* = English *b*.

A. INITIAL: *Polster* (polstar), *bolster* (bolster); *Pracht* (praht), *bright* (briht).

B. MEDIAL: *Krippe* (chrippa), *crib* (cryb); *Rippe* (rippi), *rib* (rib); *rumpeln* (wanting in O.H.G.), *rumble* (wanting in A.S.); *Stoppel* (from L.G.; O.H.G. stupfulâ), *stubble* (diminut. of stybb?: perhaps from Lat. stipula).

The older forms (wanting for two words) agree here in regard to labials with the modern ones.

4. German *p* = English *v*.

A. INITIAL: *Rappe* (rabbo, 'raven'), *raven*-colored horse (hräfen). Here may be counted also the verb-forms: *glaubte, believed; lebte, lived*; *liebte, loved; schabte, shaved; strebte, strove.*

B. FINAL: *Lieb* = (liubî; *lieb*, liup, Goth. liubs), *love* (lufu); *Sieb* (sib, sip), *sieve* (sife); *sieb-zehn* etc., *seven-teen*. With these should be counted the verb-forms: *gab, gave; grub*, akin to *grave; hob, hub, heaved; klob, cleaved; schob, shoved; starb, starved; trieb, drove; wob, wove;* and some other words which, when abreviated, terminate in *b*.

Here German *p* corresponds to English *v* as initial in 6 words, and as final in 11 words: in the latter case everywhere, except in *Rappe*, by the law as to pronunciation of a final mute. Only *heben* is in the Old High-German *heffan*. The Anglo-Saxon labial is everywhere *f*, except in *hebban* (*heave*); but the Gothic, where found, has *b*. The German labial is therefore in the main accordant with the Old High-German labial; but the English differs everywhere from the Anglo-Saxon (which, again, does not agree with the Gothic).

5. German *p* = English written, but unpronounced, *b*.

Wampe (wampa), *womb* (wamb).

6. English *p* not represented in German.

Empty (ämtig, ämettig), *emsig* (meizicô); *head* (heafod, O.E. haved); *crump* (crump), *krumm* (chrump); *whimper* (wanting in A.S.), *wimmern* (wanting in O.H.G.; older form wemmern, and never *p*, except in Engl.)?

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7. German *b* = English *b*.

A. INITIAL: *baar* (par), *bare* (bar); *Bach* (pach), *beck* (becc); *backen* (pachan), *bake* (bacan); *Bad* (pad), *bath* (baedh); *Bake* (pouhan), *beacon* (beacen); *bald* (pald), *bold* (bald); *Balg* (palc), *bellow*, *belly* (baelg); *Balken* (palcho), *balk* (balc); *Bank* (panch), *bank* (banc); *Bann* (pan), *ban* (geban); *Bär* (përo), *bear* (bera); *bären* (peran), *bear* (beran); *Barme*, *Bärme* (from L.G.), *barm* (beorma); *Bart* (part), *beard* (beard); *Bast* (wanting in O.H.G.), *bast* (baest); *Bauer* (pûr), *boor*, *bower* (bûr); *Baum* (poum), *beam* (beam); *baxen* (from L.G.; M.H.G. puxen), *box* (wanting in A.S.); *bei* (pî), *by* (bi); *beide* (pêdê), *both* (bâ); *Beil* (pihil), *bill* (bil); *Bein* (pein), *bone* (bân); *beissen* (pîzan), *bite* (bîtan); *bergen*, *Her-berge* (përkan, heri-përgôn), *bury*, *harbor* (beorgan, here-berga); *Berg* (perac), *berg* (beorh); *bersten* (from L.G.; O.H.G. prëstan), *burst* (berstan); *Besen* (pësamo), *besom* (besma); *besser*, *best* (peziro, pezist), *better*, *best* (betera, betest); *Bett* (petti), *bed* (bedd); *biegen*, *beugen* (piokan), *bow* (bugan); *Beule* (pûli), *boil* (wanting in A.S.); *Beute* (from L.G.), *booty* (wanting in A.S.); *Beutel* (pûtil), *bolt*-bag (wanting in A.S.)?; *Biene* (pini, plur.), *bee* (beo); *bieten* (piohtan), *bid* (beodan); *binden* (pintan), *bind* (bindan); *Birke* (piricha), *birch* (beorc); *bitter* (pitar), *bitter* (biter); *blähen* (plâjan), *blow* (bläwan); *blasen* (plâsan), *blast* (from blaesan); *Blatt* (plat), *blade* (blaed); *blau* (plâo), *blue* (bleo); *bleich* (pleih), *bleak* (blâc); *blind* (plint), *blind* (blind); *blinken* (wanting in O.H.G., but planch. 'blanc'), *blink* (blican?); *Block* (piloh), *block* (wanting in A.S.); *blühen* (pluojan), *blow* (blôwan); *Blume* (pluomo), *bloom* (O. SAX. blômo); *Blut* (pluot), *blood* (blôd); *Bock* (pocch), *buck* (bucca); *Boden* (podam), *bottom* (botm); *Bogen* (poko), *bow* (boga); *Bohle* (wanting in O.H.G.), *bole* (wanting in A.S.); *Bohne* (pôna), *bean* (bean); *bohren* (porôn), *bore* (borian); *-bold* (polt), *bold* (bald); *Bollwerk* (wanting in O.H.G.), *bulwark* (wanting in A.S.); *Bolz* (polz), *bolt* (bolt); *Boot* (from L.G.), *boat* (bât); *Bord*, *Brett* (wanting in O.H.G.), *board* (bord); *borgen* (poraken), *borrow* (borgian); *Borke* (from L.G.), *bark* (wanting in A.S.); *Born* (from L.G.), *bourn* (burna); *Borste* (purst), *bristle* (byrst, bristl); *Bram* (from L.G.), *broom*, *bramble* (brôm, brêmbel); *Bräme* (wanting in O.H.G.), *brim* (bremme); *Brand* (prant), *brand* (brand); *brauchen* (prûhhan), *brook* (brûcan); *Braue*, *Braune* (prâwa), *brow* (brûva); *brauen* (priuwan), *brew* (breovan); *braun* (prûn), *brown* (brûn); *Brausche* (from L.G.), *bruise* (from brŷsan); *Braut* (prût), *bride* (brŷd); *brechen* (prëhhan), *break* (brecan); *breit* (preit), *broad* (brâde); *brennen* (prennan), *burn* (beornan); *Brett*, see *Bord*; *bringen* (prinkan), *bring* (bringan); *Brod* (prôt), *bread* (bread); *Bruch* (bruoch), *brook* (brôc); *Brycke* (pruccâ), *bridge* (brycg); *Bruder* (pruodar), *brother* (brôdhor); *Brust* (prust), *breast* (breost); *Brut* (pruot), *brood* (brôd); *Buch* (puoh), *book* (bôc); *Buche* (puohha), *beach* (bôc); *Bude* (wanting in O.H.G.), *booth* (wanting in A.S.); *Bulle* (from L.G.), *bull* (wanting in A.S.); *Bürde* (purdî), *burden* (byrdhen); *Burg* (puruc), *burg* (byrig); *Busen* (puosum), *bosom* (bôsum); *Buse* (puoza), *boot* (bôt); *Büttel* (putil), *beadle* (bydel).

B. MEDIAL: *Ebbe* (from L.G.), *ebb* (ebba); *Geburt* (ka-purt), *birth* (beordh); *Giebel* (kipil), *gable* (wanting in A.S.; *gable* perhaps through Fr.); *graben*, *grübeln!* (krapan, krupilon), *grub* (grafan, pret. grub); *reiben* (rîpan), *rub* (wanting in A.S.); *schrubben* (from L.G.), *scrub* (wanting in A.S.); *Webe* (weppî), *web* (webb).

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Here, then, German *b* corresponds to English *b* as initial in 91 words (16 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 7 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.). The Anglo-Saxon forms have everywhere *b*, and the Old High-German, with one exception (*bruoch*), the expected *p*.

8. German *b* = English *f*.

A. MEDIAL: in 13 words terminating in *b*, pronounced as *p*, but resuming in inflection the sonant labial (see *p* = *f*, p. 141). Further in the following words where, however, the English forms are not generally identical in formation with the German: *Deube* (diuba), *theft* (theofdh); *Gabe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *gift* (gift); *Glaube* (ga-loupo), *belief* (ge-leafa); *Kerbe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *kerf* (cyrf); *Laube* (loupa), *leaf* (leaf); *schnauben* (wanting in O.H.G.), *snuff* (wanting in A.S.); *Treber* (trëber), *draff* (drof, 'draffy'); *Webe* (weppi), *weft* (wift).

B. FINAL: in the 14 words given above, under III. 2.

As will be seen by comparison, the relation between German and English is here founded on an important discrepancy of forms, all the German words terminating in a vowel, but all the English in *f* or *ft*. The retention of *f* in English is owing to the absence of a following vowel, since it is changed to *v* everywhere (except in *snuff*) before a vowel in inflection (as in *calf*, *calves*, *thief*, *thieves*, etc.), or in kindred words (as in *theft*, *thieving*, etc.). The preceding 21 words belong therefore (all except *schnauben*) more properly to German *b* = English *v*, below.

9. German *b* = English *v*.

A. MEDIAL: *Abend* (apant), *evening* (äfen); *b-leiben* (lîpan), *leave* (laefan); *Dieberei* (from diup), *thievery* (wanting in A.S.); *eben* (ëpan), *even* (efen): *geben* (këpan), *give* (gifan); *glauben* (kaloupan), *believe* (be-lefan); *graben* (krapan), *grave* (from grafan); *Grube* (kruopa), *groove* (grôf); *haben* (hapên), *have* (habban); *heben* (heffan), *heave* (hebban); *Herbst* (herbist, herpist), *harvest* (härfest); *kleben* (chlëpên), *cleave* (cleoflan); *klieben*, *klöben* (chliopan), *cleave* (cleoflan); *Knabe* (knabo), *knave* (cnapa, cnafa); *leben* (lëpên), *live* (liflan); *Nabe* (napa), *nave* (nafu); *ober* (obar), *over* (ofer); *Rabe* (rabo, hraban), *raven* (hräfn); *Salbe* (salpa), *salve* (sealf); *schaben* (scapan), *shave* (scafan); *Scheibe* (scîpâ), *sheave*, *shive* (wanting in A.S.); *schieben* (sciopan), *shove* (scûfan); *sieben* (sipun), *seven* (seofon); *Silber* (silapar), *silver* (seolfor); *sterben* (stërpan), *starve* (steorfan); *streben* (strëpen?), *strive* (wanting in A.S.); *Stube* (stupâ), *stove* (stofe): from Lat.?; *Stüber* (from L.G.), *stiver* (wanting in A.S.); *Taube* (tûpa), *dove* (dufe, duva); *treiben* (trîpan), *drive* (drîfan); *übel*

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(upil), *evil* (yfel); *über* (upar, ubar), *over* (ofer); *weben* (wëpan), *weave* (wefan). With these should be counted 20 words treated under the heading "German *b* = English *f*," above (III. 8).

According to this list, German *b* corresponds to English *v* in 53 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), and in all medial. The Anglo-Saxon forms, wherever found, have *f*, but the Gothic (with one or two exceptions), *b*. The Old High-German forms have all, except *rabo*, *p*, the regular correspondent to Gothic *b*.

10. German *b* represented in English, mostly, by some vowel-change.

A. INITIAL: *Brack* (from L.G. wrak), *wreck*, *wrack* (wanting in A.S.).

B. MEDIAL: *Eibe* (îwa), *yew* (îw, eow); *gelb* (këlo, genit. këlawes), *yellow* (geolo, genit. geolwes); *Habicht* (hapuh), *hawk* (heafoc); *Narbe* (M.G. narwe; akin to O.H.G. narwo, 'clamp'), *narrow* (nearo); *Schraube* (from L.G. scrûve), *screw* (wanting in A.S.); *Schwalbe* (sualawa), *swallow* (swalewe); *Sperber* (sparwari), *sparrow* (spearwa); *übel* (upil), *ill*, contraction of *evil* (yfel); *Wirbel* (wirvil), *whirl* (from hweorfan? O.N. hvirfil).

In seven of these ten words the German *b* is represented in the Old High-German by *w* (still retained in the English spelling), and in one by *v*. In the two remaining (*Habicht*, *übel*), it corresponds to an Old High-German *p* and an English *v* (but Gothic *b*, at least for *übel*).

11. English *b* not represented in German.

Humble-bee (wanting in A.S.), *Hummel* (humpol); *crumb*, *crumb-le* (crume), *Krume*, *Krümmel* (from L.G. krume); *mumble* (wanting in A.S.), *mummeln* (from L.G. mummeln); *slumber* (slumerian; O.E. slomer), *schlummern* (M.G. slummern); *Zimmer* (zimpar), *timber* (timber). (Some other words end in a written but mute *b*, as *comb*, *Kamm*, *lamb*, *Lamm*, etc.)

In only two (*humble*, *timber*) of these five words is the English labial supported by an older form. In the other words, *b* looks like a later epenthesis.

12. English *b* = German *w*.

INITIAL: *bet* (bad, wed), *Wette* (weti; Goth. vadi)?

13. German *f* = English *f*.

A. INITIAL: *Faden* (fadum), *fathom* (fädhm); *fahl*, *falb* (falo), *fallow* (fealu); *fahren* (faran), *fare* (faran); *fallen* (fallan), *fall* (feallen); *falten*

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(faldan), *fold* (fealdan); *fangen* (fahan), *fang* (fangan); *Farn* (faram), *fern* (fearn); *faul* (fûl), *fowl* (fûl); *Faust* (fûst), *fist* (fŷst); *fechten* (fêhtan), *fight* (feohtan); *Feder* (fêdara), *feather* (fedher); *fegen* (fagon), *fair* (fäger); *Fehde* (fêhida), *feud* (fädhu); *Feim* (feim), *foam* (fâm); *Feind* (fiant), *fiend* (feond); *Feld* (fêld), *field* (feld); *Felge* (felaga), *felly, felloe* (felga); *Felge* (felaga), *fallow* (fealga); *Fenn* (from L.G.), *fen* (fen); *fern* (fêrri), *far* (feorr); *Fessel* (fezil), *fetter* (feter); *fest* (fasti), *fast* (fäst); *Fett* (wanting in O.H.G.; but feizit = *feist*), *fat* (fät); *Feuer* (fiur), *fire* (fŷr); *Filz* (filz), *felt* (felt); *finden* (findan), *find* (findan); *Finger* (fingar), *finger* (finger); *Fink* (fincho), *finch* (finc); *Finne* (from L.G.), *fin* (fin); *Fisch* (fisc), *fish* (fisc); *Flachs* (flahs), *flax* (fleax); *Fladen* (flado), *flat*-cake (wanting in A.S.)?; *Flagge* (from L.G.), *flag* (wanting in A.S.); *flattern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *flutter* (wanting in A.S.); *Fleisch* (fleisc), *flesh* (fläsk); *fletschen* (from flaz), *flatten* (from flat); *fliegen* (fliokan), *fly* (fleogan); *fliehen* (fliohan), *flee* (fleon); *Flies* (from L.G.), *fleece* (fleos); *fliessen* (fliozan), *float* (fleotan); *Flinte* (from Engl.), *flint* (flint); *flittern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *flit* (wanting in A.S.); *Floh* (flôh), *flea* (fleah); *Flucht* (fluht), *flight* (flyht); *Fohlen, Füllen* (folg, fulin); *foal* (fola), *filly; Fohre* (forahâ), *fir* (furh); *folgen* (folken), *follow* (fulgan); *foppen* (from L.G.), *fop* (wanting in A.S.); *förder, fürder* (furdir), *farther, further* (furdhôr); *fort* (wanting in O.H.G.), *forth* (fordh); *Fracht* (from L.G.), *freight, fraught* (wanting in A.S.); *frei* (frî), *free* (frî); *Freund* (friunt), *friend* (freond); *friezen* (friosan), *freeze* (freosan); *frisch* (frisc), *fresh* (fersc); *Frosch* (frosc), *frog* (frox); *Frost* (frost), *frost* (forst); *Fuchs* (fuhs), *fox* (fox); *Fuder, Futter* (fuoder), *fother, fodder* (fôther); *fühlen* (fuolan), *feel* (fêlan); *füllen* (fullan), *fill* (fyllan); *fünf* (finf), *five* (fîf); *Furcht* (forahta), *fright* (fyrhtu); *Fuss* (fuoz), *foot* (fôt); *Vater* (fatar), *father* (fäder); *Vieh* (fihu), *fee* (feoh); *vier* (fiqr), *four* (feower); *Vogel* (focal), *fowl* (fugol); *Volk* (folc), *folk* (folc); *voll* (fol), *full* (ful); *vor, für* (fora, furi), *for* (for).

B. MEDIAL: *Gefahr* (fâra), *fear* (fär); *gift* (kift), *-gift* (gift); *Heft* (hefti), *haft* (häft); *Kluft* (chluft), *cleft* (from clifan); *Kraft* (chraft), *craft* (cräft); *laufen* (hloufan), *loaf* (wanting in A.S.); *oft* (ofto), *oft* (oft); *riefen, riefeln* (from L.G.), *rifle* (from Fr.?)?; *sanft* (samfti), *soft* (sêfte); *Schaft* (scaft), *shaft* (sceaft); *Trift* (wanting in O.H.G.), *drift* (wanting in A.S.); *Werft* (from L.G.), *wharf* (whearf).

C. FINAL: *Elf* (from Engl.), *elf* (älf); *Huf* (huof), *hoof* (hôf); *Kneif* (from L.G.), *knife* (cnif); *Riff* (from L.G.), *reef* (wanting in A.S.); *Schorf* (scorf), *scurf* (scurf); *Torf* (from L.G.), *turf* (turf); *steif* (from L.G.), *stiff* (stif); *Wolf* (wolf), *wolf* (wulf).

According to this list, German *f* corresponds to English *f* as initial in 72 words (8 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 12 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 8 words (5 wanting in O.H.G.). All the older forms, both Anglo-Saxon, Low-German, and Old High-German, have without exception *f*, the stereotyped substitute for the aspirated mute.

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14. German *f* = English *p*.

A. MEDIAL: *Affe* (affo), *ape* (apa)?; *gelfen* (from këlf), *yelp* (gelpan); *griefen* (krîfan), *gripe* (grîpan); *Harfe* (harafâ), *harp* (hearpe); *Haufe* (hûfo), *heap* (heap); *helfen* (hëlfan), *help* (helpan); *Hüfte* (from old Huft, O.H.G. huf), *hip* (hype); *Laffe* (from laffan), *lap* (lappian); *laufen* (hloufan), *leap* (hleapan); *offen* (ofan), *open* (open); *Saft* (saf), *sap* (säp: from Lat.?); *saufen* (sûfan), *sup* (sûpan); *schaffen* (scafôn), *shape* (scapan); *schlafen* (slâfan), *sleep* (slæpan); *schleifen* (sleifan), *slip* (slîpan); *schweifen* (sueifan), *sweep* (swâpan); *Seife* (seiphâ), *soap* (sâpe); *Staffel* (stafal), *staple* (stapul); *streifen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *stripe* (strypan)?; *taufen* (toufan), *dip* (dippan); *Waffe* (wâfan), *weapon* (wæpen); *werfen* (wërfan), *warp* (weorpan).

B. FINAL: *auf* (ûf), *up* (up); *Hanf* (hanaf), *hemp* (hänep); *Kauf* (chouf), *cheap* (ceap); *Knauf* (from L.G.), *knop* (cnæp); *reif* (rîfi), *ripe* (rîpe); *Schaf* (scâf), *sheep* (sceâp); *scharf* (scarf), *sharp* (scearp); *Schiff* (scif), *ship* (scip); *stief-* (stiuf), *step-*(steop); *Stufe* (stuofa), *step* (stepe); *Welf* (huëlf), *whelp* (hwelp).

Accordingly, German *f* corresponds to English *p* as initial in 22 words (1 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 11 words. The Anglo-Saxon forms have everywhere *p*, and the Old High-German forms *f* (written also *ph*).

15. German *f* = English *v*.

A. INITIAL: *Fahne* (fano), *vane* (fana; O. Engl. fane); *Fass* (faz), *vat* (fät).

B. MEDIAL: *Ofen* (ofan), *oven* (ofen); *Schaufel* (scûvalâ), *shovel* (sceopl).

C. FINAL: *elf* (einlif), *eleven* (endleofan); *Elf*, f. *Elfe* (from Engl.), *elve* (älf); *fünf* (funf), *five* (fîf); *zwölf* (zuelif), *twelve* (twelf).

As thus shown, both the Anglo-Saxon and the Old High-German forms of these 8 words have *f*, which in English is changed to *v*.

16. German *f* = English *b*.

FINAL: *Knauf* (wanting in O.H.G.), *knob* for *knop* (cnæp).

17. German *f* = English *d*.

INITIAL: *finster* (finstar, dinstar, dimstar), *dim* (dim; O. Sax. thim).

18. German *f* = English *s*.

MEDIAL: *Holfter* (from huluft, which from hulst: Goth. hulistr), *holster* (akin to heolstor).

19. German *f* not represented in English.

A. MEDIAL: *Halfter* (halaftra), *halter* (hälfter).

B. FINAL: *schief* (wanting in O.H.G.), *skew* (wanting in A.S.; O.N. skeifr).

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20. German *pf* = English *p*.

A. INITIAL: Only a few words of doubtful origin come under this head, most German words with an initial *pf* being of foreign origin. Words not traceable to such a source are: *Pflicht* (fliht; M.H.G. phliht), *plight* (pliht); *Pflock* (wanting in O.H.G.; L.G. plugge), *plug* (wanting in A.S.); *Pflug* (plôh, phlaiog, phluoch), *plough* (wanting in A.S.); *Pfropf* (from L.G. propp), *prop* (wanting in A.S.). Other only doubtfully borrowed words are: *Pfad*, *path* (from πάτος ?); *Pfand*, *pawn* (from O. Fr. *pan?*); *pflücken*, *pluck* (from Provenç. peluccar?); *Pfuhl*, *pool* (from Lat. *palus?*). Several others are with more certainty imported words, and therefore here omitted.

B. MEDIAL: *Hopfen* (hopho), *hop* (wanting in A.S.): fr. Lat.?; *klopfen* (chlophôn), *clap* (clappan); *schlüpfen* (slupfan), *slip* (slipan); *Schnepfe* (snepha), *snipe* (wanting in A.S.); *schöpfen* (schepfen, scephan), *scoop* (wanting in A.S.); *schrumpfen* (wanting in O.H.G.), *shrimp* (scrimman? prov. Engl. skrimp); *Stapfe* (stapho), *step* (stæpe); *stampfen* (stamphon), *stamp* (wanting in A.S.); *Strüpfe* (wanting in O.H.G.), *strap* (stropp); *Tropfen* (tropho), *drop* (dropa); *Zapfen* (zapho), *tap* (täppa); *zimpfern* (wanting in O.H.G.), *simper* (wanting in A.S. and kindred tongues).

C. FINAL: *Dampf* (damph), *damp* (wanting in A.S.); *Knopf* (chnoph), *knop* (cnæp); *Pfropf* (from L.G. propp), *prop* (wanting in A.S.); *Rumpf* (from L.G.), *rump* (wanting in A.S.); *Stumpf*, *stumpf* (stumph), *stump* (wanting in A.S.); *Sumpf* (sunft), *swamp*, *sump* (wanting in A.S.); *Topf* (toph), *top* (wanting in A.S.); *Zopf* (zoph), *top* (top).

Accordingly, German *pf* corresponds to English *p* as initial in 4 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.), as medial in 12 words (3 wanting in O.H.G.), and as final in 8 words (2 wanting in O.H.G.). Only nine corresponding forms are found, altogether, in Anglo-Saxon, and they all have *p*. The Old High-German forms have *ph* (often optionally *f*), which is sometimes equivalent to *f* and sometimes to *pf*, the two aspirated forms of the Gothic *p*.

21. German *pf* = English *b*.

FINAL: *Knopf* (chnoph), *knob* for *knop* (cnæp).

IV.—NASALS (EXCEPT PALATAL), SEMIVOWELS, AND *H*.

These letters remain, as a rule, unaltered throughout the Germanic languages. So likewise, though in a less degree, *s*, which has been treated above (see page 137, end). Most

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of the words in which any of these letters occur have been given in the preceding, and it will be sufficient here to enumerate the few cases only in which German nasals, semivowels, or *h* are represented in English by different sounds, or lost. Cases in which English consonants are represented in German by different sounds—*v* by *p*, *b*, or *f*; *b* by *w*; *y* by *g*; and *r* by *s*—have been given in connection with the preceding.

1. German *n* = English *m*.

FINAL: *Besen* (pēsamo), *besom* (besma); *Boden* (podam), *bottom* (botm); *Busen* (puosum), *bosom* (bôsum); *Faden* (fadum), *fathom* (fādhm).

As thus shown, the English *m* is here the older nasal.

2. German *n* not represented in English.

A. MEDIAL: *ander* (andar), *other* (ô-dhor); *Biene* (from the plur. form bini; also sing. pla), *bee* (beo); *fünf* (finf), *five* (flf); *Gans* (kans), *goose* (gôse); *Zahn* (zand), *tooth* (tôdh).

B. FINAL: the loss of final *n* (*en*) in English is of exceeding frequency, being, indeed, one of the chief means by which this language has assumed so much of a monosyllabic character. In all the words compared, 310 instances of such a loss (chiefly in verb-forms such as *love*, A.S. *lufian*; *fall*, A.S. *feallan*; etc.) have been noted.

3. German *r* = English *s*(*z*).

MEDIAL: *frieren* (friosan), *freeze* (freosan); *küren* (probably from *Kür*, which comes from *kiesen*), *choose* (ceosan = *kiesen*; but *Kür* = A.S. cyre); *verlieren* (far-liusan), *lose* (leosan).

Here German *r* is changed from an earlier *s*.

4. German *r* not represented in English.

FINAL: *der* (dēr), *the* (the, se); *er* (ir, hēr), *he* (he); *wer* (huer), *who* (hwâ); *wir* (wir), *we* (we).

5. English *r* not represented in German.

FINAL: *there* (thaer), *da* (dâr = *dar*); *here* (hêr), *hie* = *hier*.

6. German *l* = English *r*.

A. INITIAL: *stammeln* (stammalôn), *stammer* (A.S. stamor, 'stammerer': L.G. stammern); *wispeln* (huisbalôn), *whisper* (hwisprian).

B. FINAL: *Fessel* (fezzera), *fetter* (feter).

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7. German *l* not represented in English pronunciation.

MEDIAL: *als* (al-sô; M.H.G. alse), *as* (ase); *Balken* (palcho), *balk* (balc); *halb* (halp), *half* (healf); *Halm* (halm), *halm, haum* (healm); *Kalb* (chalp), *calf* (cealf); *Qualm* (qualm), *qualm* (cwealm); *Salbe* (salpa), *salve* (sealf); *solch* (sôlîh), *such* (swilc); *Volk* (folc), *folk* (folc); *welch* (huëlih), *which* (hwylic).

In 8 of these 10 words the original *l* is still retained in English spelling. Only in *as* and *such* is it dropped in writing; and in the former, it was lost already in Anglo-Saxon.

8. German *w* not represented in English pronunciation.

INITIAL: *wer* (huer), *who* (hwâ).

MEDIAL: *Schwert* (suërt), *sword* (sweord); *Schwester* (suëstar), *sister* (sweostor); *süss* (suozi), *sweet* (swête). (*Wittwe, widow* is apparently from the Latin *vidua*.)

9. English *v* not represented in German.

MEDIAL: *clover* (člaefer), *Klee* (chlêo, genit. chlêwes).

10. English *y* not represented in German.

INITIAL: *you, your* (eowic, cower), *euch, euer* (iuwih, iuwar).

11. German *h* = English *g*.

MEDIAL: *ziehen* (ziohan, pret. zôh, zôg), *tug* (teohan, pret. teah, tugoṇ).

12. German *h* = English *f*.

MEDIAL: *zähe* (zahi, zâh), *tough* (tâh).

13. German *h* represented in English mostly by some vowel-modification.

A. INITIAL: *Holder* (holter), *elder* (ellarn?).

B. MEDIAL: *blähen* (plâjan, blâhan), *blow* (blâwan); *blühen* (pluojan, pluohan), *blow* (blôwen); *drehen* (drâjan, drâhan), *throw* (thrawan); *drohen* (drouwan, drôan), *throe* (threaw, from threowan); *ehr* (êr), *ere* (aer); *ehern* (êrîn), *ore* (ôr); *fliehen* (fliohan), *flee* (fleon); *gehen* (kân), *go* (gangan); *Krähe* (chraia), *crow* (crawe); *Lohe* (louch), *low*, obsol. (lêge); *mähen* (mâhan), *mow* (mawan); *nahe* (nâh), *nigh* (neah); *Reihe* (rîga), *row* (râw); *sehen* (sëhan), *see* (seon); *spähen* (spëhôn), *spy* (probably through Fr.?); *stehen* (stantan, stân, stên), *stand* (standan); *Wehe* (wêwo), *woe* (wâwa, wâ); *Zehe* (zêha), *toe* (tâh). To these should be added a few words terminating in an organic *h* (as *roh, raw, Stroh, straw*), which though mute when the word is uninflected is pronounced before a vowel in inflection.

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In four of these words (*eher*, *ehern*, *gehen*, *stehen*), the German *h* is only the inorganic sign of lengthening used in *eh* (from *êr*), and in the earlier forms *ehrn*, *gehn*, *stehn* (O.H.G. *êrîn*, *kân*, *stên*). For the rest, the loss in English of the Anglo-Saxon consonant corresponding to the German *h* is connected with the loss of the final syllable following it (mostly the infinitive ending *-an*).

14. English *h* not represented in German.

He (he), *er* (er, hër); *horse* (hors, for hros), *Ross* (hros); *whale* (hwäl), *Wall*-fisch (wal); *what* (hwät), *was* (hwaz); *whether* (hwädher), *weder* (huëdar); *while* (huîl), *Weile* (huîla); *whine* (wânian, cwânian), *weinen* (weinôn; Goth. qainôn); *white* (hwît), *weiss* (huîz); *wheat* (hwâte), *Weizen* (hueizi); *which* (hwilc), *welch* (huëlih); *whelp* (hwelp), *Welf* (huëlf); *when* (hwänne), *wenn*, *wann* (huanne); *wharf* (whearf), *Werft* (from L.G.); *who* (hwâ), *wer* (huer); *whet* (hwettan), *wetzen* (huazan); *whimper* (wanting in A.S.), *wimmern* (wanting in O.H.G.); *whirl* (from hweorfan?, O.N. hvirfill), *Wirbel* (wirvil, from huërpan); *whisk* (wanting in A.S.), *Wisch* (wisc)?; *whisper* (hwisprian), *wispeln* (huispalôn); *where* (hwär), *wo* (wâ, Goth. hvar).

The English *h* is here supported by the older forms everywhere, except in *whimper* and *whisk* whose connection with *wimmern* and *Wisch* may be doubtful. As is here shown, it is almost only before *w* that the German *h* is lost, a fact doubtless due to the pronunciation of *w* as a labial spirant; while in English its semi-vocal character favored the retention of *h*.

The relation of German and English consonants to the original Germanic consonants (as represented in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon) is, approximately stated, as follows:

Palatal mutes, fricatives, and nasals:—

German: unchanged 58%; changed 42% (by strict permutation only 1.7%, or, calling *ch* and *sch* regular aspirations of *k* and *sk*, nearly 35%; by irregular change 7%).

English: unchanged 75%; changed 25% (especially *ch* and *sh* from earlier *k* and *sk*).

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Dental (lingual) mutes and fricatives:—

German: unchanged 54% (counting also *s*), changed 46% (by strict permutation nearly 27%, or, calling *z* and *s* regular aspirations of *t*, 40%; by irregular change 6%). It should be noted that not far from one-half of the unchanged cases come under the sibilant *s*. Omitting it, except where it represents an original *t*, the relation is: unchanged over 37%, changed 63% (regularly 49 or 55%, irregularly 8%).

English: unchanged 99.5%; changed 0.5% (some five changes of uncertain value in nearly a thousand instances).

Labial mutes and fricatives:—

German: unchanged 75%; changed 25% (by strict permutation 4.3%, or, calling *f* the regular aspiration of *p*, 13 %; by irregular change 12%). In this estimate *b* has in 52 German words been counted as unchanged, because the Gothic forms, where found, have, as a rule, *b;* but it should be noticed that the Anglo-Saxon forms have *f* (English *v*).

English: unchanged 86%; changed 14% (especially *v* from an Earlier Anglo-Saxon *f*, Gothic *b*).

The prevalence in the palatal and labial series (in the dental only when counting *s*) of unchanged consonants is, in German, decided. Altogether their ratio to changed consonants is (omitting the unaltered *s*) nearly 57%. The number of irregularly changed consonants is quite considerable, being altogether (even counting *ch*, *sch*, *z*, *s*, and *f* as regular permutations) over 20% of all changes. Deducting *all* words not represented in the Old High-German and largely borrowed from Low-German dialects, the stationary character of the New-German becomes somewhat less marked.

In English the consonants in question are original, almost absolutely in the lingual series, less so in the labial, and in the palatal about 25% are modifications of earlier sounds. The only parallel change (save in a few sporadic cases) between English and German is that of *sk* to *s(c)h*. The loss of consonants amounts in English (as compared with German) to 130, 96 of which belong to the palatal series: (the fact

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that about 350 have been lost in the nasal and semi-vowel series has already been noted). In German the loss (as compared with English) amounts only to 28.

Among irregular changes are noticeable especially:

a. Inorganic changes from one series to another. In German: *sch* from *s*; *k* from *t*; *k* from *th*; *ch* from *f*; *sch* from *t*; *f* from *s*; *f* from *d*. In English: *t* from *h*; *f* from *g*; *f* from *h*. All these, except *sch* from *s* (in 60 or even 140 instances), are entirely sporadic, and often of a doubtful character.

β. Apparent second progression The quasi-aspiration of medial and final *g* in German words whose Old High-German forms have *k* (comp. p. 121, etc.) is equivalent to a further progression of the Old High-German *k*. The change of *t* and *p* from an earlier *th* and *f*, and of *g* from *k*, bears the same aspect.

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American Philological Association.

1879-80.

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWELFTH ANNUAL SESSION.

(From the Autograph Register.)

Charles J. Buckingham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
William C. Cattell, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Howard Crosby, University of New York, New York, N. Y.
M. M. Fisher, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
S. S. Haldeman (University of Pennsylvania), Chickies, Pa.
Isaac H. Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.
Caskie Harrison, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
Milton W. Humphreys, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Ashley D. Hurt, Louisville, Ky.
E. H. Magill, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
John Meigs, The Hill School, Pottstown, Pa.
F. A. Muhlenberg, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles P. Otis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
Julius Sachs, 649 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Charles P. G. Scott, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
E. G. Sihler, 152 East 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
Frederick Stengel, School of Mines, Columbia College, New York, N. Y
Franklin Taylor, 1230 North 18th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
F. W. Tustin, University at Lewisburg, Lewisburg, Pa.
Revere F. Weidner, 1330 Franklin Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
W. D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., Tuesday, July 13, 1880.

The Twelfth Annual Session was called to order at 3 o'clock P. M., in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, by the President, Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

President announced the death of Professor Joseph A.

The Secretary of the American Philological Association desires to make a public acknowledgment of his thanks to Mr. Nicholas Murray, of the Johns Hopkins University, for his generous kindness in performing the duties of the office during a necessary absence of the Secretary from home.

Boston, Mass.; Mr. C. P. G. Scott, Columbia College, New York, N. Y. Mr. Lewis H. Lapham, New York, N. Y.; Rev. William Epiphanius Wilson, King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia; Mr. R. H. Willis, Norwood, Nelson County, Va.; Professor Thomas R. Price, University of Virginia, Va.; Mr. Charles H. Woodman, New York, N. Y.; Rev. John Forsyth, United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.; Professor E. W. Blyden, Monrovia College, Liberia; Mr. J. W. Barnes, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Mr. J. P. McCurdy, Easton, Pa.; Dr. A. H. Edgren, University of Lund, Sweden; Professor Caskie Harrison, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; Professor C. W. Larned, United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

On motion, Professor W. D. Whitney and Professor M. W. Humphreys were appointed a committee to arrange the hours for the sessions.

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Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., chairman of the Committee on the reform of English Spelling, appointed in 1875, and continued in 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879, reported:

Thė Committee haȥ not taken any offiçial action dūring thė last yėar.

There haȥ, however, been much interest in thė reform. Thė Spelling Reform Assoçiation met in Jūly, 1879, aȥ a branch of thė National Edūcational Assoçiation. Reȥolūtionȥ in favor of reform had alredy been past bį thė State Tėacherȥ' Assoçiationȥ of Pennsylvania, Massachūsetts, New York, New Jerȥey, Ohįo, Iowa, Missouri, Maryland, and Virginia, aȥ wel aȥ bį thė American Institūte of Instruction and uther bodieȥ of tėacherȥ. Paperȥ wer preȥented at this mėeting bį Professor S. S. Haldeman of thė Ųniversity of Pennsylvania, Mr. E. Jones of Liverpool, Hon. W. T. Harris of St Louis, and Mr. S. N. D. North of thė Ųtica *Herald*. They wer printed in fonetic spelling in thė Proçėedingȥ of thė National Edūcational Assoçiation. Thė State Tėacherȥ' Assoçiation of Missouri also voted to print their proçėedingȥ in fonetic type.

In August and September *Scribner's Monthly* publisht two strįking articlȥ in favor of thė reform from Professor Lounȥbery of Yale.

On thė 2d of September thė Çhicago *Tribūne* appėard in amended spelling thruout. On thė 17th, thė *Home Journal* of New York began to bė printed with thė following amendments:

1.—Drop *ue* at thė end of wurdȥ lįke dįalogue, catalogue, where thė prėçėding vowel iȥ short. Thus spel demagog, pedagog, epilog, synagog, etc. Change tongue for tung. When thė prėçėding vowel iȥ long, aȥ in prorogue, vogue, disembogue, rogue, retain fįnal letterȥ aȥ at preȥent.

2.—Drop fįnal *e* in such wurdȥ aȥ definite, infinite, favorite, where thė prėçėding vowel iȥ short. Thus spel opposit, preterit, hypocrit, requisit, etc. When thė prėçėding vowel iȥ long, aȥ in polįte, fįnįte, invįte, ūnįte, etc., retain preȥent form unchanged.

3.—Drop fįnal *te* in wurdȥ lįke quartette, coquette, çigarette. Thus spel çigaret, roȥet, epaulet, vedet, gazet, etc.

4.—Drop fįnal *me* in wurdȥ lįke programme. Thus spel program, oriflam, gram, etc.

5.—Change *ph* for *f* in wurdȥ lįke phantom, telegraph, phase. Thus spel alfabet, paragraf, filosofy, fonetic, fotograf, etc.

P. S.—No change in proper nameȥ.

They hav been followd bį thė Ųtica *Herald*, thė Tolėdo *Blade*, thė Burlington *Hawkeye*, thė Clėveland *Leader*, and many uther paperȥ. Thė *Electrotyper*, thė *Type Founder*, and thė *Electrotype Journal* had erlier mended their wayȥ. Thė New York *Independent*, thė *Princeton Review* thė *New England Journal of Education*, and many uther pėriodicalȥ admit articlȥ in improved spelling. Ųther paperȥ sįlently change thė spelling of a wurd or two, aȥ thė Springfield *Republican* prints *etiquet* and *program*, and thė *Princeton Review tho* and *altho*. It iȥ stated that over two hundred jurnalȥ and pėriodicalȥ in this cuntry ūȥe a greater or les number of such corrected spellingȥ.

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The *Home Journal* has issüed a broadside of letters in favor of a briefer spelling from one hundred representativ authors and scholars, inclüding twenty-five presidents of leading colleges, and representatives of fifty colleges from Maine to Oregon. The Chicago *Tribüne* and the *National Journal of Education* hav publisht similar collections of opinions.

The House Committee of Edücation and Labor at Washington reported a bil to empower the President to appoint a Commission to investigate and report upon the spelling of the public docüments, with a view to its simplification, and to a joint commission with the government of Great Britain.

In England also there has been important progres. A large number of the most eminent men hav accepted offices in the new Spelling Reform Assoçiation, Max Müller, Murray, Darwin, Tennyson, Bain, J. H. Gladstone, Lowe, Tylor, and the like. The Assoçiation has begun to publish a Munthly.

The Philological Soçiety of England has also taken up the reform in ernest, and appointed a committee to report a list of wurds needing amendment in behalf of etymology and history as wel as orthoepy. The list is to be presented by Mr. Sweet, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, on the 9th of Jüly. It wil doutles contain sum thousands of wurds, and it is to be hoped that this Assoçiation wil be abl to approve it, and giv it to the public. To that end it might perhaps be desirabl to continü the committee another year.

After a short discussion, the report was accepted and the committee continued for another year.

The first paper was by Dr. E. G. Sihler, of New York City, on "Diogenes Laertius and Lucian, or notes on the Tradition of Oriental Descent of Greek Philosophy."

I. In the prooemium of Diogenes Laertius two traditions are advanced: *a.* that higher thought and speculation was developed among the *βάρβαροι* before it began among the Greeks; *b.* an opposing view, § 3 ff., that the *εὕρεσις* of philosophy was an original work of the Greek mind, although its first germs were in the early musical culture and in the secret religious doctrines of the Orphic schools. Diogenes very probably represents, in this portion of his compilation, the encyclopedic collections of Favorinus of Arelate, a contemporary of Lucian in the second century after Christ. See Fr. Nietzsche in the Rhein. Museum, vols. 23 and 24, and Gellius, N. A. xiv. 6. 3. The more authoritative among modern expositors have refused to adopt the tradition of oriental descent: so H. Ritter, Ancient Philosophy, I. 160, and E. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen, I. 20 ff. Much importance is attached to it, on the other hand, by Schaefer, in a recent treatise entitled, Quid Graeci de origine philosophiae a barbaris ducenda existimaverint, secundum D. Laertii prooemium exponitur (Leipzig, 1877).

II. Lucian, in his Fugitivi, considers Greek philosophy as undergoing a process of deterioration from its beginning. The crude speculations of

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the Seven Wise Men and of the early Ionic thinkers are appreciated more highly than is the elaborate and dialectic philosophy of Socrates and his successors. The Orient is treated as the cradle of philosophic wisdom. Like Diogenes Laertius, Lucian assumes an unbroken line of communication beginning in India, crossing into "Ethiopia," descending the Nile into Egypt, extending thence to the Magi and Chaldeans of Babylon and Assyria, thence into Scythia and so into Thrace and Greece. Schaefer in his dissertation seems to have overlooked Lucian. Lucian's view is shared by his contemporaries, such as Tatian the father (Oratio ad Graecos, 1), and a little later by Clement of Alexandria (Stromata i. 13 ff., v. 4, vi. 4, vii. 7).

The view of Oriental descent is a characteristic product of the second century, when the syncretistic efforts of Pergamon began to point to the internal deçay of philosophy. It was the same movement of thought which in the next century received a final expression in Neo-platonism.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., then read a paper on "Some Points in Anglo-Saxon Phonology."

1. Indicationz ov sonant *s* in Anglo-Saxon. Swēet sayz it iz alwayz surd. Trautmann objects becauze "sonant *s* alone can interchange with *r*." Thē rēasoning ov Trautmann waz critiçized. Sum evidençe ov sonant *s* waz however pointed out in wēak perfects lik *lýs-de* compared with thoze lik *cyste*.

2. Thē combinationz *ea*, *eo*. It haz been ūsūal to distinguish difthongz from breakingz bi puting an acçent over thē last leter ov difthongz, az in Grēek. This notation iz not intended to deçide that thē last leter iz thē most prominent in every wurd. But sum ov thē yunger Germanz ar corecting every one who ūzez thē notation, az being mistaken about thē pronunçiation. They woud hav an acçent alwayz on thē first leter. If it iz intended to indicate nicetiez ov pronunçiation, there shoud bē diferent notation for diferent clasez ov wurdz and for thē same wurd in diferent agez and authorz.

3. Thē conjugation ov *weaxan*. Sievers calz it a redūplicating verb, becauze, hē sayz, thē perfect haz not been found in thē form *wōx*. Examplz ov *wōx* wer givn (Mat. xiii, 7, Rid. v. 3), and it waz argūed that *weaxan* is a breaking, and to bē conjūgated with thē corespending verb in uther languagez.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor S. S. Haldeman, Professor W. D. Whitney, and Professor M. W. Humphreys.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., read a paper on "The Point of View in King Lear."

Fach character in Shakespēare spēaks from hiz own point ov view, yet in bringing all this variety to ūnity in any play, thē artist Shakespēare haz a singl point ov view ov hiz own. Every thing in Romeo and Juliet apēarz to thē spectator az it duz to a yuth. Juliet, thirtēen yēarz old, iz old enuf. In Hamlet wē sēe thē wurld az it looks to one just entering thē batl ov life. Thē father ov our Ophēlia iz a superfluous old Polonius.

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Up to this age rẽaders ov poetry ẽasily acçept thẽ point ov view. But Shakespẽare grows older. In Macbeth and Othello thẽ general point ov view is that ov men ov midl age. Thẽ larger number ov rẽaders ov poetry hav had no such expẽriençes. In Lẽar thẽ wurld is sẽen from thẽ point ov view ov an infirm old man, an insane man, and a king.

This point ov view is so pecũliar, and Shakespẽare's triumf in presenting thẽ drama from it, is so wunderful, that it is wurthy ov speçial consideration.

Thẽ gist ov thẽ story is that an old king, fẽeling his powers to bẽ failing, divides his kingdom betwẽen two dauters, reserving to himself thẽ riht to liv in their families with a hundred knihts. Thẽ dauters tire ov him and his knihts, and tel him hẽ must do without so large a speçial folowing. This trẽatment drives him insane. Hẽ becums a wanderer. A third dauter, whom hẽ had disinherited, cums to aid him, and is unsucçesful and they die together.

Supose now wẽ look at this story from thẽ point ov view of thẽ yung folks, ov thẽse new-maried cuples, who hav to entertain thẽ old king and his hundred knihts. This is thẽ way they look at it.

—your all-licens'd fool,
(And) other of your insolent retinue
Do hourly carp and quarrel.
—this our court, infected with their manners,
Shows like a riotous inn;
What need so many?
By day and night he wrongs me.

Change thẽ sex ov Lẽar. Hardly any point ov view is more familiar in literatũre than thẽ maried man's view of thẽ wurying muther-in-law. Many rẽaders woud bẽ prompt to say, Thẽse children hav a hard time ov it. Shakespẽare dus not disgise this. Hẽ shows us thẽ king in his unrẽason, his pasion, his wurying, his dominẽering. How then dus hẽ bring us to acçept his point ov view?

Thẽ çentral sourçe ov this power sẽems to bẽ thẽ perfect uterançy ov thẽ king, thẽ ẽase and copiusnes with which hẽ givs intense expresion to his fẽelings.

Hẽ is rẽgal withal, every inch a king; and, in thẽ first sçẽne, as wẽ hẽar him dispensing kingdoms and curses so grandly and so strangly, wẽ giv thẽ reins to imagination, and bid farewel to thẽ rẽgions ov commun sense, as tho wẽ wer lisening to thẽ hẽros or gods ov Aeschylus.

Thẽ difficulty ov kẽeping us in sympathy with thẽ old king afterwards is met bi showing thẽ yung folks comiting crimes toward ẽach uther abhorent to hũman natũre, so that no one thinks ov questioning thẽ justiç ov their father's reproaches and curses.

And, finaly, at thẽ crisis ov thẽ play, at thẽ tempest, thẽ whirlwind ov his pasion, when conversation with uther men must nẽeds bẽ pitiful or lafabl, thẽ powers ov natũre, niht, and storm, and darknes fil thẽ stage; rain, wind, thunder, fire becum thẽ old king's interlocũtors. Wẽ sẽe thẽ hevns taking part agenst us, and thẽ gods kiling us for sport, as wanton boys kil flies. It wos a mater ov course that Shakespẽare, who

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coud cary us with the king to such hights ov frantic pasion at the wounds oferd to his imagination and kingly pride, shoud be abl to keep us with him in his truly human wo at the deth ov the dauter he luvd. Tears shed over Cordelia need no explanation. But Lear's perfect uterançy in gentlnes is as notiçabl as that in pasion.

This greatest ov Shakespeare's plays must, like other greatest works ov art, be taken bi most ov us with a large mesüre ov faith. We never hav been old men. We never hav had thankles dauters. We never hav been insane. We do not even know bi observation how the insane act and talk.

It is a cürious inquiry whether Shakespeare did this work from fançy, or whether it embodies experiençes; whether he had wacht and studied an insane frend; whether he had a thankles dauter, and a Cordelia, to whom, a hapier than Lear, he left his litl kingdom.

Professor S. S. Haldeman of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., read a paper on "English Words formed by Paresis or the Neglect of Parts."

After words have been lengthened by the addition of parts, the process of shortening commences; and when both forms remain, the language is often enriched with synonyms which acquire variations of meaning, as between 'movement' and 'moment,' 'fragile' and 'frail.' The paper contains a list of about five hundred English words formed in this manner.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor W. D. Whitney, Professor M. W. Humphreys, Dr. Howard Crosby, and Dr. E. G. Sihler.

A paper by Dr. A. H. Edgren, of the University of Lund, Sweden, entitled "A Statistical Exhibit of Kindred Teutonic Words in German and English with reference to their Consonant Relations," was read, in the absence of the author, by Professor W. D. Whitney.

The object of this paper was to illustrate the phenomena of the so-called Grimm's Law, or the rotation of mutes in Germanic language, so far as they are exhibited by the comparison of modern German and modern English, by complete lists of English words with the corresponding German ones—each English word being accompanied by its Anglo-Saxon original, and each German word by its Old High German original, so far as these are traceable.

After an introduction on the general subject of Grimm's Law, especially in its second part, stating the changes from general German to High German, and on the exceptions to it, the dialectic varieties of High German, the relation of modern German to Old High German, and that of English to Anglo-Saxon, the detailed comparison of words is taken up, in the order: 1. palatal mutes, fricatives, and nasals; 2. lingual mutes and fricatives; 3. labial mutes and fricatives; 4. nasals (non palatal), semi-

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vowels, and *h*. The comparison starts from the German word generally, because of the fuller forms of the German. Initial, medial, and final consonants are considered separately. For example: under the head of German *k* are given first the English words which show a corresponding *k*-sound (however written), under the divisions of initial (53 words). medial (50), and final (19); then, in like manner, the English words showing a *ch*-sound, a *g*-sound, a *j*-sound, a *t* or *th* sound (rare and anomalous), and a loss of the sound—and so on with the other letters.

As the paper is expected to be printed in full in the Transactions, a more detailed analysis and abstract is not called for here.

The Treasurer, Charles J. Buckingham, Esq., presented his report, showing the receipts and expenditures of the past year. (See p. 34.)

The Chair appointed President William C. Cattell and Dr. Howard Crosby a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

The committee on the hours of meeting reported in favor of the arrangement of sessions as follows: from 9 o'clock to 1; from 4 to 6; and from 8 to 10.

On motion the report was approved.

A recess was then taken from 6 until 8 o'clock.

PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, July 13, 1880.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association met at 8.30 P. M.

The Secretary announced the election to membership of:

Dr. Isaac H. Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Julius Sachs, of New York City, read a paper entitled "Observations on Lucian."

To appreciate the artistic quality of Lucian's writings it does not suffice to obtain a general conception of the various literary and social conditions of his time; each treatise of his must be carefully analyzed, and his mental attitude carefully ascertained. Schwarz, starting from this principle, endeavors to reconstruct a more tangible, consistent Lucian for us than we have hitherto had. The excessively detailed research which he has instituted has led to various inconsistencies that mar the success of his efforts. The writings should be considered by *groups*, not as individual treatises.

Two instances will serve to point out conclusions, resulting from the method of separate investigation, which the author of this paper cannot assent to. Schwarz considers the Nigrinus a satire, not a true portrayal of the character of that philosopher. His argumentation, plausible as it may seem, fails to take into consideration the introductory epistle to Nigrinus

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which is genuine, and cannot be so construed as to form the introduction to a satiric essay.

Sommerbrodt rejects the biography of Demonax as a treatise of Lucian; he refers merely to its blundering description, whilst he commends the Nigrinus for its delicacy of observation and pregnancy of characterization. The difference of style is however readily to be accounted for: the latter is an artistic production intended to please by its form as well as by its contents; the biography of Demonax is an unfinished βίος, for which form of composition a generally prevailing scheme must have existed, admitting of but slight variation.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Dr. Howard Crosby.

The Annual Address was delivered by the President, Professor Crawford H. Toy.

After congratulating the Association on the favorable circumstances under which this session had begun, and commending the *American Journal of Philology*, established and mainly supported by members of the Association, the President spoke in substance as follows:

The plan of our society includes the investigation of all families of languages, and at present instead of having a division into sections devoted to particular families, all papers are read before the whole body. This system, which is not without its disadvantages, has, however, the advantage of keeping each member in sympathy with the progress in various directions of linguistic research. I need offer, therefore, no apology for taking as the subject of my address the study of the Semitic languages. The claims of this study on a linguistic society are obvious. Not only are these languages interesting in themselves in their grammar and literature, but they are necessary in the study of general grammar. Their differences from the Indo-European languages make it important that they should be taken into consideration in attempts to construct a science of language; any science of language founded solely or mainly on the Indo-European family must be imperfect and erroneous. In the character of its roots, the structure of the noun and verb and of the sentence, the Semitic group offers much that is peculiar, and the investigation of these phenomena has resulted in the discovery of principles that are to be regarded as contributions to the science of language. It may be added that recent achievements in the direction of grammatical historical research are of extreme interest. Two new Semitic languages have been discovered and their grammars constructed, namely, the Babylonian-Assyrian and the Sabean; a very important non-inflecting tongue, the Accadian, has been exhumed with a large and valuable literature; and traces of still another, to which the name of "Hittite" has been provisionally given, have been found; and it is to Semitic scholars that the decipherment and interpretation of the Cypriote inscriptions is largely due. The thrillingly interesting historical and mythological results that have been reached in connection with these researches are familiar to us all.

It is an unwelcome, but undeniable fact that the scientific study of the Semitic languages has lagged behind that of the sister Indo-European

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family. One reason for this is that the interest in this group has pertained chiefly to the Hebrew, and study in this language has been fettered by ecclesiastical interests. All honor to the noble scholars in Europe and America of all faiths who have devoted themselves to it, and to the spirit of true religion which has fostered it; yet we know that, with the purest intentions on men's part, an inflexible set of ideas is unfavorable to free investigation, without which there can be no progress. The history of Semitic, particularly Hebrew, study illustrates this.

Jewish grammatical study began in the first centuries of our era as a mere chronicling of facts for the benefit of the synagogal reading, and retained this mechanical character through the periods of Syrian and Arabian influence, and up to the time of Elias Levita, who first took decided stand against the traditional views, and reached something like a correct opinion as to the origin of the Hebrew vowel points. The early Christians were not friendly to the study of Hebrew; they were content with the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and fancied that the Jews were disposed to alter the original text in a polemical interest. Origen studied Hebrew, but Jerome is the first Christian of whose Hebrew scholarship we know anything definite. He groaned and wept in the Syrian desert over the rasping gutturals, but persevered, and became a respectable, it may be said a remarkable scholar; his great contemporary, Augustine, preferred to expound the Psalms in the Septuagint, including the unintelligible translations and transliterations of the titles.

From Jerome's time Christian study of Hebrew suffered eclipse till the fifteenth century, when, under the revival of learning, Reuchlin and others earnestly pursued it, and it received a further impulse from the religious movement set on foot by Luther. There were some, however, who shrank from it with horror, saying that "a new language had been invented, and whoever learned it immediately became a Jew!" During the sixteenth century the study went on quietly, but in the next century made a great step forward, partly by the pursuit of various Semitic dialects, partly by the wonderful discovery that the common Hebrew letters were not the original ones. The history of the discovery is an exciting one. A manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch, written in Samaritan or old Hebrew characters, comes over to Europe. The Frenchman, Ludovicus Cappellus, examines it and announces his startling conclusion in a book, which he first sends to the venerable Buxtorf at Basle. The latter earnestly opposes its publication. Finally, by Erpenius' advice, Cappellus publishes his work, which raises a storm of controversy. Buxtorf, the son, replies in a learned work. The battle rages a hundred years. At last the scholarly public indorses Cappellus, and things go on quietly again. Meantime, the study of Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic had been begun with ardor, and England was foremost in Semitic science, under the impulse given by the new discoveries and in the spirit of the great national movement that marked that century, which was largely religious.

Next came the eighteenth century, the period of quiet investigation of principles, often unjustly stigmatized as a merely skeptical and negative

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period; it was a time of philosophical reflection, but not of great progress in linguistic resources and methods. It must be borne in mind that the science of language did not yet exist. Finally, in our own century, Semitic study has advanced rapidly, chiefly in Germany and France, but also greatly in England and somewhat in this country. In the last quarter of a century especially, England has done good work in this department, spurred on by the rich discoveries in Babylonia; before that, it had done little, and in its linguistic position was regarded with contempt by the Germans, of which feeling there is an amusing exhibition in the little joust between Henry Ewald and the Cambridge professor, Samuel Lee, about forty years ago.

All along the line of history we can see the hampering effect of traditional opinions. At the present time there are many workers, capable of accomplishing much for science, whose work is unfruitful because not free. We need an unbiased spirit of investigation, careless of results, and only anxious to discover truth. Further, we need for our science a broad Semitic culture, wide study of all the dialects. It is unnecessary in this day to say that he who knows only one language does not know that. Those of us who have the time must not content ourselves with pursuing one dialect, though we may make a specialty of some one; but we must seek to get a firm hold on the grammatical structure of all or of all the principal dialects. In this way we shall the better acquire an enthusiasm for the purely linguistic side of the study, without which our hard-worked teachers and clergymen will not be able to keep it up.

The time allotted to this occasion allows only a short reference to the attractive questions that this department of linguistic science offers to the student. There are the problems of grammar, and especially of Semitic comparative grammar, pertaining to phonology, morphology, and syntax. There are many questions relating to the form and use of the verb especially, awaiting full investigation; for example, the formal origin and the signification of the perfect and the imperfect, the latter a point of great importance. Then there are comparisons with other groups of languages, and the determination of the relation between them and ours; for example, the so-called sub-Semitic languages and the Egyptian. Comparison is also to be made with the Indo-European family. It is only by observing the differences between these widely divergent groups that we can properly comprehend the character of the phenomena in each.

Another sort of work of which there is great need is the editing of manuscripts and printed books. The Hebrew and Syriac biblical texts have never been fixed with anything like precision, and, though the critical material is not as full and accurate as would be desirable, it is sufficient for the accomplishment of much more than has been done. Hundreds of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts lie in the East, waiting to contribute to our knowledge of the past in many directions. The field offered by the Phenician, Assyrian, and Sabean inscriptions is of enormous extent. The investigation of the history of the remote past is another department of labor, not purely linguistic, but inseparably connected with linguistic study, and finding abundant material in the field of Semitism.

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Facts bearing on ancient migrations of Asiatic tribes have come of late in blinding numbers. The beginnings of history are being pushed back further and further, and new and perplexing problems are constantly arising. One of the most interesting of these questions is the nature and origin of the primitive Semitic mythology and the history of its welding with the religious systems of other races. At present, all these various systems are so completely fused together in the Babylonian, Syrian, and Phenician mythology that it seems impossible to separate them, and we must probably go to the South for light, and search the Arabian and Sabean traditions. From all these investigations we are beginning to understand something of the valuable traditions preserved in the early chapters of the Book of Genesis, possibly hints as to the earliest movements of the founders of civilization in Western Asia. All this (and I have mentioned only a part of what is to be done) demands an army of workers devoted to science, and the foundation of their work must be accurate linguistic training.

The Association adjourned to 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.

PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, July 14, 1880.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association resumed its session at 9 A. M., the President, Professor Toy, in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meetings were read and approved.

The Secretary announced in the name of the Executive Committee, the election to membership of:

Mr. Samuel Garner, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; Mr. B. F. O'Connor, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

On motion, Professor S. S. Haldeman, Dr. I. H. Hall, and Dr. Julius Sachs were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On motion, Professor M. W. Humphreys, Professor W. D. Whitney, and Mr. C. J. Buckingham were appointed a committee to recommend a suitable time and place for the next meeting.

Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, New Haven, read a paper on "Logical Consistency in Views of Language."

Professor Whitney began with noticing the regrettable discordance of opinion still prevailing among students of language, even with regard to fundamental theoretical points, respecting which all needed evidence is already in hand. The cause of this lies, he thought, to no small extent, in carelessness of logical consistency on the part of many comparative philologists; it would be in great measure removed by taking up the subject at the right end, and seeing that from certain obvious and undeniable

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facts respecting language follow by logical necessity certain conclusions, which furnish a solid basis upon which to rear further doctrines. Without claiming to offer considerations not already adduced, he endeavored to present the general subject in such a logical connection.

One of the most palpable fundamental facts in human language is its diversity. Languages and dialects, unintelligible one to the other's speakers, are numberless, and their differences are endless, and of every degree and character. Thus, 1. their phonetic differences, as regards the number and nature of the alphabetic elements and the combinations of these, are great, notwithstanding a certain underlying resemblance, founded on the virtual identity of all human organs of speech; 2. their differences of grammatical structure, as regards parts of speech, forms of inflection and derivation, and syntactical combination, are yet greater, so that no acceptable morphological classification, even, has yet been found practicable; and 3. their significant differences, as regards the assignment of certain articulate combinations to the expression of certain conceptions, are greatest of all, correspondences being, where not historical (dialectic), sporadic and accidental only: it is even conceivable that two tongues should agree closely in alphabet and structure and yet give a different name to every single idea they expressed.

Another fact of highest consequence is that the varieties of language are not bound to varieties of race. Besides that there are no unmixed languages and no unmixed races, and that the two mixtures are not accordant, history shows numerous races or divisions of races that have come to speak tongues of foreign origin; every civilized community contains men of various descent undistinguished by speech; and no person of any race acquires its language without being placed among the speakers of the latter, or fails to acquire with readiness the tongue of any speakers, not of his own blood, among whom he may chance to grow up. In short, the direct relation of language is not to race at all, but to community. Every human being is capable of acquiring any human tongue, and only his circumstances prescribe which. That is to say, every one *learns* his language, his "mother-tongue," just as truly as any other which he may master later. Those who deny this are able to do so only by confounding the two, usual but very diverse, senses of the word "language"; which signifies now the complex of capacities that make a human being able to express his thought, and now the established signs of thought. The former is one and universal; the latter is various, and each variety is of limited use and intelligibility.

From these two elementary facts are derived necessary inferences as follows: The tie between a conception and its sign is external and accidental, a mental association, formed under the guidance and after the example of others. There is no room for the answer "φύσει" to the question how the names of things exist. Language is not thought, but an instrumentality auxiliary to thought.

Again, human language is fundamentally and entirely diverse from the means of communication of the lower animals, being a historical product, learned, indefinitely variable and extensible, while the latter is instinctive

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and unchanging. The natural cries of animals are not comparable with speech, but with those natural means of human communication which preceded speech, and would be used by a man who had not learned speech.

Again, the study of language is purely a historical branch of science, and not a physical. Purely historical, because not even the sounds composing language are physical entities; they are human acts, just as much and in the same way as significant gestures are so.

The limited value of linguistic study as aid to ethnology lies solely in the probability that a linguistic community or complex of communities has been, from the beginning or for an indefinite period, a tolerably pure race-community also. Fortunately, this probability is on the whole greatest where the help of language is most needed.

Another obvious and fundamental fact concerning language is its constant change: change of phonetic form, of structure, and of the significant value of words and forms. In accordance with the principles already demonstrated, this change cannot be brought about by anything else than the action of men, the speakers of language. The general consideration governing their action is convenience, and it operates in every part and department of speech; in phonetics, convenience takes the form of economy of utterance.

The tracing out of these changes of language, with restoration of earlier, and, if possible, even of primitive forms, constitutes the historical study of language. Something of the work has been done for many families of speech, but by far the most for our own family, the Indo-European. And the result reached, according to the prevailing or Boppian school, is this: that all Indo-European forms are made by the accretion of elements originally independent; and that the ultimate elements are so-called roots: i. e. signs possessing no grammatical character, whether as parts of speech or as forms of derivation or inflection—whether all monosyllabic or of more varied phonetic character being a point of altogether minor consequence. This result comes simply from an application of the processes seen at work in all the historical periods of the language to explain the products of the pre-historic period—the only scientific method. Its argument may be stated thus: 1. through the whole known history of Indo-European speech, combinations of independent elements have been integrated into words and sometimes into forms; and examples of forms of every class and age appear plainly to have been so made; 2. no material of this sort is seen to have been made in any other way; 3. there are no forms met with which might not have been made in this way; and hence, 4. aggregation being thus demonstrably a real method of Indo-European form-making, and the only one possessing that character, and being adequate to the explanation of all the facts, it is sufficient and alone entitled to be accepted. Those who oppose this conclusion are wont to ignore the difference between analogical inference and mere conjecture, and to assume that one man's guess as to how forms might have been made is just as good as another's; or to urge the fact, worthless as evidence, that the majority of forms cannot be satisfactorily traced to the

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independent elements out of which they have grown. That language should have begun with long words possessing any trace of structural organization is absolutely inadmissible on theoretic grounds; for it is an instrumentality, and an instrumentality cannot but have had rude and simple beginnings.

Moreover, the demonstration of such an origin and growth for the family of languages which has attained on the whole the highest grade of inflective structure is practically equivalent to their demonstration for all languages. It will take, at any rate, very strong and direct evidence to convince us that the history of any given family has not been essentially of the same character.

The question of the origin of language, as a scientific one, is simply to determine how such human beings as we see and know would possess themselves of such an instrumentality if they received none by tradition from their predecessors. That they would do this is beyond question; the work of starting a language is not essentially different from that of adding to and altering language, as performed by every later generation. The problem is practically solved by our knowledge of language and its history, which teaches as follows: 1. Language was brought into being primarily for purposes of communication; 2. it began with whatever signs could best be turned to account for mutual understanding, grimace and gesture and exclamation and onomatopœia etc. being drawn upon according to their various availability, and the predominance of utterance being a gradual result of its superior usefulness, as learned by experience; 3. the first items of speech denoted that which was most capable of being directly signified, and hence acts and qualities, and not concrete existences; 4. the period of root-production was a self-limited one, because after a time the creation of new material would become less facile than the variation and combination of what was already in use; 5. to correlate precisely the history of speech with the rest of man's development will doubtless never be practicable. But, at any rate, language was the indispensable means of conversion of gregarious into social life, the foundation of all other social institutions. Every language is itself an institution, one of those whose gradual formation constitutes the culture of a race. A social institution is a body of habits, of customary modes of action, by which in a certain community is attained a certain social end, regarded as conducing to social welfare. It grows gradually up in the contest between human nature and human circumstances. Its real origin and relation to the kindred or similar institutions of other communities is not at all understood by its possessors; it is apt to be regarded as a part of the natural order of things, even of divine revelation. In none of these or other characteristics is a language more different from other institutions than they from one another.

The next paper was read by Rev. R. F. Weidner of Philadelphia, Pa., "On some Points connected with the Prophecy of Obadiah, with a revised Translation."

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I. The author. Of the author of the shortest book in the O. T., we really know with certainty nothing except the name; and though, according to the Masoretes, the pronunciation is עֹבַדְיָה, i. e. servant of Jehovah, still about 300 years before Christ this pronunciation was not universal, as can be seen from the fact that the LXX. gives for it in the different places where the name occurs not only *'Οβδία*, but also *'Αβδία*, *'Αβδεία*, and *'Αβαδία*.

II. His date. Two theories with reference to the time of the prophecy are commonly held:

(1) That the prophecy was delivered after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, i. e. after B. C. 588. This view is held by Aben Ezra, Luther, Calov, Michaelis, Schnurrer, De Wette, Bertheau, Knobel, Maurer, Winer, Hendewerk, Bleek, Meyrick, and others.

(2) That the prophet lived before 800 B. C. So Hofmann, Delitzsch, Keil, Kleinert, Wordsworth, Pusey, Hengstenberg, Caspari, Haevernick, and others.

We decide in favor of the latter view for the following reasons: *a.* because the position of the book of Obadiah in the Canon, between that of Amos and that of Jonah, demands it; *b.* because the style is more antiquated than that of the later prophets, which even Ewald is compelled to admit, though he uses it as an argument to show that both Obadiah and Jeremiah quoted an early lost prophecy; *c.* because it is distinctly called a חָזוֹן, a vision. It is not a mere rehearsing of a past event. The prophet speaks of that which had been heard by him from Jehovah; *d.* because of grammatical considerations, for the verbs after אֵל (al) in vv. 12, 13, 14, must be taken to be future; *e.* because Obadiah does not refer in any way to the great monarchies of the world; they are simply strangers, and the two kingdoms are still supposed to stand firmly side by side. The discussion of the contents of the prophecy of Obadiah and its fulfillment in whole or part, is beyond our scope in the presentation of this paper.

This paper was discussed by Professor C. H. Toy.

President W. C. Cattell, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., read a paper on "The Etymologies of Lactantius."

After a somewhat extended discussion of the point in dispute between Cicero and Lactantius, whether *religio* was derived from relig*e*re or relig*a*re, the paper quoted and discussed more briefly all the etymologies found in the writings of this celebrated author, showing that he was generally in error as to derivations from Hebrew and so frequently as to Greek and Latin words that his etymologies, as the editors say of many of his theological opinions, are *cautè legendae*. But even where the derivation is wrong it was shown that the application to the subject Lactantius had in hand was apt and excellent. The paper concluded with a discussion of the real grounds upon which the reputation of the author rests, and which notwithstanding his mistakes in etymology give to his writings such permanent value.

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Remarks were made upon this paper by Dr. E. G. Sihler.

Professor M. W. Humphreys, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., read a paper entitled "A Contribution to Infantile Linguistics."

This paper presented the results of observations made upon the linguistic efforts of a little girl during the first two years of her life. A striking peculiarity of the child was, that at a certain period she could pronounce the palatals (k, g), but not the linguals (t, d). The paper discussed briefly the causes which influence the selection of words on the part of infants, and gave a history of the linguistic development of the child in question, closing with the list of words, numbering 1122, of which she had command when she was just two years old.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor W. D. Whitney.

Professor S. S. Haldeman, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., read a paper entitled "Note on the Invention of Words."

Singing birds hav a singing organisation, but monkeys, with organs much like those of man, lack a speaking brain and remain speechless. When very young, a child sings for pleasure, and before he has the use of words, will seize a rope on the deck of a ship and emit excited tones among those of the sailors, on occasions of excitement and activiti.

There is an opinion that children born without defect, in an island of deaf mutes, woud not acquire speech; but, on the contrari, it is probabl that, as gregarius animals, they woud begin to speak as soon as speech woud be found useful, and woud develop a language sufficient for their wants, as their social instincts woud make them gregarius and not solitari. If Chinese, they woud scarceli use *r*, or, if Cherokees, fall upon *b* or *p*.

Words invented by a child must be distinguisht from such as ar givn to it. 'Moo-cow' is not a child's word for a cow, but insted, the child whose first words are here recorded, used the simpl sound 'm;' a voiced scraping in the throat indicated a horse, a different scraping ment a duck —imitativs which were not translated into speech-words.

The ratl of the metl wheels of a toy cart was 'b-bh,' the *b* fulcral to start the essential *bh*—a vocaliti forced thru the lips, like German *w*. This became the word for a wheel, and for eni wheeld vehicl; and 'go b-bh' ment—to ride in a carriage, as 'go tshu-tshu' ment—to go by railway cars.

The voiceless form of b-bh (p-ph, π-ϕ) was suggested by the act and sound of smoking, and became the word for smoke, steam, clouds, and engravings of them. Afterwards, clouds in spheric masses were calld stones.

A bell was 'tin-tin'—a translation of the sound into speech, and suggestive of 'tintinate.' A railway engin was lookt at with the imitation 'tsh-tsh-tsh' (ofn accompanid by a rythmic motion of the hand) and this

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became the speech-word 'tshu-tshu.' Of two toy engins one was his 'nice tshu-tshu;' to another he saw in a shop he addrest the words 'goodby tshu-tshu' on leaving, and when this was sent to him in Demerâra some months later he recognised it and named it his 'goodby tshu-tshu.' His adjectives were 'nice' and 'bad,' 'big' and 'little,' and in the use of the latter pair he often used a coarse tone with 'big' and a fine one with 'little.'

Fond of throwing objects into water, he calld the sound of striking 'boom,' which was extended to mean throw, strike, fall, spill, without reference to the sound. Similarli, his form of the word spoon was applied par excellence to ice-cream, his favorit food taken with a spoon; and 'kernen' (colonel, the name he applied to his father) became the name of porridge, which was prepared for his father, and also of the kind of dish which contained it.

Perhaps because born in the tropics, he had no trouble with *cay* and *gay*, and he preferrd Italian *ah*, as in fân, lâmp, câtch.

This paper was discussed by Professor W. D. Whitney and Professor M. W. Humphreys.

Dr. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia, Pa., read a paper on "The Declension of the Definite Article in the Cypriote Inscriptions."

The riddle of the Cypriote Inscriptions up to this time is not completely solved. Not to mention the particular knots which occur in sundry inscriptions whose purport is well known in the main, or those places where no final test has put a last word to discussion, there remain a few inscriptions whose general purport is a puzzle, some whose characters have not been made out, and some which, though every character is known, refuse to yield any intelligible combinations. Chief of these puzzles are:

(1.) The longest inscription in the Cesnola collection, which is in part quite plain, but which presents some unique difficulties; though there is scarcely a doubt about the reading of any character.

(2.) The "Naked (or Bearded) Archer" of the British Museum, which, in spite of Dr. W. Deecke's attempt published in *The Athenæum* of May 22, 1880, and thought by him to be a complete success, is yet unread; for Dr. Deecke's reading depends upon some arbitrary forcing of several characters to read what they demonstrably cannot.

(3.) One other important inscription in the British Museum is still the subject of discussion and doubt, though parts of it are plain.

(4.) One of the new, unpublished inscriptions in the Cesnola collection is still unread, though it will probably yield to perseverance; as its main difficulties appear to consist in determining the several characters.

(5.) The same is true of several minor inscriptions (unpublished) of the new Cesnola collection.

Thus any attempt to construct a vocabulary or grammar of the Cypriote inscriptions must be made subject to future revision or correction from the unwrought material; to say nothing of possible further discoveries.

In this paper the author used only such material as he himself had been able to see and study in the original, on the very stones, terra cottas, and

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bronzes themselves. That, however, included all but perhaps three or four minor inscriptions out of nearly two hundred in all. In reaching the conclusions presented, the author also rejected every doubtful case. Yet these results are based upon about seven-eighths of the entire material—including the doubtful and the unread in the sum total.

The Cypriote syllabary consists of characters representing open syllables, i. e., syllables ending with a vowel. Of these, five represent the simple vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with no distinction between long and short. The others represent a single consonant followed by a vowel, with no distinction between smooth, middle, and rough in the mutes. Thus the same character may stand for κε, γε, χε, κη, γη, χη. As far as discovered, the syllabary is complete for the consonants *k*, *t*, *p*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *s*; that is, it has a character for each of these in combination with each of the five vowels. The *n* series lacks only *nu*; the *z* series lacks *zi*, *zo*, *zu*; and the syllable *ze* rests on one example only, and therefore on probable conjecture merely; the *y* or *i* syllables (for there is a consonant or *mobile yod*) lacks the *io* and *iu*, perhaps as not required by the language. The digamma or *w*-syllables lack *wi* and *wu*. Thus the syllabary is in theory tolerably complete. There is one other character, read by Deecke, Siegismund, and the author, as *xe*, because, though thus an anomaly in the system (as double consonants are expressed by combinations of characters), it appears to have no other Greek equivalent. For what we may call another phase of the same reason, Dr. Ahrens takes it as embodying the old *sampi*, or the Hebrew *shin*.

In transliterating, the analogy of ordinary Greek writing is not to be disregarded. Yet in treating this writing as a language or dialect by itself, a procedure to which it seems fairly entitled, there is obviously much liberty or play allowable in the choice between a long or a short vowel. With all proper regard for dialectic peculiarities, it is not clear in every case how such choice is to be made. The transliterator often feels that the best fidelity to science almost compels a resort to the indefinite quantity of the Roman *e* and *o*.

As to further principles of the writing, it is only necessary to mention a few; the rest of those essential to our purpose are obvious. A word sometimes ends in the middle of a syllable; that is, its consonant is the end of one word, and its vowel the beginning of the next. This is commonest in the case of an elided proclitic. The *n*, or ν of ordinary Greek, is often not written, and has to be understood. Whether it was pronounced or not, is scarcely to our purpose here. A consonant is never doubled. Iota adscript (subscript) is sometimes written, and sometimes not. When a word ends with a consonant, its final syllable (unless joined with the word following) is regularly written with a character whose vowel is *e*. No note of breathings occurs.

Another element *perhaps* to be taken into account in transliteration is the apparent versification of some of the inscriptions. This can scarcely be a guide, and only rarely a check. This principle has been practically insisted on to an extravagant and absurd extent by Richard Neubauer, in one of the "*Commentationes Philologicæ in Honorem Theodori Mommseni*" (Berlin, 1877); but that treatise shows no masterly special knowledge of

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the subject, and scarcely added a valuable hint to the stock of knowledge of Cypriote writing, while some of its mistakes are unpardonable.

The facts concerning the declension of the definite article in the writing were given in detail by Dr. Hall, taking each inscription by itself, and discussing each occurrence of the article as it came. Then followed a separate grouping of all the instances according to grammatical form, by cases, genders, and numbers, the result being that the article showed a pure Doric declension. In the course of the discussion, the article appeared to have usurped, in one or two places, the function of the relative pronoun ὅς, though strictly keeping the *form* of the article. The following is the scheme of the declension as actually occurring; no fair instance appearing of the neuter singular nominative, or genitive; of the dative plural feminine; nor of the nominative, genitive, or dative plural neuter; nor of the dual, in any case:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N.	ὁ	ἁ	—	οἱ	αἱ	—
G.	τῶ	τᾶς	—	τῶν	τᾶν, τῶν	—
D.	τοῖ, τῷ	ταῖ, τᾷ	τοῖ, τῷ	τοῖς	—	—
A.	τόν	τάν	τό	τός, τώς	τάς	τά.

To this it is to be added that the two forms here given for the dative singular and the accusative masc. plural, are simply alternative transliterations of the same manner of writing. Also the ι adscript or subscript is frequently omitted from the dative singular; but that is merely a variation in writing, as is shown in the tabulated discussion (here omitted), and not a real variation in form.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor M. W. Humphreys.

Rev. R. F. Weidner, of Philadelphia, Pa., read a paper "On the Study of the Bible."

Above all other men, the clergyman ought to study the Bible as a philologist. We live in an age of knowledge, and it must in justice be added, in spite of occasional superficiality, an age of widely diffused learning, and if in the present day clergymen wish to be abreast of the scientific progress made in Semitic studies, they must find time for study, and having found the time, limit the extent and concentrate the scope of their studies.

In my remarks I will only refer to three tools which the clergyman should learn to handle intelligently and skillfully.

I. The English Bible. As a rule, clergymen do not pay sufficient attention to the daily study of the authorized version of the Bible. I am strongly persuaded, that except in the case of the most advanced scholars, much more may be learned from the habitual, frequent, and copious reading of the Scriptures in the English version, than from the laborious perusal of them in an unfamiliar tongue.

In the present day, when an intelligent knowledge of the text of the

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Scriptures is widely spread, it is particularly necessary to beware of quoting a text *on any critical point* without knowing whether the original will bear the interpretation which the English may seem to suggest. Invaluable assistance in this respect has recently been placed at our disposal by the "Various Renderings and Readings Bible," edited by Messrs. Cheyne, Driver, Clarke, and Goodwin, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, which gives in the form of foot-notes all the variations of any consequence in text or meaning, which have been recognized by the authoritative scholars of the ages.

After three years of daily use, I would select this volume as the best edition of the English Bible, philologically, that any scholar can possess. And what I have said of this edition of the English Bible applies with the same force to the matchless German of Luther's Version, with its Various Renderings and Readings, as edited by Stier and Theile in their Polyglot edition of the Bible, a copy of which ought to be in every scholar's library.

II. The Greek Testament. It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that whatever our hearers may do with translations, ministers at least should read the N. T. in the original, critically and with ease.

No one can expound the Scriptures with authority when he draws his knowledge at second-hand from the commentators, and a student is never safe in the hands of any commentator. The saying of Erasmus often comes to mind: "When I first read the Greek N. T. with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, I found it very useful and very pleasant; but when afterwards I fell on reading the vast differences of commentators, then I understood it less than I did before—then indeed I began not to understand it." The systematic exegetical study of the Greek N. T. is indispensable to "the full proof of the ministry."

The best edition of the Greek Testament is that edited by Scrivener, published in the Cambridge Series of Greek and Latin Texts.

III. The Hebrew Bible. I need not prove to this learned body that it is absolutely necessary for the well-educated clergyman to understand Hebrew. I wish all ministers, throughout the length and breadth of our land, would come to the same conclusion. What a brushing away of cobwebs and a raising of dust would there then be in hundreds of parsonages. We have no right to say that the study of the original languages of Scripture is old and dry.

Simple as these stray thoughts may be, I have ventured to present them, because their importance has been deeply impressed upon me by my own limited experience. Almost as strong a plea could have been made for the study of the cognate Oriental languages, for we hold that to understand the Old Testament rightly, the student must have mastered the language not only in its classical form, but also in those cognate dialects which so frequently illustrate both the thought and idiom of the Old Testament. He must know not merely classical Hebrew, but also Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and the composite tongue which is the language of Jewish tradition and Jewish exegesis. The study of the Bible, prosecuted in some such manner as I have indicated, is indispensable for a true interpretation of it.

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The President communicated to the Association an invitation received from the Mercantile Library Company, tendering to the members of the Association the use of its rooms and library.

President W. C. Cattell presented an invitation addressed to the members of the Association, by the Penn Club of Philadelphia, asking their presence at a reception, to be given them this evening at nine o'clock.

On motion, it was resolved that the invitation be accepted, and this evening's session be omitted.

The committee to nominate officers for the year 1880–81, presented nominations as follows:

For *President*—Professor Lewis R. Packard, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

For *Vice-Presidents*—Professor Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor Milton W. Humphreys, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

For *Secretary and Curator*—Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

For *Treasurer*—Charles J. Buckingham, Esq., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

For additional members of the *Executive Committee*—

President William C. Cattell, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Professor William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.

Professor William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The report was accepted, and the persons therein named were declared elected to the offices to which they were respectively nominated.

The Association then took a recess until 4 o'clock.

PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, July 14, 1880.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association resumed its session at 4 P. M.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The Secretary announced the election to membership of:

Mr. Ashley D. Hurt, Principal of the Male High School, Louisville, Ky.

The President announced the appointment of Professor F. Stengel, as a member of the Auditing Committee, in place of Dr. Howard Crosby, who had left the city.

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Mr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Columbia College, New York City, read a paper "On the Use of the Anglo-Saxon Particles in the Laws of Alfred."

The paper gave a summary of the results of an examination of the uses of all the prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs (except derivative adverbs of manner) contained in the Laws of Alfred, as given by Schmid (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig*, 1858), the examination being based on Schmid's ground-text from the MS. E, and embracing all his various readings from three other MSS., and selected readings from the first two printed texts (*Lambard, A. D.* 1574, *Wheloc*, 1644). Each word was separately discussed. All its various forms were given, its different uses illustrated by examples, and compared with its English derivative or substitute, and the times of its occurrence stated. The following is a list of the words discussed, with the number of times they severally occur. Variant forms are not included in the list. The spelling is normalized:

ADVERBS OF PLACE.

hêron	1	ûfor	1	ûtan	1
þǽr	14	uppe (uppe on)	1	ûte	1
hwǽr	2	ofer	1	of	3
nâhwǽr	1	forđ	1	ætsamne	1
bûfan	1	inne	6	ætgædere	1
up	3	ût	5	tôgædere	1

ADVERBS OF TIME.

nû	2	eft	6	â	2
þonne	2	siđđan	5	æfre	1
geô (iû)	2	oft	1	næfre	3
ǽr	13	git	1	symle	1

ADVERBS OF MANNER.

hû	1	þûs	1	elles	2
swâ	12				

ADVERBS OF DEGREE.

full	1	ealles	2	tô	1	mâ	1

ADVERBS OF NEGATION.

ne	82	nâ	2	nô (= nâ)	6

PREPOSITIONS.

in	14	of	13	ofer	7
on	104	tô	103	under	2
binnan	1	for	10	beneođan	3
bûtan	11	fore	5	þurh	3
æt	17	beforan	14	geond	3
bî	1	ǽr	5	mid	74
be	67	æfter	4	wiđ	12
fram	6	bûfan	1	ymb	4

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CONJUNCTIONS.

and	224	gif	218	þonne	58
ge	4	bûtan	9	þæt	53
eâc	12	swâ	34	þe	3
oddе	47	swilce	3	ær þamþe	2
âwder	1	þeâh	4	be þam þe	3
ær	1	hwædere	1	for þam þe	5
ôd	1	siddan	4	for þam	4
ne	15	þâ	12	tô þam þe	1
ac	4	þenden	1	þâ hwîle þe	1

Dr. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia, Pa., exhibited a photograph of a stone, found in Muskingum County, Ohio, and inscribed with letters alleged to be similar to the Cypriote.

Remarks were made upon this subject by Professor S. S. Haldeman, Professor M. W. Humphreys, and Professor W. D. Whitney.

Professor M. W. Humphreys then read a paper, by Professor L. R. Packard, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn., on "The Beginnings of a Written Literature in Greece."

The subject was introduced by some comments on an article by Professor F. A. Paley, in *Fraser's Magazine* (March, 1880), in which he maintains that the use of writing to multiply copies of books cannot be shown to have been common in Greece before 400 B. C. His arguments to prove this—that there are no proper words in Greek, as there are in Latin, for the ideas *to read* and *to write*, that there are no references in the writers of the Periklean age to the works of their predecessors, that Thukydides in his sketch of the early history of Greece is obliged to rest for his facts on "inferences, memory, and hearsay"—were criticised. His supposition, that the works of the early historians and philosophers were orally communicated to their pupils, and not put into written form until long after the death of the original authors, was shown to be untenable in view of the style and probable purpose of those works as seen in the preserved fragments. A series of passages was then quoted from which it appeared that the use of writing was evidently familiar before 460 B. C., and that frequent references to books occur between 425 and 400 B. C. Some of the references imply the collection of a library and the exportation of books. The principal passages quoted were, Pind. Ol. XI, 1 f., Aesch. Supp. 946 f., Hdt. 5: 58, Arist. Frogs 943, 1113 f., Thuk. 1: 97, Xen. Mem. I, 6, 14, IV, 2, 1, Anab. VII, 5, 14. A number of passages from Plato were added to show how common books were, and on what various subjects, between 400 and 360 B. C. They were as follows: Apol. 26 D, Phaed. 97 C, 98 B, Symp. 177 B, Gorg. 462 B, 518 B, Protag. 325 E, Phaedr. 228 D, 230 D, 273 A, 276 C, Theaet. 152 A, 162 A, 166 C, Soph. 232 D, Polit. 293 A, Parm. 128 D.

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Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., presented a paper on "The Dictionary of the English Philological Society," which was read by Dr. Cattell.

Thė Historical Eŋglish Dictionary ov thė Philological Soçįety haz made good progres düring thė last yėar. This iz thė twenty-secund yėar ov wurk in colecting matėrialz, but thė first yėar ov Dr. Murray's editorship under thė arangement for its imėdiate publication bį thė Ųniversity ov Oxford. Thė first volüme containing *A* iz to bė publisht in 1882; it iz now redy to *Al*. About 500 wurkerz in Eŋgland hav undertaken to rėad books and copy quotationz. In America ther ar 150 wurkerz, who hav undertaken 1,008 volümez, thė wurk ov 333 authorz. American rėaderz ar askt to take American authorz, and British authorz ov thė 18th Çentüry. Fifty-fįve ov thoze taken ar British, thė rest American. Pennsylvania haz thė most rėaderz (25), New York 18, Massachusetts 17, Connecticut and Illinois 10 ėach: New Jersey and Maryland 8 ėach; Miçhigan and California 6; New Hampshire and Indiana 5 ėach; Ohįo, Wisconsin, Delaware, Kansas, and Kentucky 3 ėach; uther states 1 ėach; and ther ar 2 American rėaderz in Japan, 2 in Canada, 1 in Italy.

About 580,000 printed slips to copy quotationz upon hav bėen sent out, 285,000 hav bėen returnd fild up, 100,000 more ar nėarly redy, and thė whole return wil probably bė nėarly half a milion. Ther wer from former yėarz about two tunz ov slips on hand. Thė editorz begin to think they hav a suplį for thė wurdz ov general literatüre, tho ther ar stil meny famous books which ought to bė red.

Rėaderz ar now most nėeded for trėatisez in sçįenç, art, comerç, navigation, etc., and espeçialy for books in which termz from Darwinizm and kindred modez ov thought ar üzed. American rėaderz ar now askt to take up wurkz ov this kįnd, or curent pėriodicalz, az wel az to go on with thė older literatüre. Çircülarz ar now sent out asking information about particülar wurdz whoze slips prove insufiçient. Dr. Murray also wants a duzen more sub-editorz. Voluntėerz ar askt to send thė tįtlz ov books they ar wiling to undertake to Professor March, at Easton, Pa.

A paper by Professor W. F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., on "The Battle of Mons Graupius," was read by Dr. E. G. Sihler.

The account of the battle of Mons Graupius, in the 35th, 36th, and 37th chapters of Tacitus' Agricola, is the most difficult passage in this work, and has never been satisfactorily elucidated. The account is itself obscure, and the text is in several places corrupt and even unintelligible.

The name, by an error of the early editions, usually appears as *Grampius:* but this name finds no support, either in manuscripts or in Scotch geography. The name *Grampian Hills* is a modern appellation, derived from this erroneous reading; and it is obvious, from the context, that the battle took place near the sea, no doubt somewhere upon the coast of Fifeshire.

The 35th chapter contains an account of the disposition of the troops,

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and presents no difficulty, except in the phrase *covinnarius eques*, which is interpreted by most recent editors as meaning that the war-chariots were a form of cavalry. The expressions used by Cæsar (B. G. IV. 24, 33; V. 13) plainly distinguish the two, and it is better, with the earlier editions, to insert *et*. This will make the account of the battle, in the next chapter, much more intelligible. It should be observed that Agricola's front line was composed exclusively of auxiliaries, and it will appear that these alone took part in the battle; his legions of Roman troops were held in reserve throughout. The Britons were on a hill-side, with their front in the plain.

The course of the battle was favorable to the Romans at every stage, and they never received any serious check. Nevertheless there were four distinct crises. First, in the skirmishing *eminus*, it was soon seen that the Britons could not be repulsed; Agricola therefore sent in some auxiliary cohorts, and turned the engagement into a hand-to-hand fight, *cominus*. The Britons in the plain were at once routed, and in their flight the cavalry joined, while the war-chariots prolonged the contest by uniting with the infantry upon the slope of the hill.

The last half of the 36th chapter, beginning *Interim equitum turmae*, presents serious difficulties. Most recent editions consider these *turmae* to have been Roman, and, as the Roman cavalry certainly was not put to flight, they insert *ut* before *fugere*, thus making the flight refer to the war-chariots; they further refer the check, *haerebant*, to the Romans, and, consistently with this idea, change *equestres* to *aequa nostris* in order to indicate that the battle had thus far gone against the Romans. This is proved not to be the case by the fact that at the beginning of the next chapter the Romans are referred to as *vincentium*. It is better, therefore, as above, to consider the *equitum turmae* to have been the Britons: to make *haerebant* agree with *covinnarii*; and to consider the rest of the chapter a description of the confused half-cavalry action that ensued. The reading of the corrupt phrase *diu aut stante* is easily corrected to *clivo astantes*; here Halm's reading, *astantes*, is better (referring to the Britons) than Kritz', *instantes* (referring to the Romans). This was the second crisis, when the war-chariots joined with the infantry of their countrymen, and for a moment caused *recentem terrorem*. The third is the attempt of the Britons to take the victorious Romans in the rear, at the beginning of the 37th chapter: and the fourth, when the Britons made their last effort, and brought the pursuing Romans to a stand in a piece of woods. Even here Agricola did not find it necessary to bring up his legionary soldiers, but overcame the resistance with the aid of some auxiliary cohorts which had until now been kept in reserve.

The committee on the time and place of meeting recommended that the next session be held at Cleveland, Ohio, Tuesday, July 12, 1881, at 3 P.M., but left the matter open and subject to modification by the Executive Committee.

On motion, the report was adopted.

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The Secretary announced, on behalf of the Executive Committee, the election to membership of:

Professor Franklin Taylor, High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

The auditing committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer had been compared with the vouchers and found correct. The report was accepted.

The Association then adjourned to Thursday morning, the evening session being omitted to enable the members to attend the reception given by the Penn Club.

PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, July 15, 1880.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association resumed its session at 9 A. M.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

The Secretary announced that the Executive Committee had elected as members of the Association:

Professor James S. Blackwell, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; Professor A. F. Fleet, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Professor C. H. Toy, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., read a paper on "The Hebrew Termination *un* as a Means of Determining Date."

Of old forms in Hebrew that are of interest in the study of general Semitic grammar, those which offer the richest material for historical investigation are certain verb-forms in *n*, namely the third person plural of the Perfect, and the third and second persons masculin plural of the Imperfect in *un*, and the second singular feminin of the Imperfect in *in*. Of these the forms of the Perfect and the Imperfect singular are rare; we may for our purpose treat all together, making special mention, where necessary, of one or another. They occur somewhat over 300 times in the Old Testament, being found in all the books except Leviticus, Obadiah, Jonah, Haggai, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel (Hebrew), Ezra (Hebrew), Nehemiah, and First Chronicles. What is the history of their use? In the first place, they are pure Hebrew —there is no grammatical objection to their Hebrew character, and they are not here the result of foreign influence. As to their grammatical character, comparison of all accessible Semitic dialects leads to the conclusion that the primitiv terminations were *una* and *ina;* these are retained only in Arabic, while in Aramaic they hav become *un* and *in*, in Assyrian largely, in Hebrew generally, and in Ethiopic always, *u* and *i*. Some difficulty, indeed, arises from the fact that, on the supposition (from various considerations, altogether probabl) that the plural termination is really a noun-termination, we should expect it in Hebrew to agree with the noun, and sound *um* instead of *un;* but, both here and in the *in* we do not know the origin and relation of the *m* and *n*, and cannot allow this

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apparent discordance to set aside the plain results of comparison of the forms in the various dialects. These terminations, then, may be Hebrew, and moreover, must be. The only foreign influence to which they could be referred is the Aramaic, and for this they are both too early and not late enough—that is they occur in passages that preceded any linguistic influence of Aramaic on Hebrew, and do not occur in the late books that exhibit the most marked Aramaizing tendencies. When precisely the Aramaic began to affect the Hebrew it is hard to say, but the traces of its influence do not begin to appear in the literature that has survived till about the time of the Babylonian Exilè, after which they become more and more frequent down to the third or second century B. C. But these terminations appear in quite early passages, such as the old law-book in Ex. xx–xxiii, and they are absent from the late, Aramaizing books of Esther, Ecclesiastes and others. In the next place, they represent the classical Hebrew of the times in which they appear. They are not local or dialectic, for example. They are naturally more frequent in the southern than in the northern writings (if indeed we can now distinguish these), since the former comprise the body of the Old Testament; but they are employed freely by the northern prophets, and were doubtless familiar all over the land. Nor can their use be considered as a conscious employment of an obsolete archaism for the purpose of giving an antique coloring to a passage or book. Such an imitation of antiquity was not in the manner of the Hebrew writers. The author of Chronicles, in attempting to describe the pre-exilian history of the nation after the later Levitical model, writes in the Aramaized Hebrew of his day, and freely modernizes words that were no longer in use; the author of Ecclesiastes writes in the name of Solomon, but in the dialect of his own time. When we find these terminations, we may conclude that they were natural to the authors who use them, tho they may not always hav been current in the popular speech.

The facts of the usage are these: In the prose books there is a gradual diminution of frequency of occurrence from the old parts of Exodus down to Chronicles and Daniel. Ruth (dating probably from the exile), presents an apparent exception, containing *un* and *in* each thrice; but they are found in speeches, probably of old material. Another exception occurs in Exodus and Deuteronomy, which stand (with the exception of Joel), first in frequency. Genesis and Numbers hav relatively few occurrences; Leviticus none. In the prophets the periods of most frequent occurrence are those of I. Zachariah and Micah, about B. C. 720, and of Nahum and Zephaniah, about B. C. 640; Joel (date uncertain) stands first; the number is small after the exile, and fewest of all in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Of the five poetical books, Song of Songs and Lamentations have none, Proverbs very few, Job a large number, evenly distributed over the book, Psalms not so many as Job, more than one-fourth of all the cases occurring in one post-exilian psalm, the civ. It appears from these facts that the terminations in question are obsolescent, but not obsolete in the Old Testament. They are most frequent in the oldest prose, and in the latest are almost entirely wanting. In later times they were employed

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either in passages derived from antiquity, or in elevated and impressiv style, as in parts of Exodus, throughout Deuteronomy, in the second Isaiah, and in some of the psalms, especially Ps. civ. Beyond this the conditions determining their use are not clear. Sometimes they coincide with the present emphatic accents, sometimes not; often the particular use seems arbitrary, and we do not know how far the text has been modified by pre-masoretic editors. Their occurrence cannot be used alone as a means of determining the date of a writing; the older passages, in which they are frequent, are so mingled with later passages that other tests hav to be applied in order to determin where the older part begins and ends.

A paper by Prof. A. C. Merriam, of Columbia College, New York City, N. Y., on "An Experiment in Reading Greek at Sight with Volunteer Classes in College," was read by President Cattell.

This paper was an account of an experiment carried on for the last three years, described not because it was unique in itself, though something new to the writer at its inception, but because the details might prove of interest, if not of profit, to educators.

The class of 1881 of Columbia College was observed to be so much interested in reading the Odyssey, as Freshmen, that a favorable opportunity seemed to be presented for putting to the test several questions of a practical bearing; whether, for instance, there was any inclination among the students towards a wider study of Greek than the prescribed course of three hours a week, and if so, how great; what would be the effect of reading extensively, mainly for the translation, as compared with the painstaking work done in class, or as superadded to it; how great a facility in reading Homer could be acquired in this way by the end of the collegiate year, etc. In Columbia College the exercises are all completed at one o'clock, and the students depart to their homes till the following day. Accordingly the announcement was made to the class that if some half dozen or more would volunteer for the reading of Homer from one to two in the afternoon twice a week, the experiment should be tried. On their part they were to undertake to do what their time would permit towards making out the translation of 100 lines for each reading, but the instructor expected to act the part not only of commentator, but also, in a degree, of a dictionary. The class assembled for the first reading directly after the Christmas holidays, with twenty-four members from the Freshman class, and five from the Sophomore. Twelve of this number withdrew within the first four weeks, for various reasons. The average attendance of the remaining seventeen to the end of the collegiate year was sixty-one per cent. The plan pursued in the work was to give each student a short passage to translate, and this was then carefully rendered by the instructor and commented on. The translations made by the class were found to be much better than was expected or contemplated; in fact, they were almost as good as the regular class recitations, and some who withdrew towards the close of year, advanced the reason that they could not continue to devote the time to it which such careful work required, and their scholarly pride

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would not suffer them to make an insufficient preparation. The great majority, however, were unflagging in their zeal, and for the last month or more, at their own option and suggestion, the readings were increased to 125 lines at each sitting. The entire amount read was some 3250 lines. On the last day of meeting, the test of reading at sight was applied, and the result showed that such proficiency had been acquired that any part of the Odyssey could be read with considerable fluency. In addition to this, their regular work in class appeared to be strengthened, and to be given a wider grasp, as would be naturally expected.

These results of the first and tentative period answered the questions which the enterprise was originated to solve, with such good promise, that its continuance for another year seemed to be demanded, in order to determine what could be done with the same students, beginning upon the foundation which they had now acquired, and reaching out into less familiar and more difficult fields.

In consequence, the class was formed on the first of November of the following year, and was composed of fifteen Sophomores and Juniors, mainly those who had pursued the course during the preceding year. It was believed that now, with the vocabularies which they had acquired, and the experience which they had had, the work could be made one purely of reading at sight. The result justified the belief. An especial request was made that no preparation be undertaken beforehand, not only that the experiment of reading at sight might be tested, but that the feeling so prevalent that a Greek sentence is a fortress to be stormed only when the student is arrayed in all the panoply of lexicon, commentary, and grammar, might gradually wear away and disappear. The meaning of unfamiliar words was not given them outright, but they were traced back to their roots, which in general the student was familiar with, and then by the application of the rules for suffixes the sense would be evolved along such connecting links as would bring into play the laws of growth in language, and leave the word connected in the mind with some idea already there, and so more securely domiciled for future use. In this way the class was able to read the first book of the Cyropaedia and a part of the second, the Clouds of Aristophanes, all of Anacreon and the Anacreontics, and extracts from Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Ibycus, and Simonides of Ceos.

For obvious reasons it seemed quite inexpedient to join with this advanced class such of the incoming Freshmen as desired to pursue this course; a separate class was therefore formed early in December, composed entirely of Freshmen, and the same system as before in reading the Odyssey was pursued, previous preparation being required, and manfully performed through the year by ten members who devoted themselves to the task. Towards the close of the season, however, it became mainly a reading at sight, and 175 to 200 lines would be sometimes accomplished in the hour. Altogether, 4000 lines of the Odyssey were read.

During the collegiate year just closed, the undertaking was carried on with larger classes and a better average attendance. Both classes were started at the opening of exercises in October. The advanced class was

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composed of Seniors, Juniors, and Sophomores. The Egyptian history of Herodotus was read, and a practical acquaintance was formed with more than forty of the famous poets of the Gnomic and Lyric Schools, all being read at sight upon the same plan as before.

The class just entered was requested to prepare its 100 lines of the Odyssey, but it was made a point now to finish that in time to devote one quarter of the hour to reading beyond the limit prescribed, so as to become accustomed to the work without preparation. This produced results so satisfactory that, when half the year was past, it was deemed expedient to drop preparation altogether, a course justified by the success attending it. This class read twelve and a half books of the Odyssey, about 6000 lines all told.

On the last days of April an examination of both classes was held in writing, to determine definitely in that way the facility they had acquired in reading, without any assistance, the authors upon which they had been engaged. Writing was limited to one hour, and the amount to be translated was so selected that it could be fairly done within that time, without opportunity for much puzzling over knotty phrases. The passages were taken from the authors read, but not from the parts read, the advanced class being examined on Herodotus I 36, Theognis 743–752, and the 33d Anacreontic; the other, on Odyssey I 345–359, IV 696–710, and IX 360–370. The papers handed in were examined and marked with the strictness of an ordinary class-examination, upon a basis of 100 maximum, with results varying from ninety-eight to eighty in the advanced class, and from ninety-six to seventy-four in the other. On the whole, the sense of the passages was fairly given, the main difficulty arising from ignorance of single words, which were either new, or were confounded with others quite similar in form; this confusion of words being quite noticeable and curious, but chiefly in the first year's class.

This experience and this practical exhibit were declared to have converted the experimenter to a belief that "reading at sight" in Greek that is not over difficult and abstract, is feasible, and in fact is actually attained by the methods here described. They will scarcely make one capable of reading with fluency the Odes of Pindar, the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, or the Periclean speeches of Thucydides; but a royal demesne of the most delightful Greek literature flings its doors wide to the student, courting his entrance, and welcoming him when he comes to a seat at a hospitable board, instead of presenting that forbidding aspect and those formidable battlements commonly imagined, which must needs be stormed and taken at the point of the sword if approached at all. A taste for the literature is thus created as the difficulties vanish, marauding expeditions may gradually be made into the closed precincts, and finally, when the student graduates he may carry with him a continual refutation of that question which we hear on all sides, so benumbing because so often all too true, "What is the use of studying Greek, when the college graduate, after six or seven years' work upon it, cannot take up a Greek text he may not previously have read, and turn it into English?"

The writer then proceeded to quote some passages from President

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Porter's "American Colleges and the American Public," a work to which his attention had just been called, and which he had never had the good fortune to meet with before. Here he found advocated for adoption in regular class work, after the Freshman year, quite the same methods he had been practicing with his volunteer classes, and urged in words which his experience had proved both wise and practicable. President Porter sounds the warning that we are as much in danger of "too high grammar" in our teaching as the English are of "too high verse-making," and recommends the experiment of wide reading in comparatively easy authors, with the attention directed mainly to the import of the matter. Such a suggestion from such a source was believed to lend an additional interest to the writer's independent experiment.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Dr. E. G. Sihler, and Professor M. W. Humphreys.

Dr. E. G. Sihler, of New York City, N. Y., read a paper on "Vergil and Plato."

Dr. Sihler showed the dependence of the sixth book of Vergil's Aeneid upon the eleventh book of the Odyssey, and called attention to the passages wherein Vergil departs from his older model. The analogy between Vergilian and Greek speculation was pointed out. It was suggested that the dependence upon Plato was more and more distinct as the lines of this episode went on.

As for the purpose of this parabasis in the economy of Vergil's epic, Dr. Sihler thought that Vergil sought herein a convenient *literary shift*, to advance his narrative from the dawn of Aenean legend into the noon-day of Roman glory and empire; and that the metempsychosis of Plato and the presentation of souls with the type of their character and career fully expressed—awaiting a new incarnation—was a contrivance which suited the aim of the learned Vergil very well.

In respect to the sincerity and earnestness of philosophical and semi-religious belief, the speaker dissented from Seller and Nettleship, in considering the episode of Aeneid VI. merely as a matter of erudition. This view seems probable when we take into account the erudition of the day and the learned element in the compositions of the Augustan poets.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor M. W. Humphreys.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association are hereby tendered to the officers and members of the American Philosophical Society for the use of their rooms and their attentions during the meeting, to the officers of the Mercantile Library and Franklin Institute for the kind invitations received from them, and to the Penn Club for the reception given to the Association in their rooms.

On motion, the Association then adjourned.

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CHARLES J. BUCKINGHAM, *Treasurer, in account with the* AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, *July 14, 1879 – July 13, 1880.*

Dr.		*Cr.*	
Balance in Treasury, July 14, 1879,	$341.25	Printing Transactions and other work,	$215.00
Fees and assessments since received,	377.00	Advertising in American Catalogue,	32.50
Interest,	24.50	Expenses of the late Secretary,	50.00
		" " session in Newport,	10.00
		" " Secretary,	14.85
		" " Treasurer,	4.35
		Printing,	2.00
		Balance in Treasury,	414.05
	$742.75		$742.75

E. E. CHARLES J. BUCKINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

There is also in the hands of the Treasurer, one Bond of the Connecticut Western Railroad for Five Hundred Dollars, with seven over-due, and unpaid coupons. C. J. B.

Having examined the above accounts, and compared them with the vouchers, we certify the same to be correct. We have also personally examined the Bond of the Connecticut Western Railroad, with seven over-due and unpaid coupons.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 13, 1880. (Signed) FRED. STENGEL, W. C. CATTELL, } *Auditing Committee.*

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Extract from the Constitution.

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1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of five dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life-member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

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Notice to the Members of the American Philological Association.

1. It is exceedingly desirable that the Secretary be notified of all changes of address in order that the annual list be kept correct.

2. Requests or orders for the publications of the Society should be sent to the *Secretary*.

3. All remittances of fees should be made to the *Treasurer*, and as soon after the July meeting as possible.

The Executive Committee herewith announce that the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Association will be held at Cleveland, Ohio, beginning Tuesday, July 12, 1881, at 3 o'clock P. M.

Members intending to read papers at the next session of the Association are requested to notify the Secretary at as early a date as possible.

The address of the Secretary is: Charles R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass.

The address of the Treasurer is: Charles J. Buckingham, Poughkeepsie, New York.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1881.

I. — *On Mixture in Language.*

By W. D. WHITNEY,
PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.

A FEW years ago (1876), there appeared in England a volume (8vo. pp. viii., 126) on Mixed Languages, by a Mr. Clough, who calls it a "prize essay," though without betraying who should have awarded it a prize. It takes for its text a quotation from M. Müller, to this effect: "In the course of these considerations, we had to lay down two axioms, to which we shall frequently have to appeal in the progress of our investigations. The first declares grammar to be the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation; the second denies the possibility of a mixed language." (Lectures, 1st series, 6th edition, p. 86.) Mr. Clough's work is meant to be a refutation of this doctrine of Müller's; and he enters upon his task thus:

"Certain philologists have stated that a mixed language is an impossibility, but the truth of the axiom may well be doubted; indeed, as it would, perhaps, be impossible to find any modern language which contains no foreign elements, it is evident that the principles involved in the question are fundamental.

"Language consists of three parts — sounds, words, and grammar; and a mixture in any one of these points produces a mixed language."

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Mr. Clough, it will be seen, absolutely declines to take his stand upon the same point of view with Mr. Müller, and therefrom to criticise, and if possible prove unfounded, the latter's statements; he will look only on his own side of the shield. For Müller, in the next paragraph to that quoted as above by his opponent, goes on to say: "There is hardly a language which in one sense may not be called a mixed language. No nation or tribe was ever so completely isolated as not to admit the importation of a certain number of foreign words. In some instances these imported words have changed the whole native aspect of the language, and have even acquired a majority over the native element." And, a page or two later: "There is, perhaps, no language so full of words evidently derived from the most distant sources as English." Only he adds, still further on (p. 89): "Languages, however, though mixed in their dictionary, can never be mixed in their grammar." Müller's view, then, plainly admits of being laid down in this form: 1. There is a certain part of every language, namely its grammar, which appears to be inaccessible to mixture; 2. In virtue of this fact, a mixed language is an impossibility; 3. Hence, the unmixableness of language is an axiom of linguistic science. Mr. Clough should have set before him the doctrine in some such form as the above, and then have addressed himself in an orderly manner to its refutation. Instead of so doing, he goes laboriously onward, gathering evidences of mixture, according to his definition of the term, which do not at all touch his antagonist; since the latter, acknowledging them all, nevertheless declares that they do not constitute mixture according to *his* definition of the term. Mr. Clough does not disengage the merely verbal question — whether any one has good and sufficient reason for denying the name of "mixed" to a language which may have imported so much foreign material as to have "its whole native aspect changed" thereby — from the real question, as to whether there are in fact any limits to mixture, and if so, what and why; and on this account, as well as by reason of his generally loose and credulous method, his work must be

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admitted to contribute nothing of value to the elucidation of the subject.

That the subject, however, urgently calls for further elucidation, will hardly be denied. Thus, Lepsius, in the Introduction to his recent Nubian Grammar (p. lxxxv.), says: "It is at present an assumption usually made, that the vocabulary of one language may indeed to a great extent be transferred to another, but not its grammatical forms and their use. The linguistic history of Africa . . . shows this to be a prejudice;" and he sets up a theory of the relations of African languages which seems to imply grammatical mixture on a very large scale. It is, indeed, this so sharp antithesis between the views of two highly considered authorities — the one stigmatizing as an assumption and a prejudice what the other lays down as an axiom — that has suggested the preparation of the present paper.

As regards, now, in the first place, the axiomatic character of any view that we may come to hold concerning the mixableness or unmixableness of language, the sooner such a claim is abandoned the better. The use of the term "axiom" is probably not to be seriously pressed against Mr. Müller. If not a mere slip of the pen (which it can hardly be, as he has let it stand in edition after edition since objection was raised against it), it is at any rate only one of those pieces of genial inaccuracy which, as he often pleads, he "has permitted himself." He means no more than that the doctrine under discussion seems so well established and is so generally accepted that it does not enter into his own mind to question it. He perhaps would designate it more deliberately as a fundamental principle, comparable not with "things equal to the same thing are equal to one another," but rather with, for instance, "the sum of the angles of a triangle equals two right angles." Even this, however, would be a great deal too much. It would imply that Müller, or some one else, had so grounded the unmixableness of grammar on the bottom facts of human nature and of the nature of language, had so demonstrated its inevitableness from the acknowledged laws of linguistic growth, that no well informed and sound-minded man could

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have any inclination to doubt it. How far that is from being so is shown by the circumstance that Lepsius unceremoniously rejects it. No writer on geometry could throw over the principle that the angles of a triangle equal two right angles, and expect to command any attention for his reasonings. But Lepsius's theory of African language is received, as it well deserves to be, with all respect, as one that calls for the most careful examination, and may perhaps be found to compel acceptance. It is interesting to see how Müller himself handles his "axiom." After asserting, as quoted above, that "languages can never be mixed in their grammar," he immediately adds: "Hervas was told by missionaries that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Araucans used hardly a single word which was not Spanish, though they preserved both the grammar and the syntax of their own native speech." This, from its position and bearings, must be meant as an example of the evidence of the doctrine: a curious "axiom" that, certainly, which rests in part upon what some missionaries told somebody: perhaps they did not know; or perhaps neither party realized the importance and wide bearing of the point in question. Müller goes on in the next paragraph: "This is the reason why grammar is made the criterion of the relationship and the base of the classification in almost all languages; and it follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that in the classification and in the science of language, it is impossible to admit the existence of a mixed idiom." These statements seem neither exact nor clear. The value of grammar as a criterion by no means rests solely on its unmixableness; nor does that value furnish a reason for denying the possibility of mixture: to assert this is simply to reason in a circle. There is no need, however, of spending any more time upon the point. To set up the unmixableness of grammar as an axiom is to provoke and justify its rejection as a prejudiced assumption; if it is to be forced on us, without discussion and exposition, as something intuitive, it may be discarded in like manner, without refutation, by one to whose inner sense it does not commend itself.

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In opposition to Müller's view, it may be claimed, without any fear of successful contradiction, that what we hold and are justified in holding as to the mixture of languages is a pure scientific induction from the observed facts of mixed languages, dependent for its authority and its extensibility to further cases, on the one hand, upon the number and variety of the cases already observed, and, on the other hand, upon the degree of success with which the facts they present have been reasoned out and put in connection with the fundamental principles of language-using and language-making. That, in either of these essential respects, the subject has been fully worked up, no one would be justified in asserting; yet there is a considerable body of knowledge respecting it, enough to establish among students of language a prevalent doctrine, held with a fair degree of confidence, though also held open to modification by further evidence, or by the bringing-in of examples radically different from those thus far taken into account. What this doctrine is, what are its foundations, and what its limitations, a brief exposition may here help to show.

The general *rationale* of the process of borrowing out of one language into another is simple enough, and may be illustrated from any tongue. It rests, of course, with everything else in linguistic science, upon these fundamental principles: that spoken signs have nothing to do with conceptions except historically (that is, there is no internal, substantial, necessary tie between a given conception and a given sign for it); and that, consequently, a language has nothing to do except historically with a given race, but is, like any other element of acquired civilization, transmissible not only from generation to generation, but also, under favoring circumstances, from community to community, from race to race. The individual man is everywhere only seeking after a sign — not one existing φύσει, but one usable θέσει — by means of which he may communicate with his fellow-man respecting some object of common knowledge and conception; and he is always ready to take it where he finds it handiest. If, then, we learn of or introduce to our own use something new from

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outside our borders, unnamed in our speech, we are likely enough, instead of making a name for it out of our own resources, to adopt along with it some more or less successful imitation of its native name: it may be some concrete thing, like *tobacco, tea, canoe, shawl, alcohol;* or something more ideal, institutional, like *sabbath, jubilee, algebra, taboo, check* (and *check* and *checker* and *exchequer* are a striking example of the exuberant life which such a chance adoption may win), and so on. There needs only a knowledge on the part of the speakers of one language of a designation used in another language and then a sufficient inducement to its use by themselves also, and they proceed to use it: nothing in the nature of language stands in the way of such an appropriation; it is in strictest accordance with the method by which every speaker has acquired every expression he employs. Hence, wherever two tongues come in contact, each is liable to borrow something from the other; and more or less, according to wholly indeterminable circumstances: the measure and nature of the intercourse, the resources of the respective tongues, their degree of facilitating kinship or structural accordance, and so forth. And there are (as was noticed above) few tongues in the world which are not to this extent mixed. The language of a civilized people like our own, having intercourse with nearly all the other peoples of the globe, and laying them all under contribution to its comfort or entertainment or zeal for knowledge, shows a wonderful variety of items of speech thus borrowed. The degree is different in different divisions of our language: thus, the English of India has quite a vocabulary of native Hindu terms which are either unknown or unfamiliar to us and to most of the English-speakers of Britain; the same is true of the English of South Africa; and the same is true, to a certain extent, of the English of America.

This might be called the sporadic or fortuitous method of borrowing. It is, however, only the same process on a larger scale that goes on when any community makes itself the pupil of another in respect to any part of its civilization. Where institutions, beliefs, ceremonies, arts, sciences, and the like, pass from race to race, names cannot help going with

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them. The leading examples of this which history offers are familiar to all, and need only be alluded to. The spread of Christianity over Europe carried with it a certain number of Hebrew words, from the dead tongue of the Old Testament; but a vastly greater number of Greek and Latin words, from the living tongue of the New Testament, and from those of the European peoples who propagated the new religion. And who propagated also a higher civilization along with it; the two are not to be separated from one another; it is their joint influence that made the Greek and Latin vocabularies mines from which all the languages of Europe should freely draw new resources of expression. The extension of Mohammedanism has made Arabic occupy a similar position in reference to the tongues of all Mohammedan peoples: greatly varied in detail, according to the variety of circumstances of each case, the combination of religious with general cultural instruction, and actual mixture of races. The relation of Chinese to Japanese and some other neighboring tongues is probably the next most striking example; then that of Sanskrit to the vernaculars of India in general; and as minor instances may be cited the influence of Swedish upon Finnish, and of German upon Hungarian. There is no definable limit to the amount of accessions that may be brought in this way into a language; but they can hardly fail to leave untouched its forms, and the central kernel of its vocabulary, its words of commonest use.

A somewhat different case is that in which there takes place a noteworthy mixture of peoples: that is, a mingling in the same larger or smaller community of persons of discordant inherited speech. But here, too, the special circumstances are infinitely varied, with corresponding variety in the linguistic result. The circumstance which most directly represents the disturbing cause is the comparative number of the one and of the other element of population in the mixed community; yet this appears practically to be of minor consequence only. The blood of a people may, for example, become prevailingly different from what it was, by a process of gradual mixture, such as is now bringing a never ending current of immigra-

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tion to our American shores, with only a minimal effect on the original speech; and, on the other hand, the great bulk of a community may give up its old tongue for that of a small intruded element, as in the case of the countries of southern Europe which were Romanized and in consequence Latinized: and between these two extremes lie numberless intermediates. We may say, in a general way, that the outcome of a mixture of population is of three kinds. First, under the government of peculiar isolating conditions, the elements of the mixed population maintain each its own linguistic independency, with perhaps no more mixture of speech than takes place between separate communities: as is the case, on a large scale, under Moslem domination in the border-lands of Turkish, Armenian, Persian, Syriac, and Arabic speech, where almost every individual is bilingual, speaking his own inherited dialect along with that of a neighbor, or with the general official language added; while another curious example is said to have been furnished at a certain period by the discordant speech of the Carib warriors and their captured wives. Secondly, as in the case of the Latinized countries of southern Europe, referred to above, and in numerous others, the language of one division of the mixed community becomes, almost without mixture, the language of the whole. We can trace in a measure, but only in a measure, the particular influences, with their mode of action, that have brought about such a result as this; much about them is obscure and surprising. Thirdly, there arises a notably mixed language, containing abundant elements derived from both the one and the other of the tongues whose speakers were brought together to form the community.

This last case is evidently the only one with which we have to concern ourselves here; and of it a very conspicuous example is our own English. There is no known mixed language of developed structure and of high cultivation in which the process of mixture has gone further. The two composing elements were, so far as one could have estimated them in advance, of nearly equal force; which of them would win the upper hand might have appeared doubtful — as, indeed, it

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long did appear doubtful. We may expect to find English, then, a normal illustration of the processes of language-mixture. It ought to be the instance most thoroughly studied and best understood in all its parts; for the original ingredients of the mixture are perfectly known, being both recorded in earlier literatures; and the steps of combination are set forth all along in contemporary documents. It is, perhaps, better understood than any other similar case in language-history; yet that is far from implying that it is fully mastered, or that opinions are not still at variance respecting matters of prime importance connected with it: thus, for example, as to how much of the decay and loss of former Germanic structure in English is due to the mixture; as to whether the process has or has not extended to the grammar of the language; as to the effect of foreign influence on the structure and arrangement of the English sentence; and so on. The subject still calls for skilful and wary investigation, in order to be comprehended in its details; but some of the main results for the general theory of language-mixture may perhaps already with sufficient certainty be gathered off the surface of the phenomena it exhibits.

The first and most important of these is, that the case is not, after all, essentially different from those already noticed. We have still one language, namely the Anglo-Saxon or native English, borrowing and incorporating crude material from the other, the intrusive Norman French. Of a meeting of the two ingredients on equal terms, and their amalgamation in any part, either of grammar or of vocabulary, the one contributing an element and the other another element of the same kind, there is no sign whatever. This appears most clearly in the system of inflection: not a trace of Romanic conjugation or declension shows itself in the new mixed speech; the imported verbs and nouns are assimilated entirely to those of the borrowing tongue, being varied in form with whatever apparatus the latter has still left. But it appears also in the system of derivation: such suffixes and prefixes as native English retained in actual living use for the making of new words, it proceeded to apply to the borrowed material; and

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the derivatives so made are no more to be accounted as of "mixed" character than are the inflectional forms with Romanic stems and Germanic endings. And the same thing is to be seen not less clearly in the stock of words: here, too, whatever is more formal or structural in character remains in that degree free from the intrusion of foreign material. Thus, of the parts of speech, the pronouns and articles, the prepositions and conjunctions, continue to be purely Germanic; and, in the more general vocabulary, the same is true of the numerals. In brief, the borrowing is of the grosser elements of speech, of raw material, to be worked into proper syntactical shape for direct use by the word-making processes of the borrower. The exemption of "grammar" from mixture is no isolated fact; the grammatical apparatus merely resists intrusion most successfully, in virtue of its being the least material and the most formal part of the language. In a scale of constantly increasing difficulty it occupies the extreme place.

Now what is thus true of English is believed to be essentially true also of every other observed case of language-mixture. Such a thing as the adoption on the part of one tongue, by a direct process, of any part or parts of the formal structure of another tongue has, so far as is known, not come under the notice of linguistic students during the recorded periods of language-history. So far as these are concerned, it appears to be everywhere the case that when the speakers of two languages, A and B, are brought together into one community, there takes place no amalgamation of their speech, into A B; but for a time the two maintain their own several identity, only as modified each by the admission of material from the other in accordance with the ordinary laws of mixture: we may call them A^b and B^a; and finally, one of these two prevails over the other, and becomes the speech of the whole community: this is still either A^b or B^a, and not A B.

This, then, is at least a general principle, derived by legitimate deduction from a considerable number and variety of cases. Into an absolute law of universal language, however, it can be converted only by a successful analysis of the psy-

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chological processes involved, and a demonstration that in no conceivable case could their action lead to a different result. And until that work is accomplished, we shall doubtless meet now and then with the claim that such and such a case presents peculiar conditions which separate it from the general class, and that some remote and difficult problem in language-history is to be solved by admitting promiscuous mixture. Any one advancing such a claim, however, does it at his peril; the burden of proof is upon him to show what the peculiar conditions might have been, and how they should have acted to produce the exceptional result; he will be challenged to bring forward some historically authenticated case of analogous results; and his solution, if not rejected altogether, will be looked upon with doubt and misgiving until he shall have complied with these reasonable requirements.

It also seems a fair and obvious inference that the more discordant the structure of the borrowing language and the language borrowed from, the less will be the chance that any items of structure should be transferred from the one to the other. As between two nearly related dialects of the same tongue, the possibility of transfer would be greatest; the slight existing differences might be with least difficulty disregarded. French and English, though ultimately related, and corresponding with one another in all the main features of structure, were yet, as we have seen, sufficiently held apart by their difference in details to prevent structural mixture—just as effectively, indeed, as Arabic and Persian, or Turkish and Arabic or Persian, where the discordance is much profounder. If we dispute, therefore, the validity of an *à priori* claim that a prefix-language and a suffix-language—as, for example, a South African and a Hamitic tongue—might mingle in a manner seen to be impracticable in the case of two Indo-European dialects, we do not at all set up unmixableness of grammar as a self-evident truth; we are only refusing to admit the more difficult of two processes until the less difficult shall be proved possible.

It appears, then, that in Müller's alleged "axiom" there is

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perhaps (until the contrary be shown) so much legitimately deduced truth as this: that two languages never meet and mingle their grammar on equal terms. But in the form in which he puts it, that "languages can never be mixed in their grammar," it must be refused acceptance; for grammatical mixture by a secondary process actually does take place, and its effects are clearly to be seen in English — as we may next proceed to notice.

Whenever crude material of foreign origin is introduced by borrowing into the full vernacular use of a language, it becomes an integral part of that language, undistinguished, except to reflective and learned study, from the native material. It enters, for example, into the mind of no ordinary English speaker to recognize some of his words as coming from a Romanic source and others from a Germanic. To him, the relation of *pure* and *purity* and of *envy* and *envious* is the same with that of *good* and *goodness* and of *child* and *childish.* But he has in everyday use so many words plainly made from others by the added endings *ness* and *ish* that those endings are distinctly before his mind as by their addition impressing certain modifications of meaning; and he therefore goes on to make with them, by analogy, new words like those already in his use. It needs, then, only that he have taken in pairs enough like *pure, purity,* and *envy, envious,* and he will in the same manner and for the same reason make new words with *ity* and *ous* — heedless, because ignorant, whether the primitives to which he applies those endings are Romanic or Germanic by origin. Such new words are made, to be sure, more freely and abundantly from Romanic primitives, both because the analogies are in themselves closer and more suggestive, and because the making is in part by the learned, who know and are mindful of the proprieties of combination, and whose influence is cast against the admission and retention of what they deem improper combinations; and hence we have, of words not French, but made of French elements on our own soil, *duty* beside *beauty,* and *duteous* and *beauteous* beside *envious,* and so on in abundance. But we have also not a few like *oddity* and *murderous,* made with

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Romanic formatives from Germanic primitives: well known examples showing other affixes are *atonement, eatable, talkative, disbelief, retake, derail.* Such cases are in part isolated ones, too sporadic and fortuitous to prove much respecting the character of the tongue in which they occur; but in part also they are specimens of classes, and unmistakable evidences that the resources of formation of a Romanic tongue have been adopted by a Germanic tongue and made its own resources of formation likewise. Perhaps the most notable of their class are the trio *ize, ist, ism,* which have become real living English formative elements, used with constantly increasing freedom in making new words, and for popular as well as for learned use.

No language of which this can be said has the right to claim that it has successfully maintained against mixture the purity of its grammar. For there is no good reason whatever for limiting (as Müller, in order to save his "axiom" from being proved untrue even as a fact, seems inclined to do) the name of grammar to the inflective apparatus of a language; it belongs equally to the derivative apparatus. There is no line to be drawn between the added elements that make a person or tense or number, and those that make a degree of comparison, or an ordinal, or an adverb, or a noun or adjective. Moreover, it is not inconceivable that a foreign mode of inflection should get itself introduced into a language, after the same fashion as a foreign mode of word-making. We have received into English some classical singulars and plurals together — such as *phenomenon* and *phenomena, stratum* and *strata;* and there is no necessary reason, none inherent in the nature of things, why these cases might not be numerous enough to prompt an extension by analogy to new formations. Doubtless this is more difficult, and less likely to occur, than the extension of use of derivative endings; but so is the latter more difficult and less likely than the taking in of new words; and if the one difficulty has actually been overcome by the pressure of circumstances, the other can by sufficient pressure be in like manner overcome.

While, therefore, we find no warrant in the historically

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authenticated facts of language for admitting a mixture of the grammar of two languages by a first process, we see clearly that any language having a developing structure may become mixed in grammar secondarily, by processes of growth involving the use of borrowed material. In whatever department there is growth, thither the foreign elements can penetrate. This appears equally in those parts of the vocabulary which are most akin with grammatical structure. Form-words are no more taken in directly than are formative parts of words; yet there is hardly a class of such in English that has not come to allow intrusion from the French. It is part of the living growth of English expression to make prepositions and conjunctions out of other material — nouns and adjectives and adverbs; and hence we have Latin stuff in so common an adverb-preposition as *around*, and, still more strikingly, in *because*, one of the commonest and most indispensable of our subordinating conjunctions. No force of which we have knowledge could have brought an adverb of degree — for example, *très* in its older form — straight out of French use into English; but its present equivalent, *very*, is a pure French word; and the equally French word *real* is in vulgar use undergoing a precisely similar reduction to the same value (in "that's *real* good," and the like). Into the very citadel of that most exclusive class of words, the numerals, has been intruded the Romanic ordinal *second;* and the use of an indefinite pronoun, *one* (in "*one* must not believe all *one* hears," and the like), appears at least to rest in considerable measure on the French phrases with *on*, by a half-blundering literary imitation. And these are but specimens of a considerable class of similar facts.

It must not fail to be noticed that the structural elements thus taken into our language from a foreign source are only such as are analogous with others already in use among us: suffixes, having the same office with Germanic suffixes, form-words corresponding in their value with those of native origin; and so on. This follows, indeed, from the method of analogy with existing formations by which, as already explained, the new elements are brought in. There is nothing in English

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borrowing to give any support to the doctrine that one tongue can learn from another a grammatical distinction, or a mode of its expression, formerly unknown: for instance, the prepositional construction of nouns, period-building with help of conjunctions, formation by affix of comparatives or abstracts or adverbs, or of tenses or numbers or persons. Whether, however, the possibility of this, or of any part of it, is to be rejected altogether, under all circumstances, is another question, to which we may well be slow to return a categorical answer. To take a simple illustration or two: ought we to suppose that a tongue having no diminutives could take in from another words enough like *lamb* and *lambkin*, *brook* and *brooklet*, *goose* and *gosling*, to have this distinction of degree so impressed and taught as to lead to its independent use? or that something of a "sense for gender" could be caught from borrowed couplets like *prince* and *princess*, *tiger* and *tigress*? Or, again, is it conceivable that there may have been a period in the history of Chinese when the borrowing of plainly agglutinated words was able to quicken the Chinese itself into the adoption of agglutinative processes? While perhaps unwilling to say either yes or no, until after a more complete collection and better comprehension of the phenomena of universal mixture, we may at any rate assert that no unquestionable instances of such results from the cause in question have yet been brought to notice, and that their occurrence would appear to stand at the very summit of the scale of difficulty. A necessary part of this whole investigation is the determination of a general scale of comparative ease or difficulty for immediate borrowing, and for the indirect effects of borrowing; upon which might follow in any given case the ascertainment of how far its degrees had been surmounted, and under the pressure of what special circumstances. By universal consent, what is most easily transferred from one tongue to another is a noun; the name of a thing is language-material in its most exportable form. Even an adjective, an attributive word, has a more marked tinge of formal character, and is less manageable; and a verb, a predicative word, still more: this part of speech is, in fact, to no small extent wanting

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in human languages. In English borrowing, to be sure, it has been comparatively easy to add adjectives and verbs to nouns, because of the direct convertibility of our nouns into adjectives (a *gold* watch, a *leather* medal, etc.), and of our nouns and adjectives into verbs (to *tree* a raccoon, to *grass* a plot of ground, to *brown* a complexion, to *lower* a price, etc.), without any change of form; but under different circumstances the degree of difficulty may be quite other; and we see the Persian, for example, receive no Arabic verb, but always add an auxiliary of native growth to an Arabic adjective or noun, in order to make a *quasi*-Arabic verbal expression. Next to the verb, among parts of speech, would come the adverb, with the yet more formal prepositions and conjunctions, and the pronouns; and, not far from these, the formative elements proper, the prefixes and suffixes, first of derivation and then of inflection; and last of all, the fundamental features of grammatical distinction. Respecting all these, it is extremely questionable whether they ever pass from tongue to tongue by a direct process; and no transfer of the last of them, even by a secondary process, has ever yet been demonstrated.

As to the effect which mixture may have on the yet less material parts of a language, as the order of its words and its modes of construction, we cannot speak with too much caution. Here is where real results are hardest to analyze and trace to their causes, and where claims lightly and thoughtlessly made are least easy to disprove. Of claims thus made, the study of language affords an abundance. There are those who seem to hold that a language is, as it were, always watching its neighbors, ready to imitate whatever in them it sees to be worthy of imitation. If, for example, the Persian uses an *ī* to connect a noun with its qualifying adjective, the construction must be modelled on a Semitic one; if the Rumanian or Scandinavian has a suffixed article, its suggestion came from Turkish or Finnish speech; and so on.[1]

[1] Striking illustrations of this are to be found in Edkins's "China's Place in Philology" (a model of nearly everything that is unsound in language-study). Thus, speaking of gender, it says: "this characteristic of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin tongues has been derived from the influence of the earlier Semitic

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Such explanations betray an absolute and utter failure to comprehend the way in which languages live and grow, and are able to influence one another. The users of language in general are neither grammarians nor comparative philologists; they cannot describe the usages of their own tongue; they are wholly unaware of and supremely indifferent to the usages of another tongue, even of one with which they have some practical acquaintance. That analysis and comparison which should point out differences and suggest imitation is the work only of reflective study. A prefix-language, for example, might live in contact with a suffix-language forever without finding out the latter's character, and without adopting a single item of its methods — until, perchance, it should have borrowed suffix-words enough to create in its own usage an analogy which it might proceed in entire unconsciousness to follow. Where there is learned cultivation, deliberate investigation of language and imitation of literature, the case is of course somewhat changed; here there may take place a conscious and artificial borrowing, or imitation, which will remain on the whole confined to the learned class and to learned styles, although something of it may perhaps filter through by degrees into popular usage. In this way, for example, Latin and Greek have had a certain influence on the literary usages of various European languages, and French has affected English and possibly German; but how small is the amount! and how little of it, if anything, has reached the phraseology of common life!

If we would realize the baselessness of the assumption of syntactical imitation, we have only to consider an actual case or two of the kind, in its bearing on ourselves. The French has a trick (it may fairly be called so) of putting the object of a verb, provided it be a pronoun, before the verb, instead of after it, as is the case with a noun-object: now can any one conceive of the English or the German as catching that trick,

type" (p. 101). Further: "the Greek seems to be specially founded on the Chinese in regard to tones" (p. 359); "the syntax of the European languages is a mixture: it contains Chinese, Semitic, and Turanian principles" (p. 358) — with much more of the same sort.

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notwithstanding the geographical contact on either hand, and all the knowledge and admiration of French style that accompanies it? Again, the German has striking peculiarities as regards the position of its verbs, putting an infinitive or participle at the end of a clause, though at the cost of remote separation from the auxiliary which it ought to accompany, and also setting the personal verb itself at the end of the clause, far from its subject, provided the clause be a dependent one; and these peculiarities, less marked at an earlier stage of the language, were establishing themselves more firmly at the very time when German was, as it were, groaning under the oppressive influence of French, to the structure of whose sentences both were alike repugnant; and here, again, any one may be defied to imagine a process by which English or French should be led to copy the German arrangement. Yet such a result would be vastly more easily attained than the production by imitation of a suffixed article.

A sample point, one of those not infrequently brought up in connection with this subject of the influence of one language on another, is the place of the genitive (so-called) with reference to the noun qualified by it, as either preceding or following that noun: thus, in Latin, *patris filius* or *filius patris;* in German, *des Mannes Sohn* or *Sohn des Mannes;* or, in uninflected juxtaposition, whether in a given language 'a ring for the finger' is *finger ring* or *ring finger;* the varying arrangement in related tongues is wont to be referred to mixture as cause. But there are a multitude of special questions involved here, which would have to be settled before we assumed to decide any particular case. Is there any such thing, in the first place, as a natural order for two nouns standing in such a relation to one another? It would seem, rather, to be a matter of indifference until the formation of a habit of speech accepting the one order in preference to the other; at the outset, the natural relation of the two objects named would be a sufficient guide to what was meant by naming them together: thus, for example, as between *house* and *top*, the latter is so obviously the thing belonging to the

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other that 'top of a house' is, in default of a linguistic usage to the contrary, equally signifiable by *house top* and by *top house*. Then, what is the relation of genitive-position in a given tongue to adjective-position, to the order of compounded words (if such are formed), and to the other usual modes of arrangement? Further, has a genitive its distinctive and sufficient sign, independent of position; and if so, of what origin is the sign, and what influence has that origin contributed to the determination of usual position? How obligatory is the law of position? Is there any difference in the treatment of genitives of different kinds: of those used more attributively and those used more appositively, of the possessive genitive and the partitive, of the subjective and the objective, of a short genitive and a long one, of the genitive of a common and of a proper noun, of the genitive of a noun and of a pronoun — and so on? Finally, are any changes of habit in any of these respects to be traced during the historical period of the language in question, provided there be such a period? All these matters fall so fully into the category of established usages, gradually fixed and gradually modifiable by causes arising within the language itself, that an extremely careful and far-reaching investigation would appear to be called for before we decide what value should be attributed in any given case to the place of the genitive, or whether it should be regarded as of any value at all in the history of the language, in the way of indicating either relationship or mixture.

Another syntactical point which has been brought into the discussion of mixture is the order of the essential elements of the sentence — the subject, the verb, and the modifiers of the latter, especially its object. Lepsius, in his Introduction already quoted (p. lxxxiii.), speaks of it thus: "Of essential consequence in two languages which are to come to a mutual understanding (*die sich verständigen sollen*) is the same order of words. If, therefore, this is different in the two, the one must give way and the other prevail. In the negro languages everywhere, the verb stood originally in the simple sentence between subject and object. This position is maintained in

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most of the mixed languages [i. e. in the languages of the great central zone of Africa, which Lepsius holds to have taken shape by mixture of South-African and Hamitic elements], with exception of the most eastern ones . . . where, evidently under Hamitic influence, it is given up and replaced by the Hamitic order [namely, with the verb at the end]."

In the expression here used, of two languages "coming to a mutual understanding," as in some of those employed by the same author in other places, is implied a theory of mixture quite different from that which, as explained above, is suggested by all the best-understood historical examples of mixture. He compares it (p. lxxxii.) with what "still happens every day, when two individuals of different tongue are thrown together and obliged to understand one another:" all grammar, namely, is laid aside, or represented only by gesture and grimace, and the names of things and of the commonest acts, in a mutilated form, are adopted in common use. Now something like this is undoubtedly the case when the two individuals have a chance meeting, or when they fall in with one another only from time to time; but not at all, if they come to live together (like Robinson and Friday): in that case, it will inevitably be found after a while that one of them has learned to understand and use the language of the other; they will speak the same tongue, indeed, but it will be no mixed jargon; it will be substantially the original language of one of the two individuals, somewhat modified (but not mixed) in its grammar, and with more or less of material brought in from the other language. That is to say: the result will be precisely accordant with that which, as was seen above, has been found normally to follow when two communities mix: not A B, but either A^b or B^a. The one party, after a certain period of fluctuation and struggle, abandons its own tongue and puts in its place the strange tongue which it has learned. When members of two communities, each of which maintains its own speech for its own purposes, meet occasionally for special ends, there can grow up a jargon for their joint use, like the "pigeon English" of the counting-houses of China; but no such barbarous result has ever been

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shown to come from that more intimate association which makes a family or a community; and until such an instance is found, no one has a right to assume that two grammatical systems, or two vocabularies, can meet and mingle on equal terms. The resistance of one of the two parties to accepting frankly and fully the speech-usages of the other is practically less in every instance than their joint resistance to a mixture of usages. And when one — be he individual or community — learns a new language, he learns not its individual signs only, but also its phraseology, its inflections, its syntax, the order of its words: these are all part and parcel of the same process. That the new speakers may show a degree of tendency, while their speech is still a broken one, to cast the new material into their own familiar order, need not be denied; but it is in the highest degree improbable that their errors in this respect should have any traceable influence on the usages of the rest of the community: after subsisting for a while as errors, they will disappear. The language which proves strong enough to impose itself on those to whom it is not native will have no noticeable difficulty in making them accept its own order of arrangement.

On the whole, we are justified in refusing for the present to admit the power of mixture to change the order of words in a language, except in the same secondary and subordinate way in which the formative apparatus may come to be changed in consequence of mixture: namely, by contributing to the forces which are slowly and almost insensibly determining the growth of a language an element which may finally work itself out into visible consequences. If the French can have come to violate the primeval law of Indo-European position[1] so far as to put its adjectives prevailingly after the nouns they qualify; if the German can establish so peculiar rules of place for some of its sentence-elements by internal development, against the example and influence (assuming that it be proper to speak of such) of all the languages about it, related and unrelated — then it must be very dangerous to charge upon foreign influence a difference of arrangement

[1] See Delbrück's *Syntaktische Forschungen*, iii. 35.

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which any tongue in any part of the world may exhibit as compared with its relations.

These, it seems to me, are the conclusions respecting mixture to which we are led by a consideration of the facts thus far brought to light. What is needed in order further to advance our comprehension of the subject is, first of all, a new and more penetrating examination of the facts themselves, with a distinct eye to the general principles that are in question. Nothing could be a better introduction to this than an exhaustive study of the English as a mixed language (for nothing deserving such a name has ever yet been made); to which would be added a like study of the other notable historical cases: and thus the way would be prepared for a thorough discussion of the philosophy of mixture. But it is altogether probable that the result would only be to establish on a firmer basis the principles provisionally stated above, and to cut off all possibility of the assumption, for any stage or period in the history of language, of a mingling in the same tongue of diverse structural elements, forms or form-words, otherwise than by the same secondary process, of growth involving borrowed and assimilated material, which we see to have brought Romanic ingredients into the grammatical structure of English words and sentences.

II. — *The Home of the Primitive Semitic Race.*

By CRAWFORD H. TOY,

PROFESSOR IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The linguistic sense of the word "Semitic" is well fixed; it includes all languages of the type of the Arabic, — that is, Babylonian-Assyrian, Aramaic, Phenician-Canaanitish, Arabic, Sabean, and Geez, or Ethiopic. Its ethnological sense is not so generally agreed on. While most writers use it of all the peoples who spoke or speak the languages above named, by some it is restricted to those who are mentioned in the table of nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis as descended from

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Shem, the son of Noah. This difference of signification, however, amounts to little or nothing in an inquiry into the original home of the Semitic race. The list given in the table of nations includes most of the peoples whose language is Semitic, namely, the Assyrians, the Arameans, the Hebrews, and the Arabians; if the original abode of these could be discovered, we may be sure that it would include all Semites. Of the nations omitted in the table, the Babylonians would certainly go along with the Assyrians; and the Phenicians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Moabites (if they were Semites) could not be separated from the Hebrews; nor the Sabeans and the Geez from the Arabians. On the other hand it may fairly be assumed that the regions Elam and Lud, assigned to Shem in the table, but later occupied by Indo-Europeans (though the geographical position of Lud is doubtful), were once peopled by a race who spoke a Semitic tongue, and were not different in blood from their Babylonian and Aramean neighbors. If a region could be found once inhabited by the primitive people from whom came the Assyrians, the Arameans, the Hebrews, and the Arabs, that would be accepted as a satisfactory solution of the question as to the cradle of the Semitic race. I shall use the term Semitic here in the wider ethnological sense, to include all the peoples who spoke Semitic tongues, and only these; but, for the reason just given, those who prefer the definition of the table of nations can so understand the word without materially affecting the arguments that will be considered. The determination of the original dwelling-place of one of the great races is of course a matter of no little importance for the early history of man. We have lately seen how much light has been thrown on the civilization of the Hebrews by the definite fixing of their Babylonian or Mesopotamian origin; but we are still embarrassed by the uncertainty as to the point from which the Phenicians came. If we knew the starting-points of the Egyptians, the Semites, the Indo-Europeans, the Turanians, and the Chinese, we should have made a long step backward toward the beginning of our history. These wide problems have something specially attractive in them, and

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have received their due share of attention. The number and diversity of the theories are in some cases in proportion to the number and complicated character of the data, in other cases in proportion to their fewness. In respect to the primitive home of Egyptians, Turanians, and Chinese there is room for a good deal of arbitrary hypothesis and fancy, because neither the linguistic, nor the ethnological, nor the historical relations of those families have been satisfactorily worked out. Even in the case of the comparatively well known Indo-European family, almost every separate language of which has been carefully studied, and where comparisons and inferences are guarded by strict scientific rules, the theories of geographical origin have ranged over a good part of Asia and Europe. Semitic scholars also have not failed to contribute their share towards the solution of the general problem. The conditions in this case cannot be considered specially unfavorable. The territory occupied by the Semitic family is inconsiderable in extent. The race has never pushed far beyond its early historical borders, except in the case of the Geez and in very modern conquests in the time of Islam; and these movements have not been attended with any marked linguistic or other changes. The various dialects have been studied with thoroughness (with the exception of the Babylonian-Assyrian, in which the chief interest has up to this time been historical and literary), and the era of grammatical research is just beginning; the literary material is abundant, and the historical records are not exceeded in distinctness and antiquity by those of any people in the world, unless it be the Egyptian. The problem of the original Semitic home is not, therefore, comparatively difficult, and might seem at first to be even very easy. That it is not, however, free from difficulty appears from the number of different solutions of it that have been given. In truth, at the outset, when we recollect the gray antiquity to which the primitive Semitic mother-race must go back, and the great changes that may have taken place between its first breaking-up and the beginning of historical times, it is evident that great caution is necessary in attempting to reconstruct a period that lies so far away from

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us and the conditions known to us. Even in the limited geographical and linguistic sphere of the Semites, the data are sufficiently diverse and obscure to cause no small perplexity. Different investigators have reached different results as they have fixed their attention on different sets of facts, and we have a separate theory embodying each separate aspect of the phenomena. It may be worth while to inquire what definite conclusions, if any, have been gained by these investigations up to the present time. Even if no one of them is quite satisfactory, it is possible that each may have contributed something towards the solution of the problem, either by introducing some new material, or by excluding untrustworthy matter, or by fixing more definitely the canons of the investigation.

The data for the determination of the home of the primitive Semitic race have been taken from four sources: national traditions, the grammar of the primitive tongue, its vocabulary, and the earliest known general historical and linguistic relations. Let us look at the theories that have been based on these four sets of facts.

1. A tradition, if it is distinct and ancient, may furnish valuable historical material. Though it is usually confined to the fortunes of the people among whom it exists, it may go outside of these, and preserve the recollection of other related peoples, as when the Phenician records speak of the Egyptian Taut. This example suggests, at the same time, the necessity of carefulness in drawing conclusions from such statements. If, now, the various Semitic nations had preserved distinct traditions, each of its own origin, and each of its relations with its sisters, it might be possible to learn from them the place where they once all dwelt together. But this is by no means the case. Of four of these nations — the Arameans, the Arabs, the Sabeans, and the Ethiopians — the records of early times, whatever may have been their value, have perished, probably beyond recovery. The remains of the Aramaic language belong entirely to Jewish and Christian literature. Of all the Syrian kingdoms that flourished in Mesopotamia and as far west as Damascus, there is not one that has left

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any account of its belief concerning the beginning of things; though there is good reason for holding that, outside of the local Aramean history, this belief was the same as that of the Babylonians and Hebrews. The Arabians became a literary people at so late a stage of their history that they cannot be said to have any national recollection of remote times. What the Koran and Tabari give of primeval history is partly a distorted form of the accounts in the Jewish and Persian scriptures and traditions, partly a dim and unintelligible local tradition. According to Tabari the Semites comprise the Arabians, the Persians, and the white races; the Japhethites, the Turks, the Slavs, and Gog and Magog; and the Hamites, the blacks; but this is a modern ethnological table, and does not at all represent an Arabian tradition. There was, indeed, a widespread opinion among the Arabs that their language was a daughter of the Syriac, but this was not based on any knowledge of early connection between the two peoples; it was hardly anything more than the recollection of the literary debt they owed the Syrians, from whom they received their first scientific stimulus. They knew nothing of a time when they had lived elsewhere than in the region and under the conditions that were familiar to them in Mohammed's time. The Sabeans and Ethiopians are equally destitute of ancient traditions. The mythological system of the former of these shows some connection with the Babylonian, — what, has not yet been determined; but the material given by the votive, mortuary, and other inscriptions, up to this time discovered, is local and meagre, and there is not much hope that anything reaching back to a great antiquity will be brought to light. As the Ethiopians passed over from Southern Arabia into Africa at a comparatively late period, it is likely that their stock of tradition was identical with that of the Sabeans; but, whatever it was, nothing of it has been preserved. All the Ethiopic literature is Christian, and none is earlier than the fourth century.

The southern Semites have thus preserved nothing of such traditional matter as they may once have possessed, and we have to look to the northern branch of the family for informa-

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tion on our question. All the facts now known to us go to show that there existed a common body of tradition in this northern branch, remnants of which are found in the literary remains of the Babylonian-Assyrians, the Hebrews, and the Phenicians. The combined literatures of these nations present a remarkably large mass of tradition, legend, and myth, from which, nevertheless, it is not possible to get trustworthy information as to the origin of the race. The least ancient and most distorted form of the tradition is the Phenician, — mainly fragments (preserved by a Christian writer) of a Greek translation of a digest, which a comparatively late Phenician author made of his country's mythology and cosmogony. These fragments show a close connection between Phenicia and Babylonia, but they teach us nothing directly of the origin of the Phenicians or of their relations with other Semitic nations. The rôle assigned to Taut as inventor of writing, and to Eisiris (if he be Osiris) as establisher of the Semitic triliterality, points to some connection with Egypt, which, however, need mean nothing more than that the Phenicians took their alphabet from the Egyptians; nor does it appear that more than this is involved in Sanchoniathon's calling Eisiris the brother of Chna (Canaan), or Phœnix. On the other hand Greek tradition connects the Phenicians with the Persian Gulf, that is, with Babylonia.[1]

As was remarked above, it is altogether probable that the North Semitic peoples possessed a common body of myth and tradition, remains of which we have in the Babylonian literature and in the Hebrew book of Genesis. In addition to this, each people doubtless had accounts of its own early history, which were naturally more or less legendary, and may have run back into myth; but of these the Hebrews alone have preserved a tradition of national origin, with a consciousness of a point where the nation began to exist. In such a mingling of myth, tradition, and history, as we have

[1] Lepsius's identification of the Phenicians with the non-Semitic Puna of the Eastern African coast, opposite the Arabian Aden (*Nubische Grammatik, Einleitung*, pp. 95 ff.), involves many difficulties. In respect to our question, the same remark applies to his theory as to the genealogy of the table of nations in Genesis.

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in these accounts, it is hard to find any trustworthy historical data. It is, moreover, the opinion of the best Assyrian scholars that these cosmogonic and other early narratives, certainly down to and including the flood, are not Semitic at all, but Sumerian-Akkadian. We shall search them in vain for hints of Semitic history unless we may suppose that they received a national coloring at the hands of the Babylonians and Hebrews. And even with this supposition we learn nothing of the origin of the Semites. The Hebrew narrative in Genesis (with which the Babylonian was probably identical) places the first abode of man in the region of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and it would be natural to infer that the Babylonians looked on this region as their own first home; but as this might be only the result of a desire to represent themselves as autochthons, it could at best show that they had no distinct recollection of any other home. The succeeding tradition, however, set aside the supposition of an Edenic origin; for, after the flood, when all mankind but the chosen few had been destroyed, the ark rested in a place remote from Eden, and humanity made its second beginning there. This new centre of the race was Armenia according to Berosus, Mount Nisir according to the cuneiform narrative of the flood (located by Friedrich Delitzsch "east of the Tigris, beyond the lower Zab, about in the region between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth parallels of latitude"), and Ararat according to the book of Genesis. From this point then, according to the tradition, the Semites must ultimately, along with all other nations, have come; but when and how and to what place did they come? Noah, according to Genesis (in what seems to be a purely Hebrew account), immediately after leaving the ark engaged in the culture of the vine; but, not to speak of the wide area over which the vine may be grown, Noah represents not the Semites but all humanity. It is in the tradition of the dispersion at Babel that the postdiluvian history of man is carried on.[1] The assembled human race, it is there

[1] Though the genuineness of Berosus's account of the dispersion has been doubted, it is probable that it represents a real Babylonian tradition substantially the same with that of the Hebrews.

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said, journeyed from some unnamed point to a place "in the east," came to a plain in Shinar, or Southern Babylonia, and dwelt there till they were visited with confusion of language, and were dispersed over the face of the earth. Nothing is here told us of the directions in which the various nations went. We should naturally suppose that the tradition would retain the Babylonians in Shinar, and send the other peoples abroad; and this is probably its meaning; but there is no indication of race-feeling, no hint of an original unity of Babylonians, Arameans, and Arabs. Here, again, it can excite no surprise that the Babylonians made their own land the scene of the dispersion, the centre of life; and the whole account is too little historical to furnish reliable data for the determination of the original home of the Semites. The same remark must be made of Berosus's list of dynasties: it is purely Babylonian (this word being used in a geographical sense); it shows no consciousness of race-differences; it is at best a localized general Semitic, or a Sumerian tradition, whence we can extract no history of the Semites.

There remains the table of nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis,—a document unequalled in ancient literature for the breadth and accuracy of its ethnological scheme, and exhibiting, what we have not found elsewhere, a sense of race-unity. Its date is uncertain; but we shall probably not be far wrong if we regard it as embodying the ethnological ideas of a Jewish writer who was master of the information his countrymen had gained in Babylonia during the exile, and joined therewith the traditions of his own land. It is possible that we have here an old Babylonian tradition, but it is more probable that the writer has attempted only his own statement of the relationship of the peoples known to him, under the form of a genealogy. His arrangement is geographical, and yet not purely that. He separates the Canaanites from the Hebrews (of the same tongue with them), and puts them with the Egyptians; he omits the Babylonians, who in his time spoke Semitic, from the list of the sons of Shem, and connects Babylon with the Cushite, Nimrod. In this last case modern discoveries have shown that he had a basis for his statement. Geographically,

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his enumeration of the sons of Shem begins at the Persian Gulf, east of the Tigris (Elam), passes up the Tigris to Assyria (leaving out Babylonia), embraces the Aramean-Mesopotamian region, and perhaps the country west of it, and thence, entering the Arabian desert and peninsula at some point not given, passes down to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, where it ceases (without mention of African Semites). From this statement the writer's general notion is tolerably plain. He regards the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22) as having originally occupied the country extending from the Persian Gulf, east of the Tigris, through the upper part of the Mesopotamian region (above Babylon), up towards the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, and thence perhaps westward and southwestward towards the Mediterranean (the doubtful Lud being left undetermined[1]). Further he makes both Hebrews and Arabs emigrants from the Mesopotamian region, or the neighboring country to the southwest and south, and unites them in a close relationship. This last point, which is not in accord with known historical and linguistic facts, we may pass by; it seems to be merely a deduction from the geographical contiguity of these peoples. The important statement for our purpose is the reference of the Arabs and Hebrews, by the author of the table, to a northern locality. He believed that these people had not always lived on the Mediterranean and in the Southern Arabian desert; at some remote time they had spread abroad from their Mesopotamian home. In the case of the Hebrews this tradition is elsewhere more clearly expressed. Abraham is said to have come from "Ur of the Chaldees" by the way of Haran, and the correctness of this recollection of national origin is sustained by the recent discoveries in Babylonia. Whether, now, the account of the Arabs rests on a similar recollection, or on other equally reliable information, we have no means of deciding. It is possible that it also is simply an inference of the writer from the geo-

[1] If Lud be Lydia (*cf.* Ezek. xxvii. 10), this isolation of a Semitic population in the far west would not affect the locality of the great body of the race, according to the table of nations. The Kir of Amos, ix. 7, is too obscure to help us in locating the Arameans.

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graphical relationship of the two peoples. According to one tradition (Gen. xxv. 1–4) part of Arabia was even occupied by descendants of Abraham. Such a sentiment of consanguinity may have led our author to assign to Arabs and Hebrews a common ancestor and a common early home, and we can thence get no trustworthy historical datum; just as it is felt by most scholars to be difficult to separate Canaanites from the Hebrews ethnologically, against the apparent evidence of language, and in reliance on the genealogies of the table.

Nothing definite, then, is obtainable for our purposes from this table. The author thinks, indeed, of a specific locality for the original abode of the children of Shem; but the date and the sources of his statement are uncertain. If, as seems possible, the document was produced or completed during or after the Babylonian exile, we cannot tell how much of it rests on ancient tradition, and how much is a simple genealogical statement of the ideas of the time, which were largely determined by geographical conditions; and if his distribution of the sons of Shem be correct, we still learn nothing of the home of Shem himself. His descendants, it is said, stretched over a considerable area of country, but we are not informed from what point the primitive undivided people began its career. We gain nothing by attempting to combine the genealogies of the tenth chapter with the account of the dispersion in the eleventh. These two narratives belong to different points of view, and do not form complementary parts of the same tradition, though an editor has undertaken to bring them into connection with each other by inserting the remark (Gen. x. 25) that the division of the earth occurred under Peleg ('division'), the grandson of Shem's grandson. But, as we have seen, supposing the whole human race to have dwelt in Shinar, or Babylonia, up to the dispersion, it does not thence appear what the subsequent movements of the descendants of Shem were. Or, finally, if we may hold it to be very probable that the Semitic author of the narrative meant it to be understood that his own people stayed in Shinar, while the rest of the world sought other abodes, this

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statement cannot be accepted on his authority as historical, for the reason that it may be merely a Babylonian (and originally non-Semitic) local tradition, which naturally located the beginnings of the new humanity on its own soil.

A survey of the earliest Semitic documents thus shows merely that the North Semitic tradition (of which a considerable part appears to come from a non-Semitic source) located the race along the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates, without furnishing any definite information as to the point at which it originated. It does not point with any clearness to Shinar, or to Armenia, or to the Arabian desert as the earliest home of the Semites, and the theories of origin which, resting on this tradition, have fixed on these points, must be regarded as so far untenable.

2. The second source from which it has been sought to bring data for the solution of our question is the grammar of the Semitic languages. It has been supposed that it was only necessary to determine which dialect shows in the main the fullest and most original forms, out of which those of the other dialects must have come. This language, it is properly said, would stand nearest to the mother-tongue, and thence it has been inferred that the people speaking it must occupy the original seat of the race. This, if it were sound reasoning, would furnish a very simple means of reaching the answer to our question, for it cannot be a difficult problem to determine the comparative antiquity and originality of the grammatical forms of the various Semitic dialects. The materials for such inquiry are at hand, and linguistic principles are definitely enough known and acknowledged to lead scholars, after a while, to practical agreement on this point. But it is easy to show that the above mentioned reasoning is not sound. It is not necessarily true that the people whose language is nearest to the mother-tongue, occupy the original seat of the race. It is not residence in the old home that determines the preservation of old grammatical forms, but the absence of the causes of phonetic change. Apart from climatic influences (which in the case of the closely grouped Semites were not diverse enough to produce marked differences of degradation in the

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phonetic systems of the different peoples), and the wear and tear of ordinary speech, the chief among these causes is intercourse with other nations. Supposing the language to have attained stability of form and vocabulary (as was already the case with the Semitic before it broke up into dialects), an isolated, non-commercial, socially undeveloped nation will be comparatively free from linguistic change, while a people who are brought into frequent and close contact with others, and whom an active social life leads to devise convenient modes of speech, will more likely depart further from the original forms of the language. Hence a literary language of such developed form is more commonly exposed to change than one that is not written; for written literature supposes social activity, and occasions of modification of forms.

Now among the Semitic nations it was the northern division that was most subjected to the conditions of phonetic change. The Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Arameans, the Phenicians, the Canaanites, and the Hebrews at an early period established kingdoms, mingled with neighboring nations, and would naturally feel the effect of this friction. On the other hand, in the southern division, it was only the Sabeans, on the south coast of Arabia, who reached considerable social development. The Arabians, comparatively isolated in their desert home, roaming about as tribes and clans, but forming few settled communities, founding few cities, and rarely approaching to anything like a strong government, were thus comparatively free from causes of linguistic change. We should expect, therefore, that their language would remain nearest to the mother-tongue, and that greater deviations from this latter would be found in the northern division, as is actually the case. On these variations of phonetic degradation we cannot found an argument for the primitive abode of the race; they depend on other conditions than nearness to the original home. The tongue that most nearly represents the primitive speech does not for that reason stand geographically nearer to the most ancient centre, and that which is grammatically most remote is not necessarily at the farthest local remove from it.

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We are therefore obliged to reject the theory which makes Arabia the cradle of the Semitic race on the ground that the precedence in fulness and antiquity of form is to be given to the Arabic among the Semitic dialects. The argument for Arabia has been fully presented by Schrader (Z.D.M.G. xxvii. 3). His general statement of the linguistic facts may be freely granted, — perhaps nobody will care to call in question the formal superiority of the Arabic, — but his conclusion that the northern and middle parts of the Arabian desert are to be regarded as the home of the primitive Semites by no means follows from this premise, for the reason above given. The isolation of the Arabians is a much more satisfactory explanation of the fulness of their grammatical forms. Schrader says, indeed, that they, no less than the other Semitic nations, came in contact with surrounding peoples, — Indo-Europeans, Tatars, and Cushites, — but of this there is no proof; that is, there is no proof of any such serious intercourse with these peoples as would be likely to work linguistic change. At a late period, about the beginning of our era, Arabian kingdoms were established on the northern and eastern borders of the desert; but these had little or no effect on the great body of the desert-people, whose language it is that we call Arabic. Even after the rise of Islam, when the cities of Bosra and Cufa became the seats of Koran-study, it was the roving Bedawin who established the usage of the language, and who then, as now, looked on the dialects of cities as degenerate and corrupt; then as now, it was the oral tradition of ancient use that gave law to the speech. Everything goes to show that this social isolation of the Arabs has continued from time immemorial. Schrader assumes that they descended from Armenia, at the time of the breaking up of the mother-race. If this were true, we might suppose that they moved slowly along southward among the nations of that region, and that their language was affected by this contact, though this would be by no means certain. But it is not proved that they came from Armenia. We have seen that the traditions do not establish this, and it will presently appear that other supposed evidence in this direction is equally inconclusive. Schrader urges another his-

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torical argument to which we cannot attach much importance, namely, that there have always in historical times been emigrations from the Arabian peninsula, but never immigrations to it from other lands; whence he thinks it more probable that the other Semites originally went forth from the desert than that the Arabians entered it from some other point. But these emigrations in historical times (before Islam) have been comparatively few and small, and they were the result of conditions — mostly tribal wars — which may not have existed in the early period. It is quite conceivable that in the time of migrations a people should have entered the desert and established themselves there, that other peoples should not have been tempted to follow their example, and that they themselves should long afterwards send out small detachments to neighboring countries. There is nothing surprising in this, and no sufficient ground for the supposition that the desert has always given out and never received.[1] Schrader himself, in fact, supposes that at the outset the Semites did enter Arabia from Armenia. In illustration of the effect of social intercourse with strangers and organized life in fixed communities, we may point to the modern Arabic of Cairo, Algeria, and Syria, which exhibits a very considerable phonetic degradation, and warrants us in believing that the fortune of the Bedawin dialect would have been the same as this, if at an early stage of its history the people who spoke it had established cities and mingled with other nations.

The same treatment would apply to an argument based on the supposed formal precedence of the Babylonian-Assyrian. If this could be proved, it would not necessarily follow thence that the primitive Semites lived in Babylonia, but only that for reasons, which might or might not be known, the Babylonian-Assyrians had not been so much exposed as their sister nations to conditions of phonetic change. A claim for the Aramean territory has been founded on considerations of an opposite character. Their dialect exhibits not less but more degradation of form than any of the others, and has

[1] We may compare with the northward movement of the Arabian tribes the emigration of the Gauls to Galatia in historical times.

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therefore been supposed to have run through a longer history of change, and to go back to a higher antiquity, — hence to represent most exactly the primitive language and to point to its locality. This argument rests on the same fallacy that has been mentioned above; and, besides, assumes an impossible difference of age in the different dialects. They, of course, all start from the same historical beginning, the mother-tongue, and the only possible difference of age is one of grammatical and literary development, which has nothing to do with the original seat of the race. In regard to the territory of the Arameans, it seems probable that they were at first settled in the upper Mesopotamian region, and only later pressed westward and southwestward; so that, whatever weight might be given to the position of their earliest home in the decision of this question, it would not point to the mountains of Armenia, or the country south of the Tigris and Euphrates, but to what was afterwards Northern Assyria.

3. If tradition and grammar fail to furnish reliable information on our question, it may be that better results will be reached by an examination of the Semitic vocabulary. The attempts of Kuhn, Pictet, and others to reconstruct the life of the primitive Indo-European people, by the determination of the words common to all the dialects, are well known. The common vocabulary, it is said, will exhibit the plants, animals, and minerals in use among the people and the physical features of their land, which latter may thus be identified. The general propriety of such inquiries cannot be questioned, but, as the scholars who have engaged in these investigations have taken pains to point out, there is need of great caution in conducting them. This is especially to be borne in mind when the object is to fix the geographical seat of a primitive, prehistoric people. Here are various special causes of error to be guarded against. It is easy to prove that there was a primitive mother-people; the reconstruction of the grammar of this people is comparatively easy, may indeed be supposed to result naturally from the careful handling of known grammatical facts; and it may be assumed that they dwelt in some definite locality. But when we pass from grammar to vocabulary,

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the question of original form is complicated by the greater liability of stems to change. Especially when it is proposed to determine, from the words that have come down to us, the locus of a people who had ceased to exist long before the era of the earliest historical remains in our possession, it is obvious that the general possibility of great verbal changes, in so vast a period, must suggest caution in making inferences from the vocabulary. In all such inquiries the following points must be kept in mind: (*a.*) It is the agreements rather than the differences of the dialects that should be considered. One nation may in the course of ages drop a word which it once possessed in common with the sister nations, and replace it with another. Change of surroundings or habits may produce such change of vocabulary, or the new word may be borrowed from a foreign people. Thus the Babylonian-Assyrian and the Hebrew borrowed from the Sumerian-Akkadian the term *ir* for "city;" and in Hebrew the other words for this conception almost completely died out, leaving, however, sufficient trace to show that they were once in use. Arguments based on such a difference would, of course, be unsound. It is possible that changes of this sort may be of such a nature as to point to some physical feature in the earlier home of the nation; but, unless this is proved, it is unsafe to infer the absence from the original home of some geographical feature because the latter is expressed by different words in the different dialects. In this connection it is to be noted that the literatures of the Arameans (with the exception of the brief Aramaic passages of the Old Testament), the Arabs, the Sabeans, and the Ethiopians date from points some time after the beginning of our era. (*b.*) When a given object is expressed by the same word in all the dialects, it is possible (as Guidi and others have pointed out), if the object is movable, that it may be not a natural product of the original home of the race, but an importation from abroad. This is true of metals, and to some extent of plants and domestic animals. If the primitive people had attained a tolerably high degree of civilization, it would be easy and natural for them to avail themselves of the productions of their neigh-

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bors, as we know the Bedawin did at a period when they had advanced little, if at all, beyond what we may suppose to have been the social condition of the primitive Semites. Or to take an example from a neighboring people, — the horse was introduced into Egypt about the time of the twelfth dynasty, and if there had afterwards arisen several Egyptian dialects, all of which used the same word for horse, an argument, based on this identity, to show that the primitive Egyptians inhabited a country of which the horse was a native, would lead to an incorrect result. (*c.*) Where two dialects agree in a word, it is possible that one has borrowed it from the other, a fact that will generally be apparent from the history of the use of the word in the borrowing language. Of this there are not a few examples in the Semitic tongues. It is even conceivable that one dialect, having borrowed a word from a foreign tongue, may then transmit it to its sister dialects, so that what appears on the surface to be a general Semitic term may in reality point to a region never inhabited by Semites.

In the Semitic field the comparison of words is facilitated by the permanence of stems, which is a characteristic of this family. It shows no such divergence of forms as we find in the Indo-European languages. If an original word has been preserved in any dialect, there will be no difficulty in recognizing it if it is found in the literature. The phonetic differences between the various Semitic tongues are so few and simple that there can never be serious difficulty in determining the forms in any one dialect which correspond to those in others. It is the use to which resemblances and differences are put that calls for the exercise of caution in the inquiry of which we are speaking. In another direction, also, care is needed. The territory occupied by the Semites in historical times is so small in extent that there seems to be little room for choice in selecting the site of their primeval home; there is apt to be an unconscious prejudgment of the question based on general considerations, or on some one set of facts. All the more must we guard against such assumptions, and decline to accept any theory that does not emerge naturally

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from all the known facts, and satisfactorily explain the phenomena. It is possible that the Semites, or any other great race, changed their domicile once or oftener, and that their language may thence bear the impress of several different localities ; or it is conceivable that, while the people have dwelt in different places, it is some one of these that has most strongly affected the language, and this place, though the testimony of the language might lead us to take it as the primitive home, might not be the latest or the earliest abode of the united race. All that can be said for any locality, to which the common vocabulary may point, is that it in some way affected the language, and that its influence probably came from the residence of the people in it at some time; all this, with the understanding that the facts may be so clear as to point definitely to some one place that may properly be called the home of the primitive people, but they must in that case be able to stand the most careful scrutiny.

As an illustration of this line of investigation we may take the essay of Guidi,[1] the object of which is to show that the cradle of the Semitic race is to be sought in Babylonia. He finds that all the Semitic tongues have the same expression for the following things: *river*, *sea*, *canal*, *marsh*, *winter*, *summer*, *heaven*, *bitumen*, *pitch*, *brick*, *gold*, *copper*, *poplar*, *tamarisk*, *cane*, *palm*, *pomegranate*, *wheat*, *barley*, *vine*, *camel*, *ass*, *dog*, *swine*, *lion*, *leopard*, *hyena*, *wolf*, *fox*, *jackall*, *porcupine*, *stag*, *gazelle*, *hare*, *wild ass*, *bow*, *arrow*, *spear*, *ox*, *heifer*, *sheep*, *lamb*, *goat*. On the other hand, the names of the following objects are different in the different dialects: *mountain*, *hill*, *brook*, *desert*, *silver*, *iron*, *lead*, *elm*, *oak*, *pine*, *beech*, *mule*, *fish*, *fig*, *olive*, *wine*. These agreements and differences, he argues, point clearly to Babylonia as the land where the common Semitic vocabulary was formed. For this country bordered on the *sea* (Persian Gulf), was traversed by great *rivers*, abounded in *marshes* and *bitumen*, used *brick* commonly

[1] *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici. Memoria del socio Ignazio Guidi. Roma*, 1879. *Reale Accademia dei Lincei.* This learned and carefully written paper is valuable, apart from its immediate object, for the light it throws on the life and customs of the Arabs.

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for building and writing purposes, produced *wheat* and *barley*, was especially noted for its *palm* trees, is shown by the ruins and monuments to have possessed *gold* and *copper* in plenty, and nourished the animals named above; while it is equally characterized by the absence of *mountain*, *brook*, and *desert*, there are no traces of *silver* and few of *iron* and *lead* in the early times, and the *elm*, *oak*, *pine*, and *beech* are not found in it. Herodotus especially mentions that it lacked the *fig*, the *olive*, and the *vine*, and the *mule* was an importation from the west. This is a striking array of facts, and yet a close examination may show that these words do not fix the home of the Semites beyond all doubt.

In the first place, in accordance with the remark made above, the absent words, those which are not common to all the dialects, must be excluded from the argument. The difficulty in reasoning from such absences is illustrated by the case of the *fish*, for which object the Semitic tongues have not a common word; it is not only hard to suppose that a people who lived, as Guidi supposes, by the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Persian Gulf were ignorant of the fish, but it is also not easy to see in what region they could have failed to adopt a common expression for a thing so generally known.[1] As in this case the absence of a common term for *fish* cannot be regarded as deciding the question of locality against Babylonia, so the absence of a common term for *desert* cannot exclude Arabia from the list of possible Semitic homes. That the Semitic dialects do not agree in their expressions for *mountain* does not warrant us in concluding that the united people never inhabited a mountainous region. One or another of the dialects may have dropped the original word, and provided itself with an expression better suited to its later abode. In respect to other of these wanting terms other considerations come in. Thus the absence of generally distributed words for *silver*, *iron*, *lead*, and *tin* seems to Guidi to point to a land which did not produce these metals; but their non-occurrence may just as well be explained by the

[1] It is assumed that the Arabic *nun* is not native, but a loan-word from the Aramaic.

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conditions of early civilized or half-civilized life, in which, as is well known, these metals, on account of the greater skill required to use them and for other reasons, play an insignificant rôle. As for the *mule*, if it be true that it was first produced in Western Asia Minor, the lack of a name for it would of course, so far as it could be used as an argument, favor the claim of any other part of Asia to be the primitive home of the Semites. Nor does a common word for *horse* occur, but this can prove nothing for our object. It is probable that the *horse* was not native to any of the lands inhabited by Semites in historical times, nor to Western Asia in general; and even if the people had once dwelt in the supposed native land of this animal, the steppes of Central Asia, they may in their migration have failed to bring it with them, and have dropped the name for it that they had at first. It will be noticed that our author, while denying that the primitive Semites were acquainted with *wine*, claims that they had the *vine*, inasmuch as this last is expressed by the same word in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. The presence of the *vine* is unfavorable to the claim he makes for Babylonia, since Herodotus, on whose statement he seems to place much reliance, says expressly that the *vine* was not found in that land. But at this point we have to note only that the absence of *wine* is one of the things that may be referred to an early stage of social development, or to such a stage among certain peoples who had intoxicating drinks from cereals and other sources, but not from the grape. Finally, as is brought out by Guidi himself, the evidence is as great for the absence of the *fig* and the *olive* from Arabia in early times as for their absence from Babylonia. So that this array of negative evidence proves nothing. In addition to the general vice of this sort of argument, special considerations in the case of almost every one of the words cited forbid us to draw the geographical inference with which we are dealing.

We come, then, to the words common to all the dialects. Of these it has already been remarked that the *vine* certainly does not tell particularly for Babylonia, seeing that the testimony of Herodotus is that in his day it did not exist there at

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all; its wide distribution (from the Caspian Sea southwestward to Egypt) makes it, in fact, difficult to cite it in behalf of any special district as the Semitic home. Our author's point, however, is that though the plant was known, the culture of the grape for its *wine* was not carried on by the primitive Semites. This argument has been noticed above; and the additional observation may be made that, if some of the people after their dispersion settled in districts unfavorable to vine-culture (as Babylonia, for example), this itself might be a reason for the disappearance from this tribe's dialect of terms for this culture which they may have once possessed. Of the wild animals given in the list, it is sufficient to remark, as Guidi does, that they are not peculiar to or characteristic of Babylonia, and therefore cannot come particularly into consideration here; and the same thing must be said of the domestic animals—the *ox*, the *sheep*, the *goat*, as well as the *camel*, the *ass*, the *dog*, and the *swine*. *Wheat* and *barley* also are found in many other regions than the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The conclusion that our author here presses is that the primitive Semites were a pastoral people and cultivated cereals. Not only are the names of the domestic animals and the grains common to all the dialects, but also the words describing the operations of industry; not, however, those which signify *bread*, *leaven*, and *cooking*. Passing over this last negative statement as inconclusive, let us suppose that the pastoral character of the primitive Semites may be fairly inferred from the other facts,—that it is not likely that the language would have possessed words for *ploughing* and *sowing* (and there is no trace here of borrowing by one dialect from another) unless the people had engaged in these employments. Let it be admitted that at one time they inhabited a land that permitted such occupations; but the territory that fulfilled this condition, stretching at least from the Caspian Sea to the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, was very extensive, and for Babylonia all that can be said in this connection is that it is not excluded. The occurrence of names of weapons, such as *bow*, *arrow*, *spear*, has, of course, no special bearing on our question. As to the trees which

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have common names in Semitic, Guidi himself refers to the difficulty of insisting on them, "because the migrations of trees are almost as great and complicated as those of peoples;" and we need not stop to ask the distribution of the *poplar*, the *tamarisk*, the *styrax*, and the *pomegranate*. The *palm*, for which Babylonia was famous, was found from Persia to Egypt and beyond, and a noteworthy illustration of its geographical variations is found in Palestine, where it was once abundant, but is now very rare. It has already been remarked that the use of *gold* and *copper*, rather than *iron*, *silver*, and *lead*, might be simply a feature of an early civilization; and it is besides obvious that metals might be known to a people though they were not produced in its territory. But the argument from absence of names cannot be pressed; because the dialects have not the same word for *silver*, it is not certain that the primitive tongue did not have such a word. Disregarding the words for *winter*, *summer*, and *heaven*, which are too indistinct to point to a special locality, there remain those for *river*, *canal*, *sea*, *bitumen*, *brick*, which, our author thinks, go far to identify the primitive Semitic land with Babylonia. Of these it is doubtful whether the dialects show a common expression for *bitumen*; the Arabic *humar* is 'Jew's pitch' and so *kufr*, and both these words appear to be taken from the Jews. The soil of Babylonia is especially favorable to brick-making, but the process was carried on very early in Egypt, and apparently in Arabia, and such an operation may have been learned and named by the early Semites even though they lived in a land not favorable to it. *Marshes* were found in Arabia as well as in Babylonia. Finally, it is impossible to lay great stress on the existence of common terms for *river* and *sea*. In whatever region of Western Asia the primitive Semites may have dwelt, they might easily, and would naturally, have had words for such prominent and well known objects. Near the Caspian Sea, or in Armenia, or in the depths of the desert, they would have heard of and seen some stream large enough to be called a *river*, and they could not have gone far in any direction without finding a *sea*. There is, besides, room for doubt whether the Arabic *yam* is

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native or a loan-word from the Aramaic; and *canals* abounded in Oman, as in Egypt and Babylonia.

It appears, then, that no one of the common words cited by our author binds us to any one locality for the primitive Semitic dwelling-place. But may they not, all taken together, point to some one land which alone fulfils all the conditions? From our examination it may be inferred that the Semitic people was acquainted with agriculture, the common domestic animals, certain wild animals, gold and copper, the palm and other trees, *sea*, *river*, *canal*, and *marsh*. To these objects we may add *fountain* or *spring*, the expression for which is common to the northern and southern divisions of the language. If we recollect that an object, to be known to a people, need not exist in their land, but may have been heard of from emigrants, or seen in forays, and bear in mind the wide distribution of most of the things discussed above, it will be difficult to fix on any narrow locality as one that alone meets the requirements of the case. Dwelling in Babylonia the people might have known all that this Semitic vocabulary demands of them; though, for example, there may have been no springs in southern Babylonia, it would have been quite possible for them to know the spring from other lands and to give it a name; but in southeastern Arabia also they might easily have been acquainted with all these things, and probably in Armenia and the country south and southwest of the Caspian Sea. Considering the meagreness of the existing vocabularies of some of the Semitic tongues, and the late period at which others were committed to writing, it seems rash to fix precisely the circumstances under which the primitive vocabulary was formed, and especially to select a restricted territory, and find in it all the materials for the people's stock of words.

The difficulties in the way of Guidi's theory hold equally of one that should make Arabia, or any other land, the seat of the Semites. The data hitherto discovered or brought forward are not sufficient to solve the question. Much more is this true of an attempt to fix the home of the ancestors of the combined Semitic and Indo-European races, supposing that the linguistic facts made it probable that these two came

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from a common parent-race. Here the elements of uncertainty, by reason of the greater remoteness in time and the greater possibilities of place, would be more numerous than in the question we have been discussing. The evidence, both of language and of tradition, would be feebler and less trustworthy; and we can hardly suppose that Guidi places much reliance on the attempt he makes to trace the progress of the Semites from the Aryo-Semitic home (southwest of the Caspian Sea, where the ark is supposed to have rested) to Babylonia by giving geographical and other interpretations to the names of Shem's descendants found in the second half of the eleventh chapter of Genesis.

4. The fourth direction in which data for the determination of our question have been sought, is the early history of the Semites as indicated by the results of recent researches in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature. According to these the Semites were preceded in the occupation of lower Mesopotamia by a civilized non-Semitic people, from whom they borrowed customs and laws, mythology, the art of writing, and their literature. If now it was the whole Semitic race that thus came under the influence of the Sumerian-Akkadians, we should expect to find its traces among all the nations of the race. But this is not the case; it is only in the northern division and among the Sabeans of South Arabia that there are signs of ancient contact with the old Chaldeans. It may be that the southern Arabs were affected by this people through their commercial relations by the way of the Persian Gulf. Of the others, the Babylonians and Assyrians naturally show the Akkadian influence most distinctly; next to them, so far as our present knowledge goes, come the Hebrews; and then the Phenicians and other Canaanites, and then the Arameans. These facts accord best with the supposition that only the northern Semites inhabited Babylonia, and that the various subdivisions departed from this point at different times; first, the Arameans, then the Canaanites and Phenicians, last of all the Hebrews. Possibly also it might be supposed that the Sabeans once dwelt there. More exactly, we should only have to suppose that all the northern Semites were once under

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Sumerian-Akkadian influence. Among the Arabs proper, the Bedawin, there is no trace of this. Their customs, mythology, poetry, are altogether different from those of the northern division. Allowance must be made, it is true, for the recent origin of Arabian literature; some of their old tradition and mythology may have perished before the art of writing was introduced. It may be supposed that the Arabs separated from the main branch soon after they entered the Tigris-Euphrates valley; but whether the separation took place immediately before or immediately after this entrance, the Arabic language could not be said to have been formed in Babylonia.

The established facts may be held to be these: the Babylonian-Assyrians and the Hebrews certainly, and the other north Semites probably, dwelt for a considerable time in and near the lower Euphrates valley, along with and under the influence of the Sumerian-Akkadians; at a very early period occurred the separation between the northern and southern divisions; the southern division, with the exception of the Sabeans, gives no evidence of having known the Akkadian civilization; the probability is that the Semites entered Babylonia on the southern rather than the northern side, — that is, either by the Persian Gulf or by crossing the Tigris or Euphrates. These facts suggest conjectures, but they do not at present lead to any definite results; it can only be affirmed positively that some of the northern Semites dwelt at an early period in or near Lower Mesopotamia.

This is, I think, a fair statement of the facts bearing on the solution of our question. If it is only a negative conclusion to which we are led, that must be ascribed to the insufficient character of the data. It is not surprising that we should be unable to fix definitely so remote a period as that at which the Semites dwelt together and spoke one tongue; but it does not follow that it will never be fixed, or that researches in this direction are useless. If they are conducted with scientific precision and sobriety, though they may not solve the problem proposed, they will always yield valuable results. To avoid premature generalizations and precipitate judgments,

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however, preliminary studies are necessary. While the decipherment of Assyrian inscriptions is slowly unveiling the early history of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and the science of ethnology is throwing its light on the beginnings of races and civilizations, Semitic comparative grammar and lexicography must contribute its part by an exacter working up of the material of the various dialects; and to make comparisons reliable these dialects must first be severally studied. Up to this time the Assyrian, so important for the history of the Semitic tongue, remains without a satisfactory account of its dictionary and grammar; and the hardly less important Sabean is represented by so sparse materials that we have no very distinct knowledge of its character. There is room for much good work even in the vocabularies of languages that have been so long and so closely studied as Hebrew and Arabic. Every careful investigation of a particular point is a contribution to general grammar, and to such reconstruction of ancient history as general grammar may be able to make. The essays of Schrader and Guidi above cited contain discussions that have a grammatical or historical value independent of their immediate object, and in respect to the question of the home of the Semites, have at least shown the insufficiency of certain data, and the necessity of wider researches. But, while it is true that in searching for something unattainable by the resources at our command we are often led to valuable discoveries, it is still always better to know the conditions and preliminaries of our search, and to do the preparatory work before setting out,— the preparatory work in this case being minute study and comparison of the several Semitic dialects. When the proper facts shall have been gathered, the results, in the departments of grammar and history, will show themselves with unmistakable clearness.

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III. — *The New Spellings of the Philological Society of London.*

By F. A. MARCH,

PROFESSOR IN LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

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eau : eu, 60.
ei : i, 60.
-en : n, 60.
eo : e, 61.
: o, 61.
-ff : f, 64.
g *dropt*, 66.
-gg : g, 64.
gh- : g, 66.
-gh *dropt*, 67.
-gh : h, 66.
-gh : f, 68.
h *dropt*, 64, 67.
i *dropt*, 61.
ie : ee, 61.
: i, 61.
-ine : in, 59.
-ise : is, 59.
-ite : it, 59.
-ive : iv, 59.
l *dropt*, 67.
-ll : l, 64.
-le : l, 59.
-nn : n, 64.
o : oo, 62.
: u, 62.
: i, 62.
oe : oo, 62.
ou : u, 63.
: o, 63.
p *dropt*, 67.
ph : f, 68.
: v, 67.
-rr : r, 64.
-re : er, 59.
s *dropt*, 67.
: z, 67.
so- : s, 67.
: c, 68.
: sk, 68.
-se : s, 59.
-some : sum, 59.
-tt : t, 64.
tch : ch, 68.
u *dropt*, 63.
ue *dropt*, 63.
: u, 64.
-ve : v, 58.
w *dropt*, 68.
y : i, 64.
-zz : z, 64.
ze : z, 58.

When the Philological Society of London undertook last year to prepare a list of words in corected spelling for imediate use, it was confidently expected that the Comittee of the American Philological Association to which such matters ar referd would be able cordialy to endorse the hole English list. The leaders in the movement wer known to be agreed as to the ultimate spelling at which reformers should aim. It was supozed that the list would contain only such words as coud be drawn nearer to this ultimate spelling without obscuring their etymology or pronunciation to the general reader.

It proved, however, that members who wer agreed as to what it would be desirabl to do, wer of very different opinions as to what can be done, and what it is best to try to do.

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Perhaps the way in which the list was prepared was not a good one. Changes wer propozed in open meeting, voted on one by one, and adopted by a majority vote. Sum members probably had no system in mind, but voted on each corection as it happend to strike them. Perhaps the members prezent at the different meetings wer not the same; the discussions lasted from July 9, 1880 to January 28, 1881; — six meetings. The rezult is that the final list is probably not such as any member would hav prepared, and sum of the members hav taken ocazion to say so to the public. The Prezident, Mr. A. J. Ellis, is one of theze. He believs in forming and urging a complete fonetic system for use side by side with the old spelling at first. He devotes the main part of his prezidential adress to an atack on partial reform. This adress is publisht, of course. Mr. Ellis has also publisht his disent in the English periodicals.

Dezirabl as it would be to giv to the report as a hole the prestige which would be gaind from the unanimous endorsment of all the filologists interested in the reform, that is now impossibl. The Comittee of the American Philological Association has therefore felt quite free to adopt for its own report only such of the recomendations of the English Society as it can cordialy endorse, and it has not thought it wurth while to discuss the details.

Perhaps it may interest this Association, however, to hav the English pamflet pretty fully set forth with comments in a separate paper.

The pamflet is spelt acording to the recomendations of the Society, and the extracts from it in this paper follow the same spelling; but the remarks of the writer of the paper ar spelt acording to the recomendations of the American Comittee.

It begins with a mention of works of reference, a half a duzen English books and pamflets by Sweet, George Withers, Max Müller, J. H. Gladstone, and others. Then there ar ten pages devoted to "general principles."

1. The objects of the Spelling Reform. Theze ar stated to be:

a. To facilitate the acquizition of English spelling; thereby

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b. enabling children and adults to lern reading who ar at prezent unable to do so;

c. shortening the time spent in lerning to read;

d. facilitating the acquizition of the ordinary spelling;

e. efecting a saving of national expenditure; and

f. spreding the knowledg of English among forein nations.

g. To remoov etymologicaly misleading spellings.

2. A history of Spelling Reform within the Philological Society.

3. A history of English spelling, the two most important facts of which ar:

a. that it has always been in intention fonetic, except where corupted by French spellings or their analogies;

b. that the main cauz of the prezent divergence between pronunciation and spelling is the retention of the spelling, while the pronunciation has changed.

4. The cauzes of the difficulty of English spelling. It is unfonetic:

a. in keeping silent letters;

b. in keeping the same symbol for sounds that hav diverged, as in *had, hard, was, hate, water;*

c. in keeping different symbols for sounds that hav converged, as in *name, fail, weight, great.*

In the last category we must notice especialy the retention of purely arbitrary distinctions, as in *now, thou, city, cities, dry, dryness, drily.*

5. The remedy is to make the language fonetic. The practical test of a fonetic orthografy is that it is lernt without spelling lessons beyond the acquizition of the sounds of the elementary symbols. But there may be partial remedies which do not bear this test very wel. Thus by writing *name, fale, wate, grate,* we get rid of the difficulty cauzd by the prezent divergence in the words *name, fail, weight, great,* tho the new spelling does not bear the practical test.

6. The direction of reform. A partial reform must avoid comitting itself to changes of disputed direction, as far as possibl.

"The main divergence is between thoze who adopt the

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original (Roman) fonetic values of the vowel-letters, and thoze who retain their prezent English ones.

Any alteration of the vowels of *see* or *time* would at onse alienate thoze who advocate the English values, while such a change as that of *machine* into *macheen* would alienate thoze who advocate the Roman values.

The only undisputed associations ar thoze between the italic letters in the following words and the sounds they hav in thoze words:

*b*e, *d*ay, *e*nd, *f*ell, *g*et, *h*ill (except where *h* is a diacritic, as in *th*), *i*t, *k*ill, *l*et, *m*en, *n*o, *o*n, *oi*l, *p*en, *r*ed, *s*o, *t*en, *v*ine, *w*ell, *z*eal."

It seems from theze statements of the pamflet that there is pretty good agreement on the signs of the elementary vowels, *i. e.* on the fundamental sounds which the types ar to hav. The divergence realy is between thoze who would giv the types the same sounds in long vowels and difthongs which they hav in short vowels, and thoze who giv them different sounds, thereby refusing to make the long vowels and difthongs fonetic.

The rule to avoid disputed changes is good; it should hav been strictly aplied. There is no necessity that the corected words should be numerous; the great point is that they should be free from objection. But in fact sum of the corections ar open to ernest objection. Such ar thoze in which an extended use is made of *ee* for the sound produced by lengthening the *i* of *pick* as in *pique*. This is a central position of divergence. If *ee* is establisht for this sound, the long vowels and difthongs into which *e* or *i* enters ar all set at variance. Such also ar the corections in which *oo* for long *u*, as in *rude*, *ruin*, is extended. It is also wurth mentioning, perhaps, that the list of undisputed letters is not strictly corect. The use of the type *o*, for example, is undisputed only when the view is confined to reformers who insist on having no new letters or diacritical marks. When theze ar admitted, it is strongly urged that the old *o* should be used for its sound in *potato*, and that the new type or markt letter should be put for *o* in *not*, acording to the use of the Ameri-

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can Spelling Reform Association, and of Mr. Sweet in his Anglo-Saxon books, and the general alfabet of his "Handbook of Phonetics." The *u*'s of *but, bush*, etc., and the *o*'s of *not, note*, etc., ar on like footing.

7. The obstacls to reform ar the difficulty and inconvenience of change; but large changes hav been made and ar now going on. Much prejudice, however, is excited by unfamiliar forms of words, and this is a reazon for avoiding changes which ocur very often, such as *ov* for *of*, *z* for *s* in inflections, and the like. Less prejudice is excited by omissions than alterations of letters.

8. Etymology and history. Etymological spelling, in its conventional sense, consists simply in retaining the fonetic spellings of an erlier period after they hav becum unfonetic. Such a spelling destroys the materials on which etymological investigations ar based — namely, a continuous series of fonetic spellings.

Altho theze views ar now accepted by all filologists, an apeal to traditional spellings, in introducing a partial reform, has two uses: *a.* it afords a basis of agreement which may be otherwize wanting, as in the expulsion of the *s* of *island*; and *b.* afords a convenient principl of limitation. It also servs as a test of the sincerity of thoze who opoze reform solely on "etymological" grounds.

Sum "etymological" spellings ar *incorect*, as *s* in *island;* sum *corect*, as *k* in *knee:* classes of spellings ar often *neutral.* Silent *e*, for exampl, is neutral, since it is a mere chance whether it corresponds to an older vowel or not; so final silent *b*. It is very difficult, therefore, to giv rules on etymological grounds which wil not hav many exceptions.

9. Distinctiv spellings, as *scent, sent, in, inn*, ar objectionabl, but the pamflet tels us that it is, of course, open to any one to retain a distinctiv spelling in any case where he may think it advizabl.

10. Prôper names. Theze stand on a different footing from ordinary words in many ways, especialy names of persons, and ar left unalterd for the prezent. Such names as "Philological Society" may be considerd proper names.

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11. Varieties of pronunciation should be recorded by varieties of spelling. The pamflet says "there is no more reazon for A, who pronounces a givn word in a certain way, being obliged to spel it differently becauz B pronounces it differently, than for the hole of England being obliged to write *knight* or *edage* (for *age*), becauz peple pronounced so sum hundred years ago." This seems to be a rejection of a standard in pronunciation, a rebellion agenst all orthoepic authority; but perhaps we ar to understand *aprooved* varieties of pronunciation, the varieties to be herd among educated Londoners. General advice to all speakers of English to spel as they pronounce is surely holely out of place in a pamflet whose purpose is to set forth sum such partial corections of the current spelling as ar likely to be generally unobjectionabl.

The first words of the first report to the American Philological Association on Spelling Reform ar:

"It does not seem dezirabl to atempt such sweeping changes as to leav the general speech without a standard."

So the American Spelling Reform Association begin by distinguishing their work from that of the orthoepist:

"We ar met to reform orthography, not orthoepy; we hav to do with writing, not pronunciation. There ar all sorts of English peple, and words ar pronounced in all sorts of ways. It is the work of the orthoepist to obzerv all theze different ways, and to decide which is the prevailing pronunciation of the most cultured, to decide which is the standard English pronunciation. The orthographer tels how to reprezent this pronunciation in writing. The orthoepist has many nice and difficult questions to solv. We enter into his labors. We take for granted that there is a standard pronunciation of English. We wish to see it represented by simpl and reazonabl alfabetic signs."

In fact I am not sure that there ar any improvements of spelling set forth in the English lists which reprezent a pronunciation unknown to the dictionaries.

12. The twelfth and last preliminary discussion treats of conforming pronunciation to the prezent spelling, insted of the

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spelling to the pronunciation. This is declared to be impossibl in the prezent state of things. It is hinted however that something might wel be done in this way if the fonetic principl wer in general use.

Next follow "Details." They ar givn here in the language of the pamflet. Comments ar added in brackets. The lists of ilustrations ar not givn in full.

VOWELS.

e. Silent *e* has no etymological value, and should be omitted wherever foneticaly useless, that is, wherever it does not lengthen a preceding vowel, and in sum other cases noticed below.

In the following words it is foneticaly misleading, being added to a short vowel followd by a singl consonant, and should therefor be dropt:

Above, abuv; *are*, ar; *bade*, bad; *come*, cum; *comes*, cums; *dove*, duv; *give*, giv; *given*, givn; *gone*, gon; *have*, hav; *live*, liv; *lived*, livd; *love*, luv; *shove*, shuv; *some*, sum; *somewhat*, sumwhat; *vineyard*, vinyard; *welcome*, welcum; *were*, wer.

Retaind in *done*, *none*, *one* [to save the etymology].

hav thus distinguisht from *behave*, and *liv* from *alive*.

[Many other exampls in which it is foneticaly misleading for the same reazon ar givn further on, under *-ine*, *-ise*, and other endings, p. 59.]

In the following cases it is foneticaly useless.

It should be dropt after *v* and *z* preceded by a writn long vowel or a consonant, as in:

Aggrieve, agreev [agriev]; *aggrieves*, agreevs [agrievs]; *aggrieved*, agreevd [agrievd]; *believe*, beleev [believ]; *calve*, calv; *carve*, carv; *cleave*, cleav; *curve*, curv; *involve*, involv; *leave*, leav; *move* [stet], moov; *nerve*, nerv; *perceive*, perceiv; *preserve*, prezerv; *prove* [stet], proov; *receive*, receiv.

[For explanation of comments in brackets see *ie* p. 61, *o* p. 62.]

Frieze, freez [friez]; *furze*, furz; *wheeze*, wheez; *adze*, adz.

The general retention of *e* after *v* is a tradition of the Tudor period, when *u* was writn for *v* as wel as *u*; if the *e* had been dropt, *valu* = *valve* would have been confuzed with *value*.

e should be dropt after writn difthongs:

Awe, aw; *aye*, ay; *eye*, ey; *owe*, ow.

e coud also be dropt after a singl vowel, as in *due*, *hoe*, but not

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in inflections such as *dus* (cp. *thus*), *hod*; it had therefor better be retaind thruout for the prezent.

e always prezervs the breth sound of preceding *s* with a consonant before the *s* (except in *cleanse*, and sometimes in *parse*), and often also when a vowel goes before; hense the *e* of such words as *dense*, *lease*, coud not be dropt without confuzion with *dens*, *leas*, where *s*=*z*, but

e should be dropt after *s* = *z* preceded by a consonant or writn long vowel, whether *z* is writn insted of the *s* or not:

Appease, apeaz; *applause*, aplauz; *cheese*, cheez; *clause*, clauz;

Also in *-dge*, as in:

Edge, edg; *edged*, edgd; *knowledge*, knowledg.

Compare *Edgware*, *acknowledgment*.

And in

Apse, aps; *axe*, ax; *collapse*, colaps; *collapsed*, colapst; *glimpse*, glimps; *lapse*, laps.

Mute *e* may, of course, be added or restord [*sic.* London pronunciation] wherever advizabl, as in *holely* for *holly* = *wholly*.

Inflectional and Derivativ *e*.

For *-re* write *-er*:

Centre, center; *centres*, centers; *centred*, centerd; *lustre*, luster; *metre*, meter; *mitre*, miter; *nitre*, niter; *saltpetre*, saltpeter; *sceptre*, scepter; *sepulchre*, sepulcher; *spectre*, specter; *theatre*, theater.

-re must be retaind after *c*, as in *acre*, *lucre*, *massacre*.

The change has alredy been made in (*gas*)*meter*, *barometer*, *tiger*, etc. [and in the other words by Webster and others].

The *e* of *-le* can be dropt

(*a*) where the *l* is preceded by two consonants, as in:

Apostle, apostl; *assemble*, asembl; *assembles*, asembls; *assembled*, asembld; *pebble*, pebl; *puzzle*, puzl; *settle*, setl; *single*, singl;

(*b*) where *l* is preceded by a singl consonant with a short vowel before it:

Couple, cupl; *double*, dubl;

(*c*) where a writn long vowel precedes, as in:

Beadle, beadl; *foible*, foibl;

(*d*) in the terminations *-able*, *-ible*, and *-icle*, as in:

Agreeable, agreeabl; *article*, articl; *articles*, articls; *possible*, possibl; *probable*, probabl; *sensible*, sensibl.

e can be dropt in *-ine*, *-ise*, *-ite*, *-ive*, *-some*, wherever the *i* or *o* is short, as in:

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Discipline, disciplin; *doctrines*, doctrins; *examined*, examind; *feminine*, feminin; *practise*, practis; *promise*, promis; *treatise*, treatis; *premise*, premis; *definite*, definit; *favourite*, favorit; *infinite*, infinit; *opposite*, opposit; *motive*, motiv; *motives*, motivs; *repulsive*, repulsiv; *talkative*, talkativ; *handsome*, handsum; *quarrelsome*, quarrelsum; *tiresome*, tiresum; *wholesome*, holesum.

In other words:

Brimstone [stet], brimston; *purpose*, purpos; *therefore* [stet], therefor; *wherefore* [stet], wherefor.

Where the *e* modifies the preceding vowel (not necessarily by lengthening) in any way, it cannot be omitted: this is specialy the case after *u*, as in *volume*, *soluble*, *nature*, *measure*. The *e* coud be omitted after *u* in sum words, such as *figure* and *injure*, but it is simplest to leav it everywhere. *e* modifies *a* in such words as *inviolate*, *purchase*, *obstacle*. It cannot be dropt after *c* or *g*, as in *crevice*, *image*. [The treatment of *brimstone*, *therefore*, *figure*, *obstacle*, suggests a peculiar pronunciation. Phelp pronounces *brimstōne*, *therefŏr*, *figyur* or *figŭr*, *obstăcl*.]

e before a consonant is often dropt in *-es* and *-ed* (p. 66), of which many exampls ar givn abuv.

-en often drops its *e*; especialy in participls, as in:

Driven, drivn; *eaten*, eatn; *ridden*, ridn; *risen*, rizn; *striven*, strivn; *written*, writn.

ea has the etymological value of simpl *e*, which preceded it in Midl English, and the *a* can be omitted in:

Bread, bred; *breadth*, bredth; *breakfast*, brekfast; *breast*, brest; *breath*, breth; *cleanly*, clenly; *cleanse*, clenz; *dead*, ded; *deaf*, def; *dearth*, derth; *death*, deth; *dread*, dred; *dreamed* [?], dremt; *earl*, erl; *early*, erly; *earn*, ern; *earnest*, ernest; *earth*, erth; *endeavour*, endevor; *feather*, fether; *head*, hed; *health*, helth; *heard*, herd; *hearse*, herse; *heaven*, heven; *heavy*, hevy; *jealous*, jelous; *lead*, sb., led; *leaned* [?], lent; *learn*, lern; *leaped*, lept [?]; *leather*, lether; *leaven*, leven; *meadow*, medow; *meant*, ment; *measure*, mezure; *pearl*, perl; *peasant*, pezant; *pheasant*, fezant; *pleasant*, plezant; *pleasure*, plezure; *read*, prt., red; *ready*, redy; *realm*, relm; *rehearse*, reherse; *search*, serch; *spread*, spred; *stead*, sted; *steady*, stedy; *stealth*, stelth; *sweat*, swet; *thread*, thred; *threat*, thret; *threaten*, threten; *treachery*, trechery; *tread*, tred; *treadle*, tredl; *treasure*, trezure; *wealth*, welth; *weapon*, wepon; *weather*, wether; *yearn*, yern; *zealous*, zelous.

Where *ea* has the sound of *a*, the analogy of *hark* justifies us in omitting the *e*, thereby restoring frequent Tudor spellings:

Hearken, harken; *heart*, hart; *hearth*, harth.

eau. The older spelling of *beauty* should be restord:

Beauty, beuty.

ei. The *e* of *height* is useless:

Height [stet], hiht.

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[The vowel sound in *height* is a difthong, ought not to be reprezented by *i*, is often reprezented by *ei*, as in German, and J. Pitman's fonografy. Better let it stand for the prezent.]

eo. Where *eo* has the sound of *e*(*e*), the older spellings should be restord:

Jeopardy, jepardy; *leopard*, lepard; *people*, peple [hardly wurth lerning].

In *yeoman* the *e* is useless.

i. The unhistorical *i* of *parliament* should be dropt:

Parliament, parlament.

The commonest Midl English spelling is *parlement*.

ie for *ee* in English words is unhistorical, and the older spelling should be restord. The *ie* in French words is historical in French itself, but all theze words wer originaly writn with *ee* in Midl English, which *ee* ocurs frequently in Tudor English also. *sieve* had originaly *i* (Old English *sife;* cf. *sift*) which should be restord.

[This change excites much objection, and for that reazon, if no other, should not hav been made in such a list as this. The change from *ee* to *ie* is a fonetic change.

In *acheve*, *bileve*, *bref*, *chef* (but all the exampls in Stratmann ar spelt *chief*), *feld feeld*, *fers feers*, *gref greef*, and the like, the *ê* and *ee* wer used at first for the sound of *e* in *they*. The words afterwards changed their pronunciation. The spelling did not change at onse, yet it was felt to be unfonetic, and such words ar in erly manuscripts ocasionaly spelt with *i*, *ii*, *ie*, to indicate the new pronunciation; *ie* is a penman's natural modification of *ii*, and is used for it in French and German. It has establisht itself in a considerabl number of familiar words. This was a natural fonetic movement as long as the letters *i* and *e* wer named by their old sounds. The badness of using *ee* for *ii* is now conceald sumwhat by the modern names of the letters.

It is agreed by all reformers that *i* must stand for the vowel sound in *it*, and *e* for that in *met*. Then theze letters must in fonetic spelling be named from thoze sounds, as they used to be. They ar now so named where spelling by sounds is practist. It is an important point to giv theze names general currency, and it seems likely to be one of the first steps which can be taken in the scools towards fonetic reform. By the time we might succeed in substituting *cheef* for *chief*, we shal hav *i* named as we now name *e*, and *e* as we now name *a*; and all the abecedarians wil know that *ch-e-e-f* cannot spel *chiif*.

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The only reazon for reverting to an unfonetic spelling of the Tudor period would seem to be despair of ever bringing the fonetic spelling into general use. But it is too soon to despair of a reazonabl spelling of our long vowel sounds. At any rate, a partial list of improved spellings is no place to exhibit such despair. Let us wait.]

Achiev, believ, bier, brief, chief, field, fiend, fierce, friez, grief, griev, lief, liege, mien, niece, piece, pier, pierce, priest, relief, reliev, repriev, retriev, shield, shriek, siege, siv, thief, thiev, tier, tierce, wield, yield.

Mischief, mischievous, cannot take *ee.*

o. The Tudor *oo* should be restord in:

Behove, behoov; *gamboge* [stet], gambooge; *lose,* looz; *move,* moov; *prove,* proov.

[It is better not to urge *oo* for an *u*-sound; *pruve* is a better spelling than *proov,* and we need not yet despair of it.]

Who, whose, had better retain their singl *o* for the prezent.

In the following the Old English and Old French *u* should be restord:

Above (abuv), *affront* (afrunt), *attorney* (aturney), *borough* (buroh) [?], *colour* (culor) [?], *come, comfit, comfrey, comfort* (cumfort), *companion* (cumpanion), *company, compass, conjuror* (cunjuror), *constable, covenant, cover, covet, covey, discomfit, dove, dozen, front, govern, honey, love, money, mongrel, monk, monkey, plover, pommel, shove, shovel, some, son, sponge, stomach, thorough* (thuroh) [?], *ton, tongue* (tung), *won, wonder, worm, worry, worse, worship, worst, worth.*

Onion may be left unchanged, to avoid confuzion of pronunciation with *union.*

In many words, such as *combat, conduit,* the spelling has corupted the pronunciation; and the pronunciation of several of the abuv words varies.

In the following words *o* is historical: *among(st), brother, does, done, dost, doth, glove, monday, monger, month, mother, none, nothing, once, one, other, smother, twopence, word, work, world.* [The historical treatment does not show to great advantage in theze lists. It would excite far less objection to amend theze Anglo-Saxon words than the familiar Latin forms in the list to be "restord."]

In *women* (O.E. *wifmenn*) original *i* should be restord.

oe. The older *oo* should be restord in *canoe* and *shoe,* thus distinguisht from *doe, toe,* etc.:

[A bad change. See remark under *ō,* above. *Shu* (schu) is an old spelling, and *canoe* can wait.]

Canoe is quite a late spelling on the analogy of *shoe;* Walker stil writes *canoa.*

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ou. The Old English and Old French *u* should be restord in:

Adjourn (ajurn), *bourgeon* (burgeon), *country*, *couple* (cupl), *couplet*, *courage*, *cousin*, *double*, *enough* (enuf), *flourish*, *journal*, *journey*, *joust*, *nourish*, *rough* (ruf), *scourge*, *southerly*, *southern*, *through* (thru), *touch*, *touching*, *tough* (tuf), *trouble* (trubl).

The *ou* in *enough* and *tough* has no historical value, and may therefor be made fonetic; the historical spelling would be *enoogh* and *toogh* (O.E. *genóh*, *tóh*).

In *-ough* the *u* is useless (O. E. *bohte*, *áhte*, etc.):

Bought, boht; *brought*, broht; *fought*, foht; *ought*, oht; *sought*, soht; *though*, tho; *thought*, thoht; *wrought*, wroht.

[Hardly wurth changing til the ultimate representation of the vowel sound is decided.]

In *-our* the dropping of the *u* should be carried out everywhere [as in Webster and Worcester].

u after *g* in nativ English words is unetymological, and is not more required in *guess*, etc., than in *get*, *gill*, *girdle*, *give*, etc. The *u* in *guarantee* and *guard* is no more required than in *regard* and *gage*.

Guarantee, garantee; *guard*, gard; *guardian*, gardian; *guess*, gess; *guest*, gest; *guild*, gild; *guilt*, gilt.

The *u* before *e* and *i* in forein words must be retaind to keep the *g* hard: *disguize*, *guerilla*, *guide*, *guile*, *guillotine*, *guinea*, *guize*, *guitar*.

Silent *u* should be dropt after *q*, *conquer* being thus distinguisht from *conquest*:

Antique, antiqe; *conquer*, conqer; *coquette*, coqette; *critique*, critiqe; *exchequer*, excheqer; *etiquette*, etiqette; *lacquer*, lacqer; *lacquey*, lacqey; *liqueur*, liqeur; *liquor*, liqor; *marquee*, marqee; *masquerade*, masqerade; *mosquito*, mosqito; *oblique*, obliqe; *opaque*, opaqe; *piquant*, piqant; *pique*, piqe; *piquet*, piqet.

The combination $q + u$ is, of course, always historical; but to recall the older spelling the reader wil only hav to remember that the *q* of *conqer*, etc., is an abreviation of *qu*. *Queue* may be writn *qeu*, but it is simpler to adopt the alternativ spelling *cue*.

[This change oversteps the natural limits of the lists. It oversteps the etymological limit. It extends the use of *q* to a sound which *k* and *c* ar finaly to reprezent. It wil be specialy objectionabl to the peple on acount of its queer look. Better leav theze words awhile.]

ue is historicaly useless (due to the influence of Modern French spelling) in the following words after *g*, and should be dropt:

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Apologue (apolog), *catalogue*, *colleague*, *decalogue*, *demagogue*, *dialogue*, *eclogue*, *epilogue*, *harangue* (harang), *league*, *monologue*, *mystagogue*, *pedagogue*, *prologue*, *synagogue*, *tongue* (tung).

Neither the *e* nor the *u* can be dropt in *fatigue*, *vague*, etc., altho even the ordinary orthografy drops the *ue* in *demagogism*.

The dissyllabic *ague* and *argue* should drop the *e*, being thus distinguisht from the monosyllabic *plague*, etc.:

Ague, agu; *argue*, argu.

[Look as if sounded *agoo*, *argoo*. Some reformers use *ue* everywhere for *iu*. It is better to leav *ague*, *argue*.]

Silent *ue* should be dropt after *q* wherever the *u* is silent and the *e* not required for lengthening:

Arabesque, arabesq; *arabesques*, arabesqs; *burlesque*; *burlesqued*, burlesqt; *casque*; *cheque*, cheq [check]; *cinque*, cinq; *grotesque*, grotesq; *mosque*, mosq.

ue is not more required in the English *cinque* that in the French *cinq*. [A bad change. See under *u* p. 63. Better put in *k* (arabesk) or let the words alone for the prezent.]

y is etymologicaly wrong in *rhyme* and *thyme*:

Rhyme, rime; *thyme*, time [?].

Rhyme is the Old English *rím*, and the current spelling is an atempt to show a conection with the Greek *rhythmós*, with which it has nothing to do. *Thyme* cums ultimately from the Greek *thýmon*, but thru Old French; in Midl English it is writn *time*.

CONSONANTS.

dubl *b*, *d*, *g*, *n*, *r*, *t*, ar generaly not dubld finaly after short vowels, and the following exceptions should follow the general analogy:

Add (ad), *adds* (ads), *butt*, *ebb*, *egg*, *err*, *inn*, *odd*, *purr*, *whirr*.

f, *l*, *z*, shoud be writn singl (except in *-all*):

Bailiff, bailif; *buzz*, buz; *dull*, dul; *dulls*, duls; *dulled*, duld; *full*, ful; *staff*, staf; *stiff*; *stuff*; *stuffs*; *stuffed*, stuft; *whizz*, whiz.

ll after *a* is required to keep up the distinction between *Hal* and *hall*, etc.

Final *ck* and *ss* must be left as they ar til the use of *k* and *s* is regulated.

off must be left til *of* is alterd to *ov*.

Wherever a dubl consonant cums before another consonant it may often be simplified:

Battle, batl; *kettle*, ketl; *ripple*, ripl; *wriggle*, wrigl; *written*, writn.

ck and *ss* retaind, as in *picks*, *pickt*, *tassl*.

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Dubl consonants ar generaly simplified in unaccented syllabls, and this rule should be carried out with *ll* and *tt* also:

Curvetting, curveting; *fidgetting*, fidgeting; *traveller*, traveler; *travelling*, traveling.

Travling is thus distinguisht from *rebelling*. The distinction between *gravelly* and *gravely* may be kept up by omitting the useless *e* in the former: *gravly*, *gravely*. [It is not clear whether it is intended to change the pronunciation of *gravelly* from three syllabls to two, which would be bad, as no business of spelling reform; or whether *l* in *gravly* is intended to be syllabic, *grav-l-y*. This is bad, as "caviare to the general."]

ck, as in *mimicking*, must be left.

There ar many words beginning with unaccented prefixes in which the analogy of Latin words like *accuse*, *commit*, *immure*, has led to an unhistorical dubling. Such words as *account*, *allow*, *arrive*, *attack*, and many others, wer taken straiht from Old French, where they had singl consonants, the dubling being a later etymological fancy. In such words as *affront* and *affair*, from *a front*, *a faire*, it is based on sheer ignorance; as also in the nativ English words, *accursed*, *afford*, *affright*, from Old English *acursod*, *aforðian*, *afyrht*. In short, this dubling has litl or no etymological value, and had better be simplified everywhere, as in:

Abbreviate, abreviate; *accuse*, acuze; *acquit*, aquit [no]; *address*, adress; *adjust*, ajust; *affair*, afair; *arrange*, *assist*, *attack*, *command*, *commit*, *connect*, etc.

Acquit, *adjust*, etc., ar, of course, equivalent to *accwit*, *addzhust*.

The dubl consonants must be kept in accented syllabls, as in *aggravate*.

Consonants may, of course, be dubld or kept dubl where necessary or convenient, as in *detter* for *debtor*, *added*, *whizzing*.

b is etymologicaly wrong in *debt*, *doubt*, *subtle*, which cum from the Old French *dete*, *doute*, *sutil*, theze being also the older English spellings. The *b* in *-mb* is etymologicaly useless, having often been added without reazon, as in *limb* = Old English *lim*:

Bomb, bom; *crumb*, crum; *debt*, det; *debtor*, detter; *doubt*; *dumb*; *lamb*; *limb*, lim; *numb*; *plumb*, *plumber*, plummer; *redoubt*, redout; *subtle*, sutl; *succumb*, sucum; *thumb*, thum.

Detter is a frequent Tudor spelling.

b is unhistorical in *crumb* (O.E. *cruma*), *limb* (O.E. *lim*), *numb*, *plumb* (O. F. *plum* cf. *plummet*), *thumb* (O. E. *þúma*).

c. Initial *c* in *cinder*, from Old English *sinder*, is due to a mistaken etymology from French *cendre*.

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Medial *c* is writn unetymologicaly for *s* in a large number of words, but at prezent it is not advizabl to restore the *s*, except where a consonant precedes:

Cinder, sinder; *expence*, expense; *fierce*, feerse [fierse]; *hence*, hense; *once*, onse; *pence*, pense; *scarce*, scarse; *since*, sinse; *source*, sourse; *thence*, thense; *tierce*, teerse [tierse]; *whence*, whense.

Midl English *hennes*, *ones*, *pens*, etc.

ch. For *ache* the older *ake* should be restord. *anchor* was spelt *anker* in erlier English: it has been refashiond after the Latin *anchora*, itself a corupt spelling of Greek *ágkūra*. The *h* in *chamomile*, *choler*, *cholera* (cf. *colic*), *melancholy*, *school*, *stomach*, is a late insertion paralel to that of *b* in *debt*: in Midl English theze words wer writn *camomille*, *coler*(*ik*), *melancolie*, *scole*, *stomak*. For *choir* the older *quire* may be revived.

ch may be retaind in *stomachic*, etc.

d. The dropping of the *e* of *-ed* involvs the change of *d* into *t* after a voiceless consonant, together with the simplification of dubl consonants.

Barred, bard; *crossed*, crost; *erred*, erd; *looked*, lookt; *pulled*, puld; *rained*, raind; *restored* [stet], restord; *slipped*, slipt; *tugged*, tugd; *whizzed*, whizd.

Length-marking *e* must be retaind, as in *chafed*, [*restored*]; also after *c* and *g*, as in *chanced*, *singed*. *ck* had better be retaind for the prezent, as in *pickt*.

g is a late insertion in *feign* (cf. *feint*), *foreign*, *sovereign* (on the analogy of *reign*, with which it is totaly unconected).

Feign, fein; *foreign*, forein [foren]; *sovereign*, soverein [soveren].

It has been propozed to restore Milton's *sovran*, but this is a hybrid Italian spelling. [*Soverein* may as wel be stigmatized as an anachronism. The words which in erly English wer spelt *-ain* and *-ein*, from the French, hav either taken *-ain* exclusivly, which is the common fact, or *-en*, as *citizen*, *denizen*, *dozen*, *sudden*, or *-an*, as *human*. The best spelling is *soveren*, *foren*.]

gh. The *h* is etymologicaly useless in *aghast*, *burgh*, *ghost* (O. E. *gást*).

gh in *night*, etc., is a late and clumzy substitute for Old English *h* (*niht*, *dohtor*, etc.). The *g* should be omitted wherever *gh* is silent. Where *gh* = *f*, it may either be provizionaly retaind or else changed to *f* (see Apendix), as has alredy been done in *draft* = *draught*, and, at an erlier period, in *dwarf* from Old English *dweorh*.

In *delight*, *haughty*, *sprightly*, *gh* is etymologicaly wrong, and the erlier spellings should be restord.

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Aghast, agast; *daughter*, dauhter [dauter]; *delight*, delite; *eight*, eiht [eit]; *ghost*, gost; *haughty*, hauty; *high*, hih [no]; *higher*, hiher [no]; *height*, hiht [see under *ei*, p. 61]; *night*, niht [no]; *plough*, plouh [plow]; *sprightly*, spritely; *straight*, straiht [strait]; *thorough*, thuroh [thuro]; *though*, tho; *through*, thru; *weight*, weiht [weit].

h is alredy often dropt in the spellings *tho'*, *thro'*. And see *rhyme*, p. 64.

l dropt in *could* (Old E. *cúðe*), which ows it to the false analogy of *would* and *should*, where it is historical:

p in *receipt* is a modern insertion, which has not been made in the paralel *conceit*, *deceit*, etc.

ph for *v* in *nephew* is unmeaning, and the French spelling should be restord: *nephew*, neveu [if the pronunciation is prezervd].

For the change of *ph* into *f* see Apendix.

q. For *quay* the older fonetic *key* may be restord.

s is wrongly inserted in *aisle* (O. F. *ele*), *demesne*, *island* (O. E. *igland*), *isle:*

Aisle, aile; *demesne*, demene; *island*, iland; *isle*, ile [perhaps we might wait].

In *isle* the *s* is historical in the oldest Fr., but not in E., which writes *ile*, *yle* from the beginning.

The *e* of *aile* is retaind to distinguish it from *ail*.

The retention of $s = z$ is the cheef obstacl to the regulation of silent *e* (p. 59). As the change of inflectional *s* in such words as *dens*, *gives*, would involv a disproportionately large number of alterations, it is advizabl to leav it unchanged at first, as also in very common words, such as *as*, *is*, *was*.

The change is especialy recomended, 1, in distinctiv words, such as *use* (verb); and 2, in the termination *-ise*:

Abuse vb., abuze; *advertise*, advertize; *choose*, chooz; *chosen*, chozen; *close* vb., cloze; *diffuse* vb., difuze; *dissolve*, dizolv; *excuse* vb., excuze; *house* vb., houz; *mouse* vb., mouz; *pleasure*, plezure; *raise*, raiz; *refuse* vb., refuze; *rise*, rize.

z is alredy in use in *freeze*, *frozen* (tho not in *choose*, *chosen*), in *size*, *furze*, *civilize*, etc. Besides its purely fonetic use in nativ English words, it is always writn both foneticaly and etymologicaly in Greek words. Hense sum object to the spelling *analyze* (Gk. *análysis*) as unetymological; but the question is simply whether we ar to carry out the English fonetic or the Greek etymological use of *z:* if the latter, we must write *freese*, *sise*, etc.; if the former, *analyze*.

sc. The *c* is eroneously inserted in *scent* (Fr. *sentir*) and *scythe* (O. E. *sīðe*) The *s* is equaly wrong in *scimitar* (Fr. *cimeterre*) and *scissors*. When *sceptic* is pronounced with *k*, it should be considerd as a Greek word, and writn acordingly.

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Scent, sent; *sceptic*, skeptic [?]; *scimitar*, cimitar [no]; *scissors*, cissors [no]; *scythe*, sithe.

With *skeptic* compare *skeleton*; *scissors* has no conection with *scindere*. [Better not hasten to giv *c* the sound of *s*.]

tch. The *t* is unetymological, and is not more required in *witch* than in *which*. It should be dropt everywhere, which can be done without cauzing ambiguity:

Catch, cach; *catches*, caches; *fetch*; *fetching*; *notch*; *pitch*; *witch*.

w is unetymological in *whole* (O. E. *hál*; cf. *heal*).

Whole, hole.

APENDIX.

The following changes wer advocated by so large a majority that it was thoht advizabl to include them among the imediate reforms, but to relegate them to an apendix, as being inconsistent with the principl of etymological limitation.

gh. Substitute *f* for *gh* where so pronounced, as has alredy been done in *draft* (in one of its meanings) and *dwarf*:

Chough, chuf; *cough*, cof; *draught*, draft; *enough*, enuf; *laugh*, laf; *laughter*, lafter; *rough*, ruf; *slough*, sluf; *tough*, tuf; *trough*, trof.

The vowels in theze words hav but litl historical value. The *u* in most of them, such as *cough*, *laugh*, *trough*, is not original; cf. O. E. *cohhettan*, *hlihhan*, *trog*; *enough*, *tough* = O. E. *genóh*, *tóh* *rough* = *rúh*.

ph. If *f* wer substituted for *ph* everywhere, as in Italian, Spanish, and the Scandinavian languages, a letter would be saved, and etymology would not be apreciably obscured:

Blaspheme, blasfeme; *camphor*, camfor; *phantasm*, fantasm; *philosophy*, filosofy; *photograph*, fotograf; *sphere*, sfere.

With *phantasm* cf. *fancy*.

IV. — *History of the* a*-Vowel from Old Germanic to Modern English.*

By BENJAMIN W. WELLS, Ph. D.,

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

The subject of this paper is the history of the sound *a* in English accented syllables from the separation of the Germanic tribes till the present time. It will show both from what sounds *a* came, and

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what sounds came from *a*. This growth can be most clearly seen by comparing with one another a series of stages in the history of the language. The origin and development of the Old Germanic *a* will first claim attention. For this Fick is the best, though sometimes an unreliable, authority. Any word that is common to the Old English and the East Germanic dialects, Gothic and Old Norse, may be regarded as within our scope; so, too, words which, though they may not occur in East Germanic, are found in Pre-Germanic dialects. Second, the Old English, in which I have used the normalized spelling of the time of Alfred, and the accentuation of Zupitza. The poetry and earlier prose only have been considered. Third, the Middle English at its rise, as it appears in the Ormulum, for which I have used my own manuscript grammar of the Ormulum in the Harvard College Library. Fourth, the English of our own time. Here I have followed Brücke in the phonetic analysis, and Webster in pronunciation.

The following abbreviations have been used: O.G., for Old Germanic; G., for Gothic; O.N., for Old Norse; O.H.G., for Old High German; O.S., for Old Saxon; O.E., for Old English; M.E., for Middle English; N.E., for New English.

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I. The Old Germanic a.

A. — Its Origin. There seem to have been two *a* sounds in Indo-Germanic, each with a distinct ablaut, which, in Greek, appeared as ā, *a* and *o*, *e*. The third step, or vanishing of *a*, was usually filled by svarabhakti, or in other ways. But while the two ablauts were so sharply distinguished in Greek, the second vowel of the first (*a*) and the first of the second (*o*) became identical in O.G., and remained so in O.E., where the first ablaut appears in fōr, faran, furt, and the second in singan, sang, sungon. But while the O.G. *a* had thus a wider range than any Indo-Germanic vowel, its sphere was encroached upon by lengthening of *a*-final and by the influence of nasals, liquids, and epenthesis, which caused some confusion in the ablauts. This subject has been exhaustively treated by Johannes Schmidt in his *Vocalismus*, and may be passed over here.

B. — Its Development in O.E. From the O.G. period till the eighth century we know little of the language of our ancestors; but with the very beginning of their literature we note a most remarkable change; *a* has become almost an uncommon sound, while the O.G. vowel is represented by no less than seventeen sounds, or groups of sounds. Seven causes led to this result: 1. tone-lowering; 2. lengthening in auslaut; 3. tone-raising; 4. breaking; 5. contraction; 6. umlaut; 7. the palatalizing of preceding consonants. This was the order in which they acted, although the changes often overlapped one another; and in this order, therefore, I will consider them.

1. Tone-lowering. While the O.G. *a* was of the Italian type, the O.E. *a* had a deeper sound, as in the N.E. path. We may suppose that all *a*'s were subject to this change; but it has survived only before nasals, and before single consonants followed by *a*, *o*, *u* or followed by a vowel derived from these.

In the following list of words with O.E. *a* corresponding to O.G. *a*, I give first the O.E. word, then the East Germanic word, which gives it its claim to be considered O.G., and, lastly, the page of the third volume of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* (3d edition), where these and other cognate words may be found.

The strong verbs are classified according to the vowel of the preterit singular in Old Germanic. Class I. had pret. sing. *a* followed (a) by a mute or fricative, (b) by a nasal or liquid, (c) by

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two consonants; II. pret. sing. *ai*; III. pret. sing. *au*; IV. pret. sing. *ō*; V. pret. sing. formed by reduplication.

The letters *ae* stand for the short vowel sound of *a* in *hat*. The sound should be printed *æ*. The corresponding long sound is printed *āe*.

Before n:

anda, O.N. andi, 14.
anga, G. -agga, 11.
bana, O.N. bani, 196.
blanca, O.N. blakki, 221.
brand, O.N. brandr, 205.
brant, O.N. brattr, 216.
cran, O.H.G. cranuh.[1]
cranc, O.N. krankr, 49.
grandor-, O.N. grand, 109.
hana, G. hana, 61.
hand, G. handus, 61.
lang, O.N. langr, 264.
mann, G. manna, O.N. maðr, 229.
manian, O.H.G. manēn.[2]
rand, O.N. rönd, 246.
sand, O.N. sandr, 319.
scanca, O.N. in skenkja, 330.
spana, O.N. speni with umlaut, 353.
standan, G. standan, 340.
stange, O.N. stöng, 344.
strang, O.N. strangr, 348.
tang, O.N. töng, 116.
þrang, O.N. þröngr, 139.
wang, O.N. vangr, 288.
wanian, O.N. vana, 279.
And in the 1st and 3d sing. pret. of verbs of class I.c.
band, G. band, 200.
brann, G. brann, 205.
cann, G. kann, 40.
dranc, G. dragk, 153.
fand, G. fanþ, 172.
gann, G. -gann, 98.
hrand, O.N. hrātt, 83.
lann, G. -lann, 263.
rann, G. rann, 251.
sanc, G. sagq, 318.
sang, G. saggv, O.N. söng, 316.
slang, O.N. slöng, 359.
spann, G. spann, 353.
sprang, O.N. sprakk, 356.
stanc, O.N. stökk, G. -stagq, 343.
wand, G. -vand, 285.
wann, G. vann, 286.

Before m:

camb, O.N. cambr, 41.
fram, O.N. fram, G. fram, 177.
gamen, O.N. gaman, 101.
gamol, O.N. gamall, 101.
gram, O.N. gramr, 110.
ham, O.N. hamr, 64.
hama, O.N. hami, 64.
hamelian, O.N. hamla, 65.
hamm, O.H.G. hamma.[3]
hamor, O.N. hamarr, 64.
hwam, O.N. hvammr, 92.
lama, O.N. lama, 267.
scamu, O.N. skömm, 332.
nama, G. namō, 161.
tam, O.N. tamr, 117.
wamb, G. vamba, 290.
And in the 1st and 3d sing. pret. of verbs of class I.b and c.
cwam, G. qam, 53.
nam, G. nam, 160.
swamm, O.N. svamm, 362.

Before a consonant + *a* in O.E:

acan, O.N. aka, 8.
apa, O.N. api, 18.
alan, O.N. ala, 26.
bacan, O.N. baka, 197.
-dafen-, G. -dabans, 144.
-daga, O.N. -dagi, 144.
dragan, O.N. draga, 152.
faran, O.N. fara, 173.

[1] Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Lithuanian garny-s, 43.

[2] Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Latin moneo, 230.

[3] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Greek κνήμη, 65.

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hara, O.H.G. hasa.[4]
galan, O.N. gala, 104.
gnagan, O.N. gnaga, 159.
grafan, O.N. grafa, 109.
hladan, O.N. hlaða, 87.
maða, G. maþa, 224.
maga, O.N. magi, 227.
mara, O.N. mara, 232.
naca, O.N. nökkvi, 157.
sacan, G. sakan, 314.
scacan, O.N. skaka, 329.
scafan, O.N. skafa, 331.
scaðan, G. skaþjan, 330.
tacan, O.N. taka, 115.
wacan, O.N. vaka, 280.
wadan, O.N. vaða, 285.
waras, O.N. verjar.[5]

Before a consonant + *o* in O.E.:

afor, O.N. afar, 19.
alor, O.N. ölr, 27.
atol, O.N. atall, 14.
daroð, O.N. darraðr, 146.
hafoc, O.N. haukr, O.H.G. habuh, 64.
hafola.[6]
hagol (also haegl), O.N. hagl, 60.

[4] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Skt. çaça, 73.

[5] *Cf.* the Lat. -varii in German proper names; for instance, Angri-varii, 291.

[6] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* κεφαλή, Skt. kapāla, 62.

gafol, O.N. gafl, O.H.G. gabala, 100.
lago, O.N. lögr, 262.
sadol, O.N. söðull, 318.

Before a consonant + *u* in O.E.:

apulder, O.N. apaldr, 18.
cwalu, O.N. kvöl, 54.
faru, O.N. för, 174.
hasu, O.N. höss, 74.
lagu, O.N. lög, 261.
nafu, O.H.G. nabo.[7]
talu, O.N. tal, O.S. tala, 120.
þracu, O.N. þrekr with umlaut, 138.
walu, O.N. völr, G. valus, 297.

Before a consonant + *-ia-* for older *-ai-* or *-ō-* in weak verbs.

hatian, G. hatan, O.N. hata, 60.
lapian, O.N. lepja, M.H.G. leffen with umlaut, 266.
laþian, G. laþōn, O.N. laða, 263.
sparian, O.N. spara, 354.

Before a consonant + *e* for older *a* or *u*.

hacele, G. hakuls, O.N. hökull, 58.
nafela, O.N. nafli, O.H.G. nabalo, *cf.* ὀμφαλός, 160.

[7] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Lettish naba, 160.

In comparison, declension, and conjugation, *a* takes the place of O.G. *a* after a single consonant followed by the endings -a, -as, -ode, -or, -ōn, -ost, -u, -um; -e for G. -ō, -ai; -ena for G. -ōnō; -ende for G. -and. Thus daga, dagas, dagum, from daeg; fatu, fatena, but faet; macode; magon, but maeg; hraðe, hraðor, hraðost, but hraeð; farende, fare, for G. farands, farai. Before an O.E. *e* there is some vacillation even in early documents.

Except in these cases *a* is rare in O.E. The only other cases of O.G. *a* with this sound in O.E. which are known to me are:

asce,[8] O.N. askr, 29.
wag,[9] G. vaddjus, 302.

[8] Also axe and aesce.

[9] Also wah and waeg.

scralletan,[10] O.N. skröllta, 339.
ac (also oc), G. ak.

[10] Twice in poetry, Grein, *Gloss.* ii. 411.

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And in the following cases in words confined to prose:

af- also aef-, G. af-, 18.

crabba,[11] O.N. krabbi, O.H.G. chrepazo, 50.

sal,[12] O.N. salr, masculine, 320.

wascan,[13] O.N. vaska, 301.

To these Fick adds four others unknown to me in O.E:

clappan, O.N. klappa, O.H.G. chlaphōn, lappa, O.N. lappi, 266; *cf.* λοβός. [51.

flat, O.N. flatr, 194.

wase, O.H.G. waso, O.N. vos, 301.

[11] The etymological spelling would be with one *b*: hence *a* for *ae*.

[12] Neut., also sael masc. and sele fem.

[13] Poetry has waescedˇ once. Grein, *Gloss.* ii. 641.

Occasionally *a* is found for *éa* and *ae*, but this has no historic importance; thus, all for éall, al for ael, and the like.

Before nasals an *a* may appear as *o*; for instance, monn, hond, nom, for and with mann, hand, nam. This occurs in a few other words also.

oc (also ac), G. ak, O.H.G. oh.

of (also af-, aef-), G. af, 18.

nosu (also naes), O.N. nös, O.H.G. nasa, [162.

rodor, O.N. röđull, O.S. radar.

In the O.E. words not certainly O.G., the same principles govern the use of *a*, and vacillations are equally uncommon.

2. Lengthening of final *a*. The beginning of this process is Pre-Germanic, but it survived the discarding of final consonants in West Germanic. The Germanic instances are:

bā, G. ba, 196.

hwā, G. hwas, 90.

swā, G. swa, 360.

twā, G. twa, 126.

When the word was not accented, it was not lengthened, but the vowel *a* became *e*. Thus the conjunction ge, G. ja-h, O.S. ja 243.

3. Tone-raising changed an O.G. *a* to *ae* before single final mutes or fricatives, except *w*, *h*, and before groups of double consonants except those beginning with *h*, *r*, *l*, and also before single consonants followed by *a* whenever this was reduced to *e* before the tone-raising tendency ceased. It is occasionally used for and with the umlaut *e*; for instance, gaest or gest, G. gasti-; faeređ or ferđ, G. fariþ. The occasional use of *a* for *ae* has been already spoken of. Kentish glosses write *e* for *ae*.

The following O.G. words have *ae* in O.E.:

Before mutes:

haep, O.N. happ, 62.

aepl, O.N. apal-grār, 18.

haebban, G. haban; stem habai, 62.

aet, G. at, O H.G. az, 13.

faet, O.N. fat, 171.

faet, O.N. fet, 171.

haett, O.N. hattr, 60.

hwaet, O.N. hvatr, 91.

waeter,[14] O.H.G. wazar.

[14] Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Skt. udra, 284.

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blaed, O.N. blađ, 219.
glaed, O.N. glađr, 112.
waed, O.N. vađ, 285.
blaedre, O.N. blađra, 219.
faeder, O.N. fađir, G. fadar, 167.
gaedeling,[15] G. gadiliggs, 98.
naedre, O.N. nađr, 156.
baec, O.N. bak, 198.
blaec, O.N. blakkr, 221.
-braec, O.N. brak, 215.
laec, O.N. lakr, 261.
wlaec,[16] O.H.G. welc.
wraec, G. vraks, 308.
aecer, G. akrs, 8.
aecern, O.N. akarn, G. akrana-, 8.
waecnian, O.N. vakna, 281.
aeg, O.N. egg, O.H.G. ei, 13.
daeg, O.N. dagr, 143.
waeg, G. vaddjus, O.N. veggr, 3·2.
faegn, O.N. feginn, 170.
faegr, O.N. fagr, G. fagrs, 170.
haegl, also hagal, O.N. hagl, 60.
maegn, O.N. magn, 227.
maegr, O.N. magr. 228.
naegl, O.N. nagl, 159.
waegn, O.N. vagn, 283.

Before fricatives:

baeđ, O.N. bađ, 197.
hraeđ, O.N. hrađr, 82.
faeđm, O.N. fađmr, 173.
mađel, G. maþla-, O.N. māl, 229.
glaes, O.N. gler-, 104.
graes, O.N. gras, 110.
naes, O.N. nös, 162.
hwaes, O.N. hvass, 92.
aesc, O.N. askr, 29.
baest, O.N. bast, 200.
draeste,[17] O.H.G. trestir.
faest, O.N. fastr, 171.
hlaest, O.N. hlass, 87.
maest, O.N. mastr, 237.
raesn, G. razn, 246.
aef, G. af, 18.
haef, O.N haf, 63.
staef, O.N. stafr, 345.
graeft, O.N. gröptr, 109.
haefr, O.N. hafr, 62.
haeft, O.N. haptr, 63.
hraefn, O.N. hrafn, 83.
þraeft, O.N. þrapt, 139.
waefre, O.N. vafr-logi, 289.

Before liquids:

ael, O.N. alr, 28.
hwael, O.N. hvalr, 93.
wael, O.N. valr, 297.
aerende, O.N. örendi, O.H.G. arunti, 21.
faer, O.N. far, 174.
spaer, O.N. sparr, 354.
waer, O.N. vör, 292.

Further:

In the 1st and 3rd pret. sing. of strong verbs, class I., except where the vowel is followed by a nasal or liquid:

gaet, also geát, G. bi-gat, 98.
maet, G. mat, 223.
saet, G. sat, 316.
baed, G. bad, 200.
traed, O.N. trađ, 125.
braec, G. brak, 215.
raec.[18]
spraec.[19]
wraec, G. vrak, 308.
laeg, G. lag, 261.
waeg, G. vag, 282.
gaef, also geáf, G. gab, 100.
swaef, O.N. svaf, 361.
waef, O.N. vaf or ōf, 289.
cwaeđ, G. qaþ, 53.
laes, O.N. las, 267.
naes, G. -nas, 161.
waes, G. vas, 300.
stael, G. stal, 347.
baer, G. bar, 202.
scaer, O.N. skar, 332.
taer, G. -tar, 118.
baerst, O.N. brast, 217.

[15] M.H.G. getelinc with umlaut.

[16] Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Church Slavonic vlaga, 298.

[17] Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Church Slavonic, droštija, 154.

[18] The preterit does not occur in East-Germanic, *cf.* G. rakjan.

[19] Not East-Germanic, but *cf.* Lithuanian spragù.

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braegd, O.N. brā, 215.
fraegn, G. frah, O.N. frā, 189.

Residua:

In the passive participle of some verbs of class IV., for and with *a*. For instance: hlaedan, also hladen, O.N. hlaðinn; flaegen, also flagen, O.N. fleginn; slaegen, also slagen, O.N. sleginn.

We find *ae* where we should expect umlaut in aelf, usually elf, O.N. ālfr, M.H.G. alp without umlaut, 28.

aeled, O.N. eldr, 27; *cf.* also aelan, which is not O.G., but is a cognate word.

haele, O.N. halr, 69. The vowel corresponds, however, to the original *a*-stem; the ending to a new *ja*-stem. *cf.* the derivative haeleð.

Umlaut would not be irregular in the following words from the principal list: aeg, waeg, wlaec, faet, gaedeling, draeste.

We find ae where we should expect breaking, with or without umlaut, in haerfest, O.N. haust, N.H.G. herbst, 68, haern, O.N. hrönn, O.H.G. harn, 68; baelg (also bylig), only in prose, G. balgi-, 208.

The use of *ae* in words not certainly O.G. follows the same principles which govern the O.G. words.

4. Breaking of *a* to *éa* occurs before O.G. *r*, *l*, *h* followed by a consonant, before *h*, and occasionally before a mute followed by *o* or *u*. The breaking appears as *ēa* before *w*, and as *i* in some cases before *ht*. The breaking is due to an *u*-sound, which was either present in the following syllable or was produced from *l*, *r*, or *h*, by svarabhakti. This development is common to most Indo-European languages.* The vowel thus formed changed its position, and became affixed to the preceding vowel, producing a^u from *a*, which was raised to éa by the same tendency that produced *ae* from *a*. In a few cases, however, the tone-raising has not been completed, and we find *éo* for *éa*. All these have the regular forms in *éa* except réord, G. razda, 252, and éornest, superlative to G. arni-, O.N. ern with umlaut. The breaking is sometimes spelled *e* in the Mss., and *ae* in Kentish and Northumbrian.

Breaking occurs in the following O.G. words:

With mutes:

béadu, O.N. böð, 196.
éatol, also atol, O.N. atall, 14.
téagor, also tēar, G. tagr, O.N. tār, 115.

With fricatives:

éafora, O.S. abharo.[20]
héafoc, O.N. haukr, 64.
héafola, certainly O.G.; *cf.* κεφαλή and Skt. kapāla, 62.
héafod, O.N. höfuð, 62.
héasu, usually hasu, O.N. höss, 74.
héaðor, certainly O.G.; *cf.* κότυλος, 61.
héaðu, O.N. Höðr, 60.

With liquid + consonant:

déareð, also daroð, O.N. darraðr, 146.
déar, G. ga-dars, 145.
héarpe, O.N. harpa, 68.

[20] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Old Baktrian apara, 19.

* See Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II.; Braune, *Quantität der Endsilben;* Paul und Braune, *Beiträge*, VI. 46 ff.

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wéarp, O.N. varp, 295.
swéart, O.N. svartr, 362.
béard, O.H.G. bart, certainly O.G.; *cf.* Church Slavonic, brada, 207.
géard, O.N. garðr, G. gards, 102.
héard, O.N. harðr, 68.
méarc, O.N. mörk, G. marka, 233.
héarg, O.N. hörgr, 67.
méarg, O.N. mergr, O.H.G. marg, 236.
éarfoð, G. arbaiþs, O.N. erfiðr, 25.
þéarfu, O.N. þörf, 132.
cnéar, O.N. knörr, 48.
éaru, O.N. örr, 21.
géaru, O.N. görr, 102.
spéarwa, also spéara, O.N. spörr, G. sparva, 354.
éarh, O.N. ör; *cf.* G. arhvazna, 24.
féarh, O.H.G. farh.[21]
méarh, O.N. marr, O.H.G. marah, 234.
céarl, also céorl, O.N. karl, 43.
béarm, O.N. barmr, 203.
éarm, O.N. armr, 22.
féarm, also féorm, O.N. farmr, 174.
héarm, O.N. harmr, 69.
þéarm, O.N. þarmr, 131.
wéarm, O.N. varmr, 292.
béarn, O.N. barn, G. barn, 202.
éarn, O.N. örn, 21.
géarn, G. garn, 101.
scéarn, O.N. skarn, 333.
wéarn, O.N. vörn, 291.
héalt, O.N. haltr, G. halts, 72.
méalt, O.N. malt, 236.
séalt, O.N. salt, 321.
wéaltian, G. valtjan, 298.
béald, O.N. ballr, *cf.* G. balþaba, 209.
céald, O.N. kaldr, G. kalds, 44.
éald, G. alds, 26.
féaldan, O.N. falda, G. falþan, 182.
géaldor, O.N. galdr, 104.
héald, O.N. hallr, 71.
héaldan, O.N. halda, G, haldan, 73.
stéaldan, G. staldan.
wéaldan, G. valdan, O.N. valda, 299.
wéalcan, O.N. valka,[22] 298.
éalgian.[23]

[21] Certainly O.G.; *cf.* Latin, porcus, 178.
[22] The O.E. verb is strong; the O.N. weak.
[23] Certainly O.G.; *cf.* G. alhs, and ἀρκέω.

géalga, G. galga, O.N. gālgi, 105.
céalf, O.N. kālfr, 45.
héalf, O.N. hālfr, G. halbs, 73.
séalfian, G. salbōn, 321.
béalu, O.N. böll, G. balva-, 209.
éalu, O.N. öl, 27.
féalu, O.N. fölr, 183.
héals, O.N. hāls, G. hals, 71.
séalh, O.H.G. salaha, O.N. selja, 320.
Wéalh, O.H.G. Walah, O.N. in valskr, 299.
céallian, O.N. kalla, 45.
éall, O.N. allr, G. alls, 26.
féallan, O.N. falla, 183.
géalla, O.N. gall, O.H.G. galla, 103.
héall, O.N. höll, 70.
stéall, O.N. stallr, 341.
héalm, O.N. hālmr, 70.
séalma, O.S. salma.[24]

Before *h* and *h* + consonant:

éah, O.N. ā, G. ahva, O.S. aha, 10.
genéah, G. ganah, 157.
séah, G. sahv, 315.
þéah, O.N. þā and þō, 127.
éax, G. aqizi, 8.
féax, O.N. fax, 170.
léax, O.N. lax, 261.
séax, O.N. sax, O.S. sahs, 315.
wéaxan, O.N. vaxa, 281.
éahta, O.N. ātta, G. ahtau, 11.
hléahtor, O.N. hlātr, O.H.G. hlahtar, 87.
méaht,[25] G. mahti-, 227.
méaht, also miht,[26] G. maht, 226.
néaht,[27] G. nahti-, O.N. nātt, 158.
ombéaht,[28] G. andbahta-, 16.

Breaking occurs in the preterits of the following O.G. strong verbs, class I. c:

béalg, O.H.G. balch.[29]
swéalh, O.N. svalg, 364.

[24] Certainly O.G.; *cf.* σέλμα, 320.
[25] Also míeht and miht, umlaut.
[26] And méahte, also mihte (G. mahta, the 2d sing. pres., and pret. of maeg), have *i*, after the analogy of the umlauted noun.
[27] Also níeht and niht, umlaut.
[28] Also ombíeht and ombiht, umlaut.
[29] Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Prussian balg-nas, 208.

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héalp, G. halp, 73.
swéalt, O.N. svalt, 363.
swéall, O.N. svall, 363.
géald, G. -gald, 105.
féalh, G. falh, 181.
béarg, G. barg, 206.
hwéarf, G. hvarb, 93.
swéarf, O.N. svarf, 363.
wéarð, G. varþ, 294.
wéarp, G. varp, 295.

Before *w* the breaking was *ēa*, not *éa;* for strong preterits so formed have passive participles like verbs with preterits in *ēa*. These are: cēaw, *cf.* Church Slavonic zivati, Fick, II. 351; hrēaw, *cf.* κρού-ω, κρο-αίν-ω, Fick, I. 32, 539; and, perhaps brēaw, *cf.* βρύ-ω, de-fon-tum, Fick, I. 696; Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II. 269. These strong verbs are unfortunately not present in East Germanic; but the type occurs in G. bliggvan, preterit blaggv. In other cases of breaking before *w*, the East Germanic has either *av*, which in O.N. becomes *ā*, or *aggv*, O.N. *ögg*, and this in West Germanic became auw = O.E. ēaw. In the same way that *éo* came to be used for *éa*, we have *ēo* for *ēa* in ēowe, O.H.G. awi, G. avi-str, 29, and in hrēow, O.N. hrār, 84. The following O.G. words also show this breaking in O.E.:

dēaw, O.N. dögg, 146.
fēawe, O.N. fāir, G. favai, 183.
glēaw, O.N. glöggr, 112.
hēawan, O.N. höggva, 57.
hnēaw, O.N. hnöggr, 81.
strēaw, also strēow, O.N. strā, 346.

Breaking is never found except under these conditions. In good Mss. it is rarely omitted. The only O.G. words in which it is usually omitted are noticed in 1 and 3.

5. Contraction of O.G. *a* with a following nasal + fricative or aspirate to *ō*, and of O.G. *a* with a following *h* + vowel to *ēa*, are regular in O.E. An *anh* + vowel becomes *ō*. Sometimes *g* is treated in the same way as *h*. The instances of this contraction are:

O.G. an = ō:

ōs, G. Ansi-, O.N. āss, 18.
gōs, O.N. gās, O.H.G. gans, 99.
ōðer, G. anþar, O.N. annarr, 16.
sōð, O.N. sannr, 318; *cf.* Skt. sant.
tōð, G. tanþus, O.N. tönn, 113.
brōhte, G. brāhta; the nasal is found in the pres. bringan.
þōhte, G. þāhta, pres. þincan.
hōh, O.N. in hoell = O.E. hēla, with umlaut, 59.

O.G. anh + vowel = ō:

fōn, G. fāhan; the nasal is found in the part. fangen, 170.
hōn, G. hāhan, O.N. hanga, 58.

There are no certainly O.G. words with *m* + fricative or aspirate following on *a*; but sōfte, O.H.G. samfto, makes it probable that *m* and *n* would be similarly treated.

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O.G. *ah* + vowel = *ēa*:

flēan, O.N. flā; *cf.* participle flaegen, 193.
slēan, G. slahan; *cf.* participle slaegen, 35.
þwēan, G. þwahan; *cf.* participle þwaegen, 142.
ēa, also éah, O.N. ā, G. ahva-, 10.

O.G. *ag* + vowel = *ēa*:

bēam, G. bagms, 199.
tēar (also téagor and tāēr), G. tagrs, O.N. tār, 116.
gēan, also gān, gēn, giēn, gagn, gegn, geágn. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi. 36.

6. Umlaut is the epenthesis of an O.G. *i*, *j*, which causes a modification of the preceding vowel from *a* or *ae* to *e*, from *éa* to *ie* and *i* (*y*), from *ō* to *ē*, and from *ēa* to *īe* (*ȳ*). As we have seen, *e* is occasionally written *ae*; and *ie*, *īe* appear usually in later O.E. as *y*, *ȳ*; the umlaut is also occasionally omitted. See 3.

Umlaut of *a* occurs in the following O.G. words:

Before nasals:

benn, G. banja, 196.
benc, O.N. bekkr, O.H.G. banch, 201.
bendan, G. bandvjan, 201.
ende, G. andeis, 17.
ened, O.N. önd, O.H.G. anut; *cf.* Lithuanian anti-s, 17.
fenn, G. fanja-, 173.
feng, O.N. fang, O.H.G. fang, 170.
genge, O.N. gengr, O.H.G. gengi, 99.
grennian, O.N. grenja, 109.
hengest, O.N. hestr, O.H.G. hengist, 59.
hlence, O.N. hlekkr, 90.
mene, O.N. men, O.S. meni, 231.
mennisc, G. mannisks, O.N. menniskr, 230.
scencan, O.N. skenkja, 330.
strenge, O N. strengr, O.H.G. strang. 348.
þennian, G. þanian, O.N. þenja, 129.
gremman, G. gramjan, 110.
hlemman, O.N. hlemma, O.H.G. hlamōn, 87.
lemman, O.N. lemja, 266.
hlem, O.N. hlemmr, G. hlamma, 87.

Before mutes and fricatives:

hrepian, O.N. hreppa, 83.
sceppan, also sciéppan, G. skapjan, 331.
hebban, G. hafjan, 62.
betra, G. batiza, 199.
fetel, O.N. fetill, O.H G. fazzil, 171.
flet, O.N flet, O.H.G. flazi, 194.
hete, G. hatis, 60.
hwettan, O.N. hvetja, O.H.G. hwazzan. 91.
nett, G. natja-,160.
bedd, G. badja-, 200.
hnecca, O.N. hnakki, 81.
bec and bece, O.N. bekkr, O.H.G. bach, 197.
-brec (and -braec), O.N. brak, 215.
þeccan, O.N. þekja, O.H.G. dachjan, 127.
ecg, O.N. egg; *cf.* Latin acies, 10.
ege, G. agis, 12.
gegn, O.N. gagn, M.H.G. gegen. See I. B. 5.
hefig, O.N. höfugr, O.H.G. hebig, 62.
efnan, O.N. efna; *cf.* G. aban-, 19.
best, G. batists, 199.
gest, G. gasts, 106.
sceþþan, also sciéþþan, G. skaþjan, 330.

Before single liquids:

dweljan, O N. dvelja, O.H.G. twaljan, 155.
hel, G. halja, 69.
elles, G. aljis, 28.
scel, O.N. skel, O.H.G. skala, 334.
sele, O.N. sel, O.S. seli, 320.
tellan, O.N. telja, O.H.G. zeljan, 120.
bere, O.N. barr, G. in barizeina-, 202.
berie, G. basja-, 210.
berian, O.N. berja, O.H.G. berjan, 204.
here, G. harjis, 65.
mere, G. mari-, O.H.G. mari, 232.
swerjan, G. svaran, 362.

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Before *h*, *l*, *r*, + consonant, and before *h*, we have *íe* for *éa*.

íerfe, G. arbja-, 25.
míerran, G. marzjan.
míere, O.N. merr, O H G. merha, 234.
íeldra, G. alþiza 26, and íeldest, G. alþists.
íeldo, O.N. elli, O.S. eldī, O.H.G. altī, 27.
íelfet, O.N. ālft, O.H.G. albiz, 28.
hlíehhan, G. hlahjan, 87.
míeht, G. mahts; see 4.
níeht, G. nahts; see 4
ombieht, G. andbahts; see 4.

For O.G. an = O.E. ō.

ēst, G. ānsti-, 18.
hēla, O.N. hoell, 59: see 5.
nēđan, G. nanþjan, O.N. nenna, 160.

For West Germanic am = O.E. ō.

sēfte, O H.G. samfti; *cf.* sōfte, p. 77.

For O.G. av = O.E. ēaw.

hīege, G. havi, O.N. hey, O.H.G. houwe, 57; *cf.* hēawan.
īeg-, O.N ei, 10; *cf.* ēa, p. 78.

Umlaut occurs also in the dative singular and nominative and accusative plural of nouns whose stems end in a consonant. For instance, mann has menn in these cases; gōs has gēs; tōđ has tēđ; and so on. In the conjugation, the 2nd and 3rd present indicative singular of class IV. usually have the umlaut of *a* to *e* and *ō* to *ē*. For example, faran has ferst, ferđ (but also sometimes *ae* and *a* for *e*); hōn has hēhst hēhđ. The umlaut in the inflection is, however, less active than in O.H.G. or O.N.

7. Preceding consonants exercise an influence on O.G. *a* only in the case of *w*, *g*, *c*, *sc*, *sl*. This is chronologically the last O.E. change and is in no case regularly carried out. *Wa* is contracted to *o* in the preterit of cuman, com (also cwom) for *cwam, G. qam. The palatals *g*, *c*, *sc* (and to these we must add *sl*) could develop after them a semivocalic sound, such as is heard in N.E. sky, kind, when these are pronounced skyai, kyaind. This is expressed in O.E. by *eá* for *a* and *ae*, *eó* for *o*, *ié* for *e*, *eā* for *ā*. Occasionally we find *a* written for *eá* in words where the regular spelling would be *ae*; but this seems to be a mere graphical error. The following O.G. words have these palatalized forms in O.E.

Before nasals:

sceámu; also scamu, scomu, sceómu, O.N. skömm, 332.
sceámjan, also scamjan, scomjan, sceómjan, G. skaman, 332.
sceánca, O.N. in skenkja, 330.
geóng, also gang, O.N. gangr, 99.
sceánde, scand, sceónd, G skanda.

Before liquids, mutes, and fricatives:

ceáru, G. kara, O.H.G. chara, 42.
ceárjan, G. karōn, 42.
geáp, O.N. gap, 100.
geát, also gat, O.N. gata, 98.
geátwe, G. gatvō, 98.
sceáđa, also scađa, O.N. skaþi, 330.
sceáđan, and, with umlaut, sceđđan, sciéđđan, scyđđan, G. skaþjan, 330.
sceácan, also scacan, O.N. skaka, 329.
sceádu, also scaed, G. skadus.
sceál, G. skal, 334.
sceáft, G. skafts, 331.
-sceáp, O.N. sköp, 331.
sceápen, G. skapans, 331.

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sceát, G. skatts, 330.
sleác, also slaec, O.N. slakr, 358.

In the preterits:

geáf, G. gab, 100.
-geát, G. -gat, 98.

From the umlaut e:

sciél, also scel, O.N. skel, 334.
sciéppan, also sceppan, scippan, scyppan, G. skapjan, 331.
sciéđđan, see sceáđan.

From the final ā:

geā, G. ja-h, O.H.G. ja, 243.

Owing to a confusion of *éa* with *eá*, some words are occasionally spelled with *a* in place of the regular *éa*; thus galdor occurs for géaldor, and galga for géalga. It is sometimes doubtful on which letter the accent should be placed; for instance, in geágn and giēn; see 5, end.

8. Thus by seven processes there were successively developed from O.G. *a*, first *a* and *o*, then *ā*-final, then *ae* and the breakings *éa* (*éo*, *i*), *ēa* (*ēo*). Contractions produced *ō*, *ēa*; umlaut, *e*, *ie*, *ē*, *īe*. The palatal semivowel produced *eá* (*eó*), *ié*, *eā*, and once perhaps *īē*.

No Germanic dialect, except the O.N., is as complex in its development; none is so regular. Restless energy and keen grammatical consciousness are characteristic of this period; but the catastrophe of the conquest was soon to change their character and language, and check or divert the forces, the working of which has been thus far our subject.

II. The Old English a, its Origin and Development.

1. All O.E. *a*'s which can be traced to the O.G. will be found to correspond to O.G. *a*; those of more recent origin, always to West Germanic *a*; those of foreign origin, to *a* in the language from which they were taken. Examples of *a* for O.G. *a* have been given in I. B. 1. West Germanic examples are very common, but as they illustrate no new principle I omit them here.

2. The Ormulum is the first important literary work of the M.E. period. It is probably the manuscript of the author himself; and, as the author is a painstaking orthoepist, we may take his work with some confidence, as representing the pronunciation of his time and dialect. He distinguishes short vowels by doubling the following consonants, but it requires only the most cursory examination to see that the relations of quantity are hopelessly confused. All O.E. *a*'s in accented syllables are represented by *a* in the Ormulum. Examples will be given in Part III.

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3. In N.E., since the spelling is not phonetic, the letters and sounds must be treated separately.

The O.E. *a* is represented in 126 words, with the spelling *a* in every case except then, when, hemp, pebble (þanne, hwanne, hanep, papol), where the N.E. spelling is due to an *ae* for *a*, which appears in these words in very late O.E., and produces a secondary spelling *e* in M.E., which has now become regular.

These words are pronounced with vowel articulations, varying from the dark *a* in *swan* to the bright *a* in *lane*, — the determining power being in every case the accompanying consonants. Before all single nasals, liquids (except *r*), mutes, and fricatives, O.E. *a* is pronounced *e*. The examples are:

Before nasals:

came, cam (com).
game, gamen.
lame, lama.
name, nama.
same, same.
shame, scamu.
tame, tama.
bane, bana.
crane, crana.
lane, lane.
mane, mane.
vane, fana.
wane, wanian.

Before liquids:

nightingale, nihtegale.
scale, scalu.
tale, talu.

Before mutes:

ape, apa.
gape, gapian.
shape, scapan.
taper, tapor.
gate, gat (for geát).
hate, hatian.
late, lata.
mate, gemaca.
cradle, cradol.
lade, hladan.
made, macode.
shade, scadu.
wade, wadan.
flay, flagen (part.).
slay, slagen (part.).
bake, bacan.
quake, cwacian.
make, macian.
naked, nacod.
rake, racian.
sake, sacu.
shake, scacan.
snake, snaca.
stake, stacu.
wake, wacian.

Before fricatives:

chafer, cafor.
crave, crafian.
gave, gaf (for geáf).
grave, grafan.
behave, behafa (imv.).
nave, nafu.
shave, scafan.
staves, stafas.
bathe, baðian.

Before *r*, the vowel sound approaches more nearly to *a*, and may be represented by e^a. The examples are:

care, caru (for ceáru).
fare, faru.
hare, hara.
spare, sparian.
stare, starian.
share, scaru.

Before a nasal followed by a consonant or a syllable, the pronunciation is *ae*. The examples are:

and, and.
answer, andswarian
band, band.
brand, brand.
candle, candol.
hand, hand.
land, land.
sand, sand.
stand, standan.
strand, strand.
plant, plantian.
angle, angel.
fang, fang.
gang, gang.
hang, hangen (part.).

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sang, sang.	stank, stanc.	span, spann.
sprang, sprang.	thank, þancian.	than, þanne.
wrang, wrang.	anvil, anfilt.	ganet, ganot.
ancle, anclēow.	ban, bann.	lamb, lamb.
drank, dranc.	can, cann.	cram, crammian.
lank, hlanc.	began, be-gann.	dam, damm.
rank, ranc.	man, mann.	ram, ramm.
sank, sanc.	pan, panne.	swam, swamm.
shank, scanc.	ran, rann.	hammer, hamor.
shrank, scranc.		

Before *s* + consonant the original sound of *a* is preserved. The examples are:

ass, assa.	castle, castel.	flask, flasce.	last, latost.

Before absorbed *g, f, w,* the spelling is *aw* and the sound o^a. The examples are:

dawn, dagenian.	law, lagu.	saw, sage.
draw, dragan.	maw, maga.	hawk, hafoc.
gnaw, gnagan.	saw, sagu.	awl, awel.
haw, haga.		

After *w* any one of these sounds *may* appear as *ρ*, but does not always do so. Compare this with the influence of *w* in O.E., I. B. 7.

swan, swan.	wan, wann.	wander, wandrian.	wash, wascan.

The following ten words do not follow the principles just given. We have *ae* where we should expect *e* in *cat*, catt, *crab*, crabba, *ashes*, ascas, *saddle*, sadol. The first three are irregular in O.E., having *a* for *ae*. The N.E. sound is due to secondary forms in *ae* in O.E., which would be regular. *Saddle* is unexplained; the regular pronunciation would be as in *cradle* and *naked*. We have e^a where we should expect *e* in *pebble*, papol, which is also irregular in its consonants, and is rare in O.E. and M.E. We have o^a where we should expect *e* in *alder*, alor, owing to the introduction of *d*; for following *ld* always lowers the sound of the preceding vowel — cf. *child*, *cold*, but, *hilt*, *calf*. We have e^a, where we should expect *ae*, in *hemp*, *then*, and *when*, which have already been spoken of, p. 81, and in *many*, manig, through the analogy of *any*, āenig.

III. The Middle and New English a.

1. In the Ormulum, *a* corresponds to *a* regularly, and is very often used for *ae*, *éa*, *ā*, *eā*, and less frequently for *e*, *āe*, *ēa*, *ēo*. The short *a* is distinguished from the long by the doubling of the following

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consonant, but the relations of quantity are much disturbed. Examples are:

M.E. a = O.E. a.

atell, atol.
care, caru.
charig, carig.
cnape, cnapa.
draghenn, dragan.
amang, on gemong.
anan, an ān (for on ān).
ange, anga.
band, band.
farenn, faran.
gang, gang.
hatenn, hatjan.
ladenn, hladan.
manig, manig.
-ware, waras.
annd, and.
hannd, hand.
ganngenn, gangan.
lanngedd, from lang.
a-manng, on gemong.

M.E. a = O.E. ae.

aþell, aeđel.
brasene, braesen.
dale, dael.
daghess, daeges (gen.).
faderr, faeder.
shaþig, scaeđig.
affterr, aefter.
allmesse, aelmesse.
bacc, baec.
brass, braes.
cwaþþ, cwaeđ.
maggden, maegden.
fatt, faet.

M.E. a = O.E. éa.

ald, éald.
axe, éax.
cwaldenn, cwéaldon.
fald, -féald.
hald, -héald.
bridale, brȳdéalu.
all, éall.
callf, céalf.
cwarrterrne, cwéartern.
forrahht, forréaht.
hallf, héalf.
warrd, wéard.

M.E. a = O.E. ā.

an, ān.
a, ā.
awegg, āweg.
abad, ābād.
gal, gāl.
laf, hlāf.
laþ, lāđ.
mal, māl.
slaw, slāw.
laþþe, lāđ.
maddmess, māđmas.
wraþþenn, wrāđjan.
ann, ān.
atterr, ātor.
hallghenn, hālgian.

M.E. a = O.E. āē.

anig, āēnig.
mast, māēst.
slap, slāēp.
agg, āēg.
mannsenn, -māēnsumjan.
magg, māēg.
tahhte, tāēhte.
lasstenn, lāēstan.

M.E. a = O.E. ēa.

drah, drēah.
chappmann, cēapmann.
tawwenn, tēawjan.

M.E. a = O.E. ēo.

strawwenn, strēowjan.

M.E. a = O.E. e.

aghe (usually egge), ege.
forrwarrgedd, -werged.
marrgrote, meregrote.[80]
banncess, benca.[81]

Contractions.

nafe, ne haebbe.
nass, ne waes.
narrt, ne éarrt.
nan, ne ān.

[80] Due to French influence.
[81] More likely from the Dutch *bank*.

2. In N.E. the letter and the sound *a* must be separately treated. I begin with the letter. This occurs in 332 O.E. words. It will be enough to give a list of these, classified according to the pronunciation and according to the consonants which follow the *a*, omitting the words which have already appeared in the list of N.E. words in II. 3. The limitations and causes of the use of the sound *a* must be examined more carefully.

N.E. *a* is pronounced *e* in 50 words (p. 81) with the spelling *a* in O.E. and also in the following 46 cases:

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N.E. a = O.E. ae.

dale, dael.
whale, hwael.
grave, graef.
haven, haefn.
raven, hraefn.
day, daeg.
may, maeg.
lay, laeg.
flay, from flaegen.
slay, from slaegen.
hail, haegl.
nail, naegl.
snail, snaegl.
tail, taegl.
fain, faegn.
main, maegn.
wain, waegn.
again, ongaegn.[32]
brain, braegn.
maid, maegð.
acre, aecer.
acorn, aecern.
spake, spraec.
brake, braec.
blade, blaed.
hazel, haesl.

N.E. a = O.E. e.

ail, eglan.
sail, segel.
-blain, blegen.
lain, legen.
rain, regen.
thane, þegn.

[32] Also pronounced e[a], *q. v.*

twain, twegen.
braid, bregdan.
lay, lecgan.
play, plegan.
say, secgan.
way, weg.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.

ale, éalu.
bale, béalu.

N.E. a = O.E. āē.

ate, āēt.
clay, clāēg.
gray, grāēg.
wave, wāēg.
lady, hlāēfdige.

N.E. a = O.E. īe.

hay, hīege.

N.E. *a* is pronounced e[a] in 7 words (p. 81) with O.E. *a*, and in the following 10 cases:

N.E. a = O.E. ae.

again, on gaegn.[33]
said, saegde.
bare, baer (verb).
bare, baer (adj.).

[33] Also pronounced e, *q. v.*

fair, faegr.
ware, waer.

N.E. a = O.E. e.

lair, leger.
Thames, Temese.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.

dare, déarr.
mare, méarh.

N.E. a = O.E. āē.

any, āēnig.

N.E. *a* is pronounced *ae* in 47 words (p. 81) with O.E. *a*, and in the following 59 cases:

N.E. a = O.E. ae.

ash, aesc.
aspen, aespen.
fathom, faedm.
gather, gaedrian.
hath (has, have), haefð.
wagon, waegn.
back, baec.
black, blaec.
sack, saec.
slack, slaec.
thatch, þaec.
adze, aedese.
had, haefde.
sad, saed.
shadow, scaed (also sceád).
glad, glaed.
adder, naedre.
bladder, blaedre.
at, aet.
hat, haett.
latter, laetre.
that, þaet.
sat, saet.
saturday, saeterdaeg.
vat, faet.
gnat, gnaett.
apple, aepl.
sap, saep.
nap, hnaeppian.

N.E. a = O.E. e.

thrash, þrescan.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.

arrow, éarwe.
harrow, héarwe.
marrow, méarg.
narrow, néarwe.
sparrow, spéarwa.
sallow, séalwe.
fallow, féalwe.
callow, céalwe.
mallow, méalwe.
gallows, géalga.
tallow, téalg.
salve, séalfjan.[34]
as, éalswā.
am, éam (or ēam).
axe, éax.

[34] See p. 86.

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flax, fléax.
wax, wéax.
wax, wéaxan.
axle, éaxl.
shall, scéal.[35]

N.E. a = O.E. éo.
barrow, béorg.

[35] For the original sceál.

N.E. a = O.E. ā.
hallow, hālgian.

N.E. a = O.E. āē.
clad, clāēđed.
ladder, hlāēder.
clammy, clāēmig.
spat, spāētte.
fat, fāētt.

N.E. a = O.E. ēa.
chapman, cēapmann.
chaffer, cēapfaru.

N.E. a = O.E. ē.
bramble, brēmel.

New English *a* is pronounced *a* in 4 words with O.E. *a*, and in 60 other cases. The lists will be found in III. 3, below.

New English *a* is pronounced o^a in 11 words (page 82) with *a* in O.E., and in the following 24 cases:

N.E. a = O.E. ae.
small, smael.
water, waeter.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.
all, éall.
fall, féall.
gall, géalla.
hall, héall.
stall, stéall.
wall, wéall.
halm, héalm.
chalk, céalc.
stalk, stéalc.
walk, wéalcan.
alderman, éaldormann.
swarm, swéarm.
warm, wéarm.
warn, wéarnian.
ward, wéard.
swarthy, from swéart.
saw, séah.

N.E. a = O.E. éo.
dwarf, dwéorg.

N.E. a = O.E. ā.
aught, āhte.
thaw, þāwan.

N.E. a = O.E. ēa.
raw, hrēaw.
straw, strēaw.

New English *a* is pronounced ρ in 4 words (p. 82) with O.E. *a*, and the following 10 cases:

N.E. a = O.E. ae.
was, waes.
what, hwaet.
watch, waecce.

N.E. a = O.E. e.
swallow, swelgan.
wasp, wesp.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.
swallow, swéalwe.
wallow, wéalwian.
salt, séalt.
halt, héalt.
malt, méalt.

A very slight examination is enough to show that the O.E. vowel does not determine the pronunciation in these cases, and to suggest that here, as well as in the older period, the following consonants have been the determining element. I will show this only in the case of the sound *a*, with which we are particularly concerned.

3. The N.E. sound *a* represents O.E. vowels in 67 words, as follows:

N.E. a = O.E. a.
ass, asse.
castle, castel.
flask, flasce.
last, latost.

N.E. a = O.E. ae.
after, aefter.
chaff, caef (and ceáf).
craft, craeft.
shaft, scaeft.
bath, baeđ.
path, paeđ.
father, faeder.
rather, hraeđer.[36]

[36] Also pronounced o^a.

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grass, graes.
glass, glaes.
brass, braes.
fast, faest.
mast, maest.
harvest, haerfest.
arch, aerce.
cart, caert.
alms, aelmesse.

N.E. a = O.E. éa.

are, éaron.
arse, éars.
yarn, géarn.
arm, éarm.
harm, héarm.
ark, éarc.
stark, stéarc.
spark, spéarc.
mark, méarc.
park, péarruc.
hard, héard.
yard, géard.
art, éart.
tart, téart.
harp, héarpe.
sharp, scéarp.
half, héalf.
calf, céalf.
psalm, pséalm.
salve, séalfian.[37]
laughter, hléahtor.

N.E. a = O.E. e.

barley, from bere.
marsh, mersc.
barn, bere-aern.

N.E. a = O.E. éo.

tar, téoru.
star, stéorra.
far, féorr.
hart, héort.
heart, héorte.
carve, céorfan.
starve, stéorfan.
hearth, héorð.[38]

[37] Also pronounced ae, p. 84.
[38] Also pronounced oe.

barm, béorm.
bark, béorcan.
dark, déorc.

N.E. a = O.E. íe.

mar, mierran.
yard, gierd.

N.E. a = O.E. ā.

lark, lāwerce.
ask, āscian.
wrath, wrāð.

N.E. a = O.E. āē.

ant, āēmette.
last, lāēst.
blast, blāēst.

N.E. a = O.E. ēo.

darling, dēorling.
farthing, fēorðing.

N.E. a = O.E. īe.

hearken, hīercnian.

From this list it appears that this sound is represented by *a* in every case but three, where we have *ea;* the frequent cases of *ai* (pron. *e*), and the *au* in *laughter*, owe the second part of the digraph to the O.E. *g* and are to be reckoned as spellings with simple *a*.

A comparison of these words with the other words of O.E. origin in N.E. shows that the sound *a* is used:

i. For O.E. *a* regularly before *s* + consonant in monosyllables, but not in dissyllables (ashes), nor after *w* (wash).

ii. For O.E. *ae* regularly before a final fricative, fricative + consonant, *r* + consonant, silent *l* + nasal, but not before medial fricatives, except in *father* and *rather*, nor always after *w* (was). Exceptions are: *hath, ash*, and the unaccented *-ness* in compounds like *Shoebury-ness*.

iii. For O.E. *éa* before *r* + consonant and *l* + a labio-nasal or fricative, except *beard, earn, fern, halm*. It is used for *éa* also in *laughter* and *are*.

iv. For O.E. *e, íe, īe* before *r* + consonant exceptionally by analogy of the numerous words with O.E. *éa* before *r* + consonant.

v. For O.E. *éo* in monosyllables before *r* + consonant except *rl*,

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rn, *rŏ*, which have *o*ᵉ (churl, learn, earth) and after *w* (swerve, work, dwarf, sword). The only exception is *birch*. *Hearth*, which should be pronounced *o*ᵉ, is occasionally pronounced *a*.

vi. For O.E. long vowels *ā*, *āē* (and *īe*, see iv.), only when these are treated according to the analogy of the corresponding short vowels. Thus *ask* falls into the analogy of O.E. words with *a* + *s* + consonant; *last* and *blast* follow *fast*, *mast*, and the like; *lark* follows *ark*, *spark*, and others with *ea*. *Wrath* owes its *a* sound to the *r* (cf. *wroth*, where the regular sound appears). *Ant* is an isolated contraction. *Darling* and *farthing* owe their sound to the *r*, but compare *forty* and *thirteen*, which are also dissyllables, with *ēo* in O.E.

It thus appears that this sound is due directly or indirectly to *r* in forty cases, to *l* in five cases, to fricatives in twenty-one cases, and once to a contraction.

But *r* not only produced the sound *a* from vowels; it assumed this vowel sound itself, in some parts of England and the United States, wherever it was final or medial before a consonant, though *r* and *rr* before vowels always preserved the consonant sound. This new vowel coalesces with the preceding vowels in such words as mar, star, yard, and is suffixed to the preceding vowel in such words as sheer (shia), hare (heᵉa), wire (waia), four (foᵉa), hir (hoᵉa), heard (hoᵉad). Sometimes the vocalized *r* forms a syllable, as, for instance, in shower (shaua), ever (eᵉva). When carelessly spoken this vocalized *r* has the diphthongal sound *oᵉa*, while in many parts of the United States and of England it has preserved its consonantal character.

4. The tendency of the language in the New English time is not merely a continuation and completion of the process we have already seen in the Ormulum. The tone-lowering had modified in M.E. almost all the classes of words in which it appears in N.E.; but the tone-raising which has affected so large a majority of the O.E. *a*-sounds in N.E. did not begin till much later, for there is no trace of it in Orm. The influence of the consonants is therefore in some cases earlier and more lasting than in others. Those consonants which have exercised the strongest and most prolonged power have usually affected the entire vowel system in a manner analogous to that in which they modify *a*. Thus *r* and *h* attract all vowels, light and dark, toward *a*; *r* + consonant and *l* + consonant usually have a lowering and blunting effect on preceding vowels; fricatives lower the tone of bright vowels and blunt the articulation

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of the darker ones; mutes and nasals agree in their tendency to lower light vowels, to raise dark vowels, and to blunt the articulation of the extreme vowels at either end of the scale. The cause of the modification of the vowel sounds in these cases lies in the relation of the position of the vocal organs when sounding the vowel to that which they must assume to utter the consonant. In speaking rapidly, the former, which may vary, will adapt itself to the latter, which is relatively constant. The liquids and the aspirate *h* have a near relation to *a*, which accounts for their influence; less marked, but of the same nature, is the power of the fricatives; while the mutes, being further removed from relationship with the vowels, usually blunt the preceding vowels and assimilate them to the vowel articulation from which the mutes are least removed.

In O.E. the general lines of development are similar, except that epenthesis played a most important part, and that the influence of nasals was more distinctly lowering than now. The vowel of the syllable which follows the accent has also some times the power of assimilating the root-vowel, or at least of bringing it nearer to its own sound, which is allied to the form of epenthesis called umlaut. It is difficult to account for these O.E. elements in phonetic growth unless we take them to be a reflection in language of the restless spirit which sees that which is to come as though it were already present, and, while it utters one vowel, "o'erleaps itself and falls on t'other."

V. — *On the Use of the Aorist Participle in Greek.*

By T. D. SEYMOUR,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN YALE COLLEGE.

UNTIL the present century's historical and comparative study of the Greek language, and even nearly to the middle of this century, it was held that the aorist was the absolute preterit, the expression of a past which is conceived as a unit. The aorist in all its moods, optative, infinitive, and imperative as well as participle and indicative, was thought to refer properly to past time, as truly as does the perfect tense to a completed state or action. In the indicative the aorist was recognized in its full peculiarity.

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Philological study of the elements of the verb has made it plain that the aorist indicative owes its reference to past time to the augment alone; it has been shown that there is nothing in *φυγεῖν* or *φυγών*, in *λιπεῖν* or *λιπών*, rather than in *φεύγειν* or *φεύγων*, *λείπειν* or *λείπων*, which should represent an action as past. We should then expect the aorist participle to be distinguished from the present participle only as the aorist infinitive differs from the present infinitive; *i. e.* to represent the action as momentary or indefinite, without reference to its continuance. We find in Homer distinct examples of the survival of this usage: *e. g.* —

Α 592 πᾶν δ' ἦμαρ φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι
κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ.

Α 601 ὡς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
δαίνυντ'.

Σ 210 ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι
πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι.

Ω 713 καί νύ κε δὴ πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
Ἕκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες ὀδύροντο πρὸ πυλάων.

ρ 582 ἀλλά σε μεῖναι ἄνωγεν ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα.

α 23 Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἳ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἳ δ' ἀνιόντος.

In these verses the aorist participle seems to be used simply to mark the setting of the sun as a momentary action; the darkness of evening appears to come upon us far more suddenly than the light of morning.

This achronic use of the participle is clear also when it is connected with a finite verb in the aorist. Some have thought that in such cases the participle was attracted to the tense of the verb; but this attraction is not easily explained, least of all when the finite verb is not in the indicative; as, Hom. *σ* 379 *τῷ κε ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα.* In such cases it is clear that the action represented by the participle coincides in time with the action represented by the finite verb. A paper[1] read before this Association in 1877 called attention to the temporal coincidence of the aorist par-

[1] See "Proceedings" for that year, pp. 4, 5.

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ticiple with the principal verb in sentences like Hom. θ 564 *ἀλλὰ τόδ' ὥς ποτε πατρὸς ἐγὼ εἰπόντος ἄκουσα | Ναυσιθόου κτλ.* The author[1] of that paper extends his observation not merely to Hom. ρ 492 *τοῦ δ' ὡς οὖν ἤκουσε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια | βλημένου ἐν μεγάρῳ,*[2] but also to expressions like Hom. ν 58 *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα,* where the principal verb is not in the aorist but in the imperfect. That such cases are frequent is undoubted, but there are many others where the aorist participle refers to an action which precedes that of the principal verb.

It is worth an effort to discover the principle which underlies these diversities. We must remember that the old view of the aorist infinitive also was that it properly referred to past time, while now we distinguish its meanings according to its correspondence to an indicative or an optative in the direct discourse. *E.g.* Plato, Gorgias 449 C *καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τοῦτο ἔν ἐστιν ὧν φημι, μηδένα ἂν ἐν βραχυτέροις ἐμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν . . . καὶ οὐδενὸς φήσεις βραχυλογωτέρου ἀκοῦσαι.* This is virtually equivalent to *οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι κτλ.* and *οὐδενὸς βραχυλογωτέρου ἤκουσας.* Thus in the original sentence *ἀκοῦσαι* naturally refers to past time; the tense is not changed in passing into the oratio obliqua. So *e.g.* in Isoc. IV 147 *ὥσθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν,* we might have had *συνέλαβε* or *συλλαβεῖν τολμῆσαι.*

Let us study the participles with the aid of this criterion of correspondence to the indicative or other moods respectively.

With regard to the first grand division, the attributive participles, little need be said. It will be admitted readily that as *οὗτος* (or *ἐκεῖνος*) *ὁ λύσων* is a rough equivalent of *οὗτος* (or *ἐκεῖνος*) *ὃς λύσει,* and *ὁ λελυκώς* to *ὃς λέλυκε* or *ὃς λελύκει,* so *ὁ λύσας* corresponds to *ὃς ἔλυσε.* A Greek would as soon think of confounding *λέλυκε* and *ἔλυσε* (and examples of this confusion are rare before the Alexandrian period), as of put-

[1] Professor Merriam; see his "Phaeacians of Homer," p. 247.

[2] Which can be understood 'when she was told that,' etc.; *cf.* Hom. N 521

οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι πέπυστο βριήπυος ὄβριμος Ἄρης
υἷος ἑοῖο πεσόντος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ.

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ting ὁ λελυκώς in place of ὁ λύσας. There is in this aorist participle a reference not merely to past time but to indefinite past time. The aoristic use is clearly developed. But the attributive participle may correspond to the optative or the subjunctive and then the reference to past time is lost. *Cf.* Hom. *Γ* 138 *τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις* with *Γ* 71 *ὁππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κτλ.* *Ψ* 656 *τῷ δ' ἄρα νικηθέντι τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον.* So Plato, Gorgias 458 *A* (*ἐγώ εἰμι*) *τῶν ἡδέως μὲν ἂν ἐλεγχθέντων, εἴ τι μὴ ἀληθὲς λέγω, ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἐλεγξάντων, εἴ τίς τι μὴ ἀληθὲς λέγοι, i. e. τούτων οἷ ἐλεγχθεῖεν ἄν . . . ἐλέγξειαν ἄν.* These cases of correspondence to any other mood than the indicative are comparatively infrequent.

Of the predicate participles, the so-called supplementary participles show most clearly their equivalence to a finite mood. Reference has been made already to passages like Hom. *θ* 564 *ἀλλὰ τόδ' ὥς ποτε πατρὸς ἐγὼν εἰπόντος ἄκουσα* | *Ναυσιθόου.* The direct statement might be: *ὁ μὲν πατὴρ εἶπεν ἤκουσα δ' ἐγώ.* If in *N* 521 *οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι πέπυστο . . . υἷος ἑοῖο πεσόντος, πέπυστο* had been followed not by a participle but by a declarative clause (its grammatical equivalent), this clause would have taken its verb corresponding to *πεσόντος* in the aorist, *i. e.* *ὅτι ἔπεσε υἱός.* Compare *P* 641 *ἐπεὶ οὔ μιν ὀίομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι* | *λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.* The supplementary participle in general retains the full force of its tense after verbs of seeing, knowing, and the like. Isoc. V 62 *αἰσθόμενος δ' Ἀγησίλαον . . . εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκότα καὶ πορθοῦντα κτλ., i. e. ὅτι διαβεβήκει καὶ ἐπόρθει.* Pind. Isth. VII 29 *ἴστω αὔξων, i. e. ὅτι αὔξει.* Soph. Ant. 460 *θανουμένη ἐξῄδη,* 'I knew that I was to die.' So Aesch. Prom. 956 *οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγώ* | *δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ᾐσθόμην; i. e. ἐκ τῶνδε περγάμων δισσοὶ τύραννοι ἐξέπεσον.* Hom. *O* 422 *Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡς ἐνόησεν ἀνέψιον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν* | *ἐν κονίῃσι πεσόντα.* Bacchylides fr. 6 *ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον . . . εἶδε νικάσαντα.* Isoc. VI 83 *συνειδότες Ἀθηναίοις ἐκλιποῦσι τὴν πόλιν, i. e. ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον.* Isoc. VII 66 *τίς οὐ μνημονεύει τὴν δημοκρατίαν οὕτω κοσμήσασαν τὴν πόλιν; i. e. ὅτι ἡ δημοκρατία οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν*

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πόλιν. So in φαίνεται σπουδάσας, the participle corresponds to the aorist indicative; as in φαίνεται σπουδάσων it corresponds to σπουδάσει, and in φαίνεται ἐσπουδακώς to ἐσπούδακε or ἐσπουδάκει. Xen. An. V 8: 14 κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις.

With λανθάνω and φθάνω, it is evident that the aorist participle corresponds to the same tense of the indicative. Homer *P* 1 οὐδ' ἔλαθ' Ἀτρέος υἱόν . . . Πάτροκλος Τρώεσσι δαμεὶς ἐν δηιοτῆτι, *i. e.* (in the impersonal idiom which is more familiar to us) οὐκ ἔλαθ' Ἀτρέος υἱὸν ὅτι Πάτροκλος ἐδάμη. *Ω* 331 τὼ δ' οὐ λάθον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν | ἐς πεδίον προφανέντε. *Π* 314 ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος, *i. e.* πρότερος ὀρέξατο. Compare the converse constructions which show how the participle and finite verb could be interchanged. *E. g.* Pind. Nem. I 37 ὡς οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον | Ἥραν κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα, instead of ἔλαθε Ἥραν ἐγκαταβάς. Hom. τ 449 φθάμενος ἔλασεν σῦς, instead of ἔφθη ἐλάσας. As ἔλαθεν ἀφικόμενος is equivalent to ἀφίκετο λάθρα, so ἔτυχεν ἰδών is equivalent to εἶδε τύχῃ, 'he saw by chance.'

But occasionally the aorist participle when supplementary represents not the indicative but some other mood. *E. g.* Plato, Gorgias 468 *E* οὐδὲ ζηλοῖς ὅταν ἴδῃς τινὰ ἢ ἀποκτείναντα ὃν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀφελόμενον χρήματα ἢ δήσαντα. Here the thought might be expressed thus: οὐδὲ ζηλοῖς ὅταν τις ἢ ἀποκτείνῃ ὃν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀφέλῃ χρήματα ἢ δήσῃ. Hom. *Σ* 189 μήτηρ δ' οὔ με φίλη πρίν γ' εἴα θωρήσσεσθαι | πρίν γ' αὐτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι, *i. e.* πρίν γ' αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. *Δ* 99 αἴ κεν ἴδῃ Μενέλαον πυρῆς ἐπιβάντα, *i. e.* αἴ κε Μενέλαος πυρῆς ἐπιβῇ. Arist. Frogs 637 χὠπότερόν γ' ἂν νῷν ἴδῃς | κλαύσαντα πρότερον ἢ προτιμήσαντά τι κτλ., *i. e.* ὁπότερος ἂν νῷν κλαύσῃ πρότερος ἢ προτιμήσῃ τι. Hom. σ 379 τῷ κε ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα, *i. e.* τῷ κε μιγείην ἐνὶ προμάχοισιν. α 163 εἰ κεῖνόν γε ἰδοίατο νοστήσαντα, *i. e.* εἰ κεῖνός γε νοστήσειε. Pind. Isth. VIII 40 υἱὸν εἰσιδέτω θανόντ' ἐν πολέμῳ, *i. e.* υἱὸς θανέτω ἐν πολέμῳ. But, as in the case of the attributive participles, the number of instances in which the supplementary participle corresponds to any mood but the indicative are relatively few.

Of the principal divisions of participles but one remains to

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be considered — the circumstantial participles, those which express a circumstance of time, means, cause, concession, or condition.

For the participles which express a circumstance of time, it is instructive to compare the parallel constructions in Homer, where we find more of the co-ordinate construction than in later writers. Compare, *e. g.*, Hom. *Δ* 149 *ὡς εἶδεν μέλαν αἷμα ῥίγησεν* and *Δ* 217 *ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἕλκος* (*φάρμακα ἐπίπασσε*) with *Δ* 279 *ῥίγησέν τε ἰδών*. Here *ὡς εἶδεν* and *ἐπεὶ ἴδεν* seem to be grammatically equivalent to the participle *ἰδών* of v. 279 which would have been expected in prose. I say they seem to be equivalent *grammatically*, for rhetorically and poetically they may not have produced the same effect, although it is probable that the poet was guided chiefly by the consideration of metrical convenience in the selection of one expression or the other. Homer often uses, and perhaps all Greek authors occasionally use, the finite verb where the participle is expected in Greek prose. So *A* 458 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο* is grammatically equivalent to *εὐξάμενοι καὶ προβαλόμενοι*. *A* 467 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα | δαίνυντο* is equivalent to *παυσάμενοι πόνου τετυκόμενοί τε δαῖτα ἐδαίνυντο*. *E* 702 *χάζονθ', ὡς ἐπύθοντο* = *χάζοντο πυθόμενοι*. *Z* 178 *αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ σῆμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο γαμβροῦ* = *σῆμα παραδεξάμενος κτλ.* *ἐμεῦ ἀπομηνίσαντος*, *I* 426, is taken up and repeated by *ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ*.

But the aorist participle when circumstantial corresponds to the aorist indicative in other than relative clauses. Compare *A* 85 *θαρσήσας μάλα εἰπέ* with *A* 92 *θάρσησε καὶ ηὔδα*. It is a commonplace of our academies that the Greeks, famed as *φιλομέτοχοι*, employed a participle and a finite verb where we use two finite verbs. So *A* 9 *βασιλῆι χολωθεὶς κτλ.* is essentially equivalent to *βασιλῆι ἐχολώθη καὶ νοῦσον ὤρσε*, *A* 312 *ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον* to *ἀνέβησαν καὶ ἐπέπλεον*, *Γ* 191 *Ὀδυσῆα ἰδὼν ἐρέεινε* to *εἶδε καὶ ἐρέεινε*, *Z* 254 *τίπτε λιπὼν εἰλήλουθας* to *τίπτε ἔλιπες καὶ εἰλήλουθας*. The proper distinction between the aorist, imperfect, etc., is observed regularly. The virtual equivalence of the expressions with the

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participle or finite verb is shown by verses like *N* 395 *οὐδ' ὅγ' ἐτόλμησεν δηίων ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἀλύξας | ἂψ ἵππους στρέψαι,* where we should expect *ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἀλύξαι . . . ἵππους στρέψας.* The number of examples coming under this general head might be extended indefinitely. The connection often marks distinctly the coincidence of time between the acts expressed by the participle and finite verb. So in *N* 187 *δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,* the fall and crash are simultaneous. Like this are *N* 530 *βόμβησε πεσοῦσα, O* 647 *τῇ ὅ γ' ἐνὶ βλαφθεὶς πέσεν ὕπτιος, ἀμφὶ δὲ πήληξ | σμερδαλέον κονάβησε περὶ κροτάφοισι πεσόντος* ('as he fell'), *N* 409 *καρφαλέον δέ οἱ ἀσπὶς ἐπιθρέξαντος ἄυσεν | ἔγχεος, Π* 276 *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες | σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν ἀυσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν, M* 337 *οὔ πώς οἱ ἔην βωσάντι γεγωνεῖν, ζ* 294 *ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.* In *δ* 534, where Proteus tells of the death of Agamemnon, *κατέπεφνεν δειπνίσσας* is explained by the close of 535 *ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,* which shows that Agamemnon was murdered not after the feast but at the feast, 'when he dined him.' In *N* 188 *Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡρμήθη . . . Αἴας δ' ὁρμηθέντος ὀρέξατο δουρὶ φαεινῷ | Ἕκτορος,* the aorist participle distinctly takes up the aorist indicative of the earlier part of the sentence; 'Hector rushed forward, and *as he rushed* Ajax thrust at him his shining spear.' Similar although less distinct is *Λ* 423 *Χερσιδάμαντα δ' ἔπειτα καθ' ἵππων ἄιξαντα . . . νύξεν,* 'as he leaped from his chariot,' not 'after he had leaped from his chariot.' With this last example is to be compared *Π* 342 *Μηριόνης δ' Ἀκάμαντα κιχεὶς ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι | νύξ' ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον,* where *ἐπιβησόμενον* is probably an aorist form (corresponding to the indicative *ἐπεβήσετο*) as is made probable by the following words: *ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων.*

In temporal clauses with the participle in the genitive absolute, there is the same correspondence of tense between the participle and the finite verb which it represents; *e. g.* Plutarch, Pericles X *Λακεδαιμονίων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν Τανα-γρικὴν καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθὺς ὁρμησάντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κίμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λόχον τὰ ὅπλα, i. e. ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνέβαλον κτλ.*

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Sometimes this aorist participle which is generally understood to express a circumstance of time, may correspond to the subjunctive, optative, or infinitive. Thus *B* 231 *ὅν κεν ἐγὼ δήσας ἀγάγω, i. e. ὅν κεν ἐγὼ δήσω καὶ ἀγάγω. E* 215 *εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῷ ἐν πυρὶ θείην | χερσὶ διακλάσσας, i. e. διακλάσσαιμι. Z* 270 *ἔρχεο ἀολλίσσασα γεραιάς, i. e. ἀόλλισσον καὶ ἔρχεο. Γ* 428 *ὡς ὤφελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι | ἀνδρὶ δαμεὶς κρατερῷ* is equivalent to *ὡς ὤφελες δαμῆναι κτλ.* Lysias XXXI 13 *οὐδ' ἀπεχθήσεσθε οὐδενὶ τοῦτον ἀποδοκιμάσαντες, i. e. τοῦτον ἀποδοκιμάσαι ὑμῖν οὐδένα ἐχθρὸν ποιήσει.*

It may be said that in many of the clauses quoted in the last two pages, the participle does express an action which is prior to that of the principal verb, although the position of the participle is after the principal verb in the sentence; and that for *Z* 270 *ἔρχεο ἀολλίσσασα,* if we employ the periphrasis suggested, we are obliged to reverse the order of verb and participle. To this may be replied, first, that in Homer the temporal participle is placed before its verb more frequently than after it, and often when the participle follows the verb it is placed at the beginning of a verse with the freshness of a new thought, as *A* 135 *ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί | ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν.* Secondly; the Greek idiom is notably fond of a kind of *hysteron proteron,* by which the act which is latest, or in any way most prominent, is placed first in the sentence. *E. g. κ* 451 *ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας οὔλας βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνας. A* 251 *οἵ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδὲ γένοντο. τ* 535 *ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸν ὄνειρον ὑπόκριναι καὶ ἄκουσον. ε* 264 *εἵματά τ' ἀμφιέσασα θυώδεα καὶ λούσασα.*[1]

When the participle expresses the cause of an action, the connection distinctly implies that the action of the participle must precede that of the finite verb. When the aorist participle denotes the means of an action it is usually associated with a finite verb in the aorist, and the connection clearly marks a coincidence of time. When the aorist participle expresses a condition it frequently represents the aorist subjunctive or optative; *e.g. Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει, i. e. ἐὰν Κροῖσος διαβῇ.* Aeschylus, Prometheus

[1] See Classen, *Homerischer Sprachgebrauch,* 200 fg.

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758 ἥδοι' ἄν, οἶμαι, τήνδ' ἰδοῦσα συμφοράν, *i. e.* εἰ ἴδοις κτλ.
Δ 539 ἔνθα κεν οὐκέτι ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὀνόσαιτο μετελθών.

It is often impossible to pronounce dogmatically as to the form of the finite verb which the participle represents, but in general its correspondence to some finite form of the same tense is unquestioned.

It has been shown that of the attributive, the supplementary, and the circumstantial participles, a large majority correspond to the aorist indicative and refer distinctly to past time. From this great preponderance of the participles which refer to past time, it is easy to see that there would be an increasing tendency to use the aorist participle as if by natural right it referred to an act which preceded that of the principal verb, whether the finite verb which the participle represented would have been in the aorist, imperfect, or pluperfect indicative. In general, however, this participle either retained its original achronic force or represents the aorist indicative.

VI. — *On the Verbal Abstract Nouns in -σις in Thucydides.*

By E. G. SIHLER, Ph.D.,
NEW YORK CITY.

One of the most striking features of the style of Thucydides is his tendency towards condensation; and this is particularly observable in his use of verbal nouns in *-σις*. Such nouns occur, roughly speaking, 400 times. A few of them had obtained general currency before the time of this historian, — for example, *ὄψις*, *τάξις*, sundry compounds of *-βασις*, *πρόφασις*, etc. The great majority of them, however, are distinctly Thucydidean. Stahl's edition contains 471 pages. Using this as a basis of calculation, these verbals occur, on the average, once in $1\frac{1}{6}$ pages of text. The average amount of text in which one occurrence is found, is, for the several books, as follows: for book i., $1\frac{2}{5}$ pages; ii., $1\frac{1}{7}$; iii., $\frac{5}{6}$; iv., $1\frac{1}{4}$; v., $1\frac{1}{3}$; vi., $1\frac{3}{8}$; vii., $\frac{5}{6}$; viii., 2. Comparing these with

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the general average, $1\frac{1}{6}$, the diversities are, on the whole, too small to warrant any inferences as to the stylistic development of Thucydides, although the last book may possibly have been less thoroughly worked over into the characteristic diction of the author.

In respect of function and usage these nouns show differences sufficient to be made the basis of their classification. They are found:

1. As substantives, pure and simple; as subject, or object, or predicate-noun; and in prepositional phrases.
2. With a genitive objective attached. Here their verbal force is well maintained.
3. Introducing constructions such as would properly follow a verb.
4. In dependence upon a genitive subjective or possessive.
5. In periphrases with *ποιεῖσθαι, γίγνεσθαι, ἔχειν, παρέχειν, εἶναι.*

1. The purely substantive nouns in *-σις*. Of these many are employed by Thucydides in a purely concrete sense; *e. g.* *οἴκησις*, ii. 17, 1, *ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις*; *ἐνθύμησις*, i. 132, 5, *κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα*; *ἀναχώρησις*, 'place of refuge,' i. 90, 2, *τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἀφορμήν.* *ἐπίκλησις* occurs as a synonym of *ὄνομα* i. 3, 2; *καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη.* This employment of the nouns in *-σις* in a concrete sense is particularly manifest where these nouns are coupled with concrete substantives proper, as the correlatives or equivalents of the latter; *e. g.* vi. 48, *καὶ λιμένα καὶ ἐφόρμησιν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔσεσθαι*; iv. 126, 1, *βραχεῖ ὑπομνήματι καὶ παραινέσει*; viii. 1, 2, *περιειστήκει φόβος καὶ κατάπληξις.*

Double compound verbs are changed into verbal nouns as well as simple compounds, and illustrate very strikingly the energy of condensation attained by the writer, however harsh the effect may be. Thus *ἀντεξόρμησις*, ii. 91, 4, *ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν*; *προεκφόβησις*, v. 11, 2, *ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ξυντυχίας καὶ προεκφοβήσεως.*

Plurals occur rarely, mostly in a distributive sense; *e. g.* i.

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2, 1, *φαίνεται μεταναστάσεις οὖσαι*; iii. 97, 3, *καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε καὶ ὑπαγωγαί*; v. 66, 4, *καὶ αἱ παραγγέλσεις, ἤν τι βούλωνται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ χωροῦσι κτλ.*; vi. 46, 3, *καὶ ἰδίᾳ ξενίσεις ποιούμενοι . . . ἐσέφερον ἐς τὰς ἑστιάσεις*; vii. 12, 5, *αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις* (*εἰσί*). In one case the articular infinitive is combined with the plural of the abstract noun, vii. 70, 4, *διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις*. The practical use of these nouns for the purpose of brachylogy is very well illustrated in the combination with a complex attributive modifier; thus ii. 18, 4, *μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν Οἰνόῃ ἐπίσχεσις* (*διέβαλεν αὐτόν*); ii. 91, 4, *ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν*; iii. 102, 3, *διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν*; *cf.* iv. 76, 1; vii. 31, 1, *μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τείχισιν*; *cf.* vii. 44, 8; vii. 86, 5, *διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν.*

In a small number of cases nouns in *-σις* occur as object, and present the full equivalent of what in more common construction would be a complete sub-clause. Thus after verbs of fearing, iii. 33, 1, *δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν*; iii. 78, 1, *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν περικύκλωσιν*; or after verbs looking toward the future, as *σπένδεσθαι*, iii. 24, 3, *ἐσπένδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς*; or *ψηφίζεσθαι*, vii. 48, 1, *ψηφιζομένους τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.*

2. The second prominent construction in which these nouns are found is that with a genitive objective attached. As to the proportion of occurrence, this is by far the most frequent employment, comprising some 125 out of a total of 400, or some 31 per cent of the whole. This class best exhibits the general function of the formation, retaining on the one hand almost all the active functions of the verb, and lending itself on the other to all the modifiers which nouns may take. Thus there may be expressed with greater precision the logical relation to the leading clause or governing word, be that relation temporal, causal, or purely one of manner, or final, or the equivalent of an indirect statement.

Thus we have the equivalent of *temporal clauses*, especially through the vinculum of *μετά*; as in i. 12, 3, *μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν*; i. 18, 1, *μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς*

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Ἑλλάδος; vi. 4, 3, *μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν*; vi. 5, 3, *μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν*. Instrumental relation is almost always expressed by the dative, and not by means of *διά* with the genitive; thus, i. 6, 3, *χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει*; ii. 37, 3, *τῶν τε ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων*; ii. 94, 4, *λιμένων τε κλήσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ*; iii. 82, 1, *τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει*; iii. 82, 3, *ἐπιπύστει τῶν προγεγενημένων*; *ibidem*, *τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει*; iii. 82, 8, *ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει*; vii. 48, 3, *οὐκ ἄλλων ἐπιτιμήσει*; viii. 57, 1–2; *μὴ τῆς τροφῆς ζητήσει πορθήσωσι τὴν γῆν*.

Purpose and final relation are generally expressed by the vinculum of *ἐπί* with the dative; iii. 10, 3, *ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἕλλησι*; similarly in v. 27, 2, *ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Πελοποννήσου*; vi. 82, 1, *ἐπὶ τῆς πρότερον οὔσης ξυμμαχίας ἀνανεώσει*; vii. 66, 2, *ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας καταδουλώσει*. *εἰς* (*ἐς*) and *πρός* are used to designate result and specification.

Here, too, harshness and obscurity result from excessive accumulation; thus several of these nouns are construed together, composite attributives are inserted, a few double compounds are met with, and in a few cases several of these features are combined. The difficulty of Thucydides, of which some critics make too much and some too little, may be explained in good part from the employment of such constructions. For instance, in i. 25, 4, we have a double compound in *-σις* governing a genitive objective, and itself depending upon a genitive subjective, *κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας*; so i. 137, 4, *γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν*. The harshness of Thucydides in such constructions has often been adverted to by critics from Dionysius onward. A similar case of accumulated modifiers is found in v. 35, 2, *κατὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν*; iv. 81, 2, *τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λώφησιν*; v. 50, 4, *κατὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀγωνίσεως*; iv. 126, 5, *ἥ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς*. The

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accumulation reaches a climax in v. 65, 2, *δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἄργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλόμενον εἶναι*; and again in v. 105, 1, *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως, τῶν δὲ ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν.* In vii. 34, 6 we have a rather harsh combination of genitive subjective and objective, viz., *διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.* This excessive striving after condensation leads Thucydides to attach a genitive objective directly to a noun in *-σις* the etymology of which does not really permit such directness, as in the phrase *ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς*, i. 108, 5. Here *ἀπόβασις* is not, what it often is, a concrete thing, 'landing-place,' but (as the context proves — against Liddell and Scott) the abstract active noun in a modal sense, equivalent to *ἀποβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν γῆν.*

3. In the third class, a small one, we place those which have other and most specifically verbal construction attached; nouns which in such connection are treated as if they had all the power and functions of verbs proper. Thus an indirect question is attached to *δήλωσις*, i. 73, 3, *μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως (ἕνεκα) πρὸς οἵαν πόλιν — ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται.* In another place we have a complete object-clause construed with *ἐνθύμησις*, i. 132, 5, *κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι οὐδείς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο.* At ii. 41, 3, we have *ἀγανάκτησις* with the full construction of *ἀγανακτεῖν*, and *κατάμεμψις* with that of *καταμέμφεσθαι*; *μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἵων κακοπαθεῖ οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται.* The *genitivus privandi* after *στερεῖν* is maintained after *στέρησις*, ii. 63, 1, *περὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως.* Twice do we meet the future infinitive after *δόκησις*, which is thus differentiated from the more concrete *δόξα*, ii. 84, 1, *δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν*; iv. 55, 2, *τῆς δοκήσεώς τι πράξειν.* The dative of interest after *καταδουλοῦν* is made to go with *καταδούλωσις*, vi. 76, 3, *περὶ . . . σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως.* The object-clause after *ἀνακαλεῖν* is left unchanged after *ἀνάκλησις*, vii. 71, 3, *πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερῆσαι σφᾶς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐτρέποντο.*

4. We now reach that construction of nouns in *-σις* where

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the latter are dependent upon a genitive subjective or possessive. The proportion of occurrence of this construction is much smaller than of that with the genitive objective. There are found about 42 cases or 10 per cent of the whole, whereas the cases of construction with the genitive objective constitute some 132 or 33 per cent of all cases. In the construction with the genitive subjective or possessive the noun naturally assumes more of a substantive character and becomes further removed from the signification of its verbal original than in the object-construction. Moreover there was probably some tacit feeling on the part of the writer which led him to avoid confusion with that class. In this employment, too, we may notice the freedom with which Thucydides uses double compounds; thus in ii. 27, 2, *εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ . . . τῶν Εἱλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν;* and in iv. 128, 4, *ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ προαναχωρήσει τῶν Μακεδόνων.* In one case, quoted above, we find the harsh combination of genitive subjective and objective, vii. 34. 6, *διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.* A number of nouns in this construction assume decidedly concrete sense: thus, *ἀπόστασις*, 'revolt;' *ποίησις*, 'poetical works;' *μέλλησις*, 'delay;' *ὅπλισις*, 'equipment;' *ὑπόσχεσις*, 'promise;' *ἀνάλωσις*, 'expenditure;' *ἔκπληξις*, 'fright;' *ἀνάβασις*, 'approach;' in concrete topographical sense, *διάβασις*, 'ford;' *ἀπόβασις*, 'landing-place.' A few illustrations will suffice; i. 10, 3, *τῇ Ὁμήρου ποιήσει*; vi. 31, 5, *εἰ γάρ τις ἐλογίσατο τὴν — τῆς πόλεως ἀνάλωσιν*; vi. 78, 2, *οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως βούλησιν ἐλπίζει*; iv. 39, 3, *καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὖσα ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη*; i. 69, 4, *τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταλύοντες*; iii. 78, 4, *ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν*; vii. 42, 3, *ἀποχρήσασθαι τῇ παρούσῃ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκπλήξει* (*ἔκπληξις* occurs 8 times in Thucydides, whereas the average occurrence of all other nouns in *-σις* is twice each); vii. 42, 4, *εἰ κρατήσειέ τις τῶν . . . Ἐπιπολῶν τῆς ἀναβάσεως*; vii. 74, 2, *τῶν ῥείθρων καὶ ποταμῶν διαβάσεις ἐφύλασσον.*

5. The last construction to be considered is the periphrastic. Hitherto we have seen that these nouns serve as a means of compact statement, that they are a contrivance for

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condensation. Is the same thing to be said of the periphrastic construction? Is it not really an expansion? Could not Thucydides say *ἀποβαίνειν* or *ἀποβῆναι* instead of *ἀπόβασιν ποιεῖσθαι*? We must not forget that the striving after logical precision is as strong in Thucydides as that after condensation, and that nouns admit of more concise modification than verbs. The force of habit, also, doubtless told on his phraseology; it became stereotyped in many modes of expression. I have noticed some seventy instances of these periphrastic locutions. Thirty-two are made with *ποιεῖσθαι*. Once only — where the subject acts merely as the instrument — *ποιεῖν* is used, iv. 20, 2, *τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἀνάπαυσιν κακῶν ποιήσωμεν*. In point of frequency *ποιεῖσθαι* is followed by *γίγνεσθαι*; with this verb seventeen of these periphrases are made. The other periphrases are with *ἔχειν, παρέχειν, εἶναι, καθιστάναι*. The periphrasis with *ποιεῖσθαι* is especially used after military movements and political measures; thus in iii. 2, 1, *τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιήσασθαι*; iii. 53, 1, *τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως . . . ἐποιησάμεθα*; iii. 66, 2, *ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι*; vi. 42, 1, *ἐπεξέτασιν τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ σύνταξιν . . . ἐποιήσαντο*; vii. 17, 3, *πέμψιν τῶν νεῶν ποιήσασθαι*; vii. 41, 1, *τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὅρμον*; viii. 3, 2, *τὴν πρόσταξιν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποιοῦντο*.

The periphrasis with *γίγνεσθαι*, though less frequent in occurrence, seems to be more varied in its composition. iii. 23, 5, *ἐγένετο ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος*; iii. 89, 3, *παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπίκλυσις*; iv. 38, 3, *γενομένων ἐπερωτήσεων δὶς ἢ τρίς*; iv. 85, 1, *ἡ μὲν ἔκπεμψίς μου ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γεγένηται*; iv. 95, 1, *δι' ὀλίγου ἡ παραίνεσις γίγνεται*; iv. 135, 1, *ἡ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο*; vi. 103, 4, *κύρωσις οὐδεμία ἐγίγνετο*; vii. 4, 6, *τῶν πληρωμάτων κάκωσις ἐγένετο*; viii. 66, 2, *οὔτε ζήτησις οὔτε δικαίωσις ἐγίγνετο*.

The periphrasis with *παρέχειν* is mostly *ἔκπληξις*; thus, iv. 55, 3, *ἔκπληξιν μεγίστην παρεῖχε*; vi. 46, 4, *μεγάλην τὴν ἔκπληξιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρεῖχε*; vii. 70, 6, *ἔκπληξίν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς . . . παρέχειν*. The same term occurs with *καθιστάναι*, and with *παραστῆναι*; vi. 36, 2, *τὴν πόλιν*

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ἐς ἔκπληξιν καθιστάναι; viii. 96, 1, τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἔκπληξις μεγίστη παρέστη.

The periphrasis with ἔχειν occurs in a passive sense in iv. 126, 1, εἰ μὴ ὑπώπτευον ὑμᾶς ἔκπληξιν ἔχειν; but actively a little below, iv. 126, 5, τὴν μέλλησιν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀπείροις φοβεράν; *ibidem*, ἔχει δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς; vi. 41, 4, τὴν ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ἕξομεν. The harshest and most abnormal employment of ἔχειν is found in ii. 61, 2, τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἑκάστῳ. The tendency towards periphrasis may be observed elsewhere in Thucydides, particularly with *nomina agentis* in -της; e. g. i. 35, 4, τῶνδε κωλυταὶ . . . γενήσεσθε; i. 132, 5, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται. Cf. iii. 2, 3; iii. 23, 2; iii. 59, 2, ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα.

With reference to the use of these verbals, it may be of interest to compare Thucydides with some of the most important writers of Greek prose who stood nearest to him. These are Herodotus, Antiphon, and the author of περὶ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας as his predecessors, and Xenophon, as his successor.

The eighth book of Herodotus is equivalent to about one sixth of Thucydides. The occurrences of the -σις nouns number 40, and are to those in an equal amount of Thucydides as 3 to 5. But 15 are nouns long in vogue, with established concrete meaning, such as στάσις, ὄψις, ἅλωσις, σύνεσις, διάβασις, φύσις, πρόφασις, σκήψις, τάξις, κατάβασις, ἀνάβασις, and the like. The following are not found in Thucydides: ἐξήλυσις, ἐπάγερσις, ἔλασις, ἐπαύρεσις, ὑπόφαυσις, ἔκλειψις, ἄπιξις. Eight are cases with a genitive objective attached. The most striking feature of Thucydidean usage which is wanting in this portion of Herodotus, is the accumulation and insertion of attributives and other modifiers.

As for Antiphon, the bulk of that author is equivalent to one eighth of Thucydides, and a little more. We find some thirty-eight cases, or about three quarters of the Thucydidean average. The percentage of independent and original formations is much larger than in Herodotus; thus we find πόσις, 'potatio,' φόνευσις, ἀπόφευξις, ἀποψήφισις, τίμησις, αἰτίασις,

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ἀναίρεσις, ἴασις, διάγνωσις, and in iv. 22, a double compound, *μετέκβασις.* A case of accumulated construction reminding us greatly of Thucydides is found in iv. 95, *τοῦ δὲ τούτοις πειθομένους ἐξεργάσασθαι ἃ οὗτοι βούλονται οὔκ ἐστιν ἴασις.*

The pamphlet *περὶ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας* is equivalent to nine pages of Stahl's Thucydides, which of course is too little to base any computation upon. Only four cases occur: *κτῆσις, θέσις, τάξις,* and *πρόφασις. κτῆσις* is used in concrete sense, i. 19, *διὰ τὴν κτῆσιν, τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις. θέσις* and *τάξις* are construed with genitive objective: iii. 3, *περὶ νόμων θέσεως;* iii. 5, *αἱ τάξεις τοῦ φόρου.*

Of Xenophon I selected for comparison his continuation of Thucydides, viz. the first three books of the Hellenica, these being equal in bulk to one fifth of Thucydides. The result is quite significant. There are only some twenty-five occurrences, or considerably less than one third as many as Thucydides would have in that space. The variety is limited, and concrete nouns like *πρόφασις, στάσις, πρᾶξις, κρίσις, φύσις* make up most of the count. But a very small number of freer formations deserve mention, such as *φοίτησις,* i. 6, 7, *ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν.* At iii. 5, 5, is a noteworthy case of accumulation: *πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι ἀκολουθῆσαι.*

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APPENDIX.

I. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Session, Cleveland, 1881.

II. Treasurer's Report.

III. List of Officers and Members.

IV. Constitution of the Association.

V. Publications of the Association.

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

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Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
C. T. Beatty, High School, East Saginaw, Mich.
James S. Blackwell, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Fisk P. Brewer, Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.
Charles J. Buckingham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, N. Y.
Martin L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Henry Garst, Otterbein University, Westerville, Ohio.
Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
H. McL. Harding, Brooks Academy, Cleveland, Ohio.
Newton B. Hobart, Cleveland, Ohio.
John L. Johnson, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.
Elisha Jones, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
W. S. Kerruish, Cleveland, Ohio.
Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Miss Harriet E. McKinstry, Lake Erie Female Sem., Painesville, Ohio.
Irving J. Manatt, Marietta, Ohio.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
J. O. Notestein, University of Wooster, Ohio.
Lewis R. Packard, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
William R. Perkins, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Samuel Porter, National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.
L. S. Potwin, Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio.
Thomas R. Price, University of Virginia, Va.
Charles W. Reid, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Lawrence Rust, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
Thomas D. Seymour, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Ernest G. Sihler, Classical School, New York, N. Y.
Edward Snyder, Illinois Industrial University, Champaign, Ill.
Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Zachary P. Taylor, Central High School, Cleveland, Ohio.
Calvin Thomas, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Benjamin W. Wells, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
J. B. Weston, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.
John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Tuesday, July 12, 1881.

THE Thirteenth Annual Session was called to order at 3.30 P.M. in the Assembly Room of the Board of Education (Public Library Building, Euclid Avenue), by the President, Professor Lewis R. Packard of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The Secretary, Professor Charles R. Lanman of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., presented the following report of the Executive Committee:

a. The Committee had elected as members of the Association:

Benjamin W. Wells, Ph.D., Fellow of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

George Bendelari, Instructor in Modern Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Edward S. Sheldon, Tutor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

b. The Proceedings had been duly published. The Transactions were all in type and nearly ready for distribution.

c. The Committee had directed the Secretary to distribute thirty complete sets of the Transactions among the principal learned societies of Europe and Asia, and to send copies of the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the Transactions to the principal libraries of the United States, *gratis*, with a circular, offering to complete the set for twelve dollars (half the regular price).

The Secretary presented an invitation from the Cleveland Union Club, tendering to the members of the Association the freedom of the Club during their stay in the city.

The Treasurer, Mr. Charles J. Buckingham of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., presented his report, showing the receipts and expenditures of the year (see p. 32).

On motion, the Chair appointed Professor F. A. March and Professor T. D. Seymour a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

As committee on the hours of meeting, the Chair appointed Professor C. H. Toy and Professor Lawrence Rust.

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Professor John Williams White, of Harvard University, presented the following resolutions:

Whereas, Many colleges in the United States have in recent years conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy not by examination but *honoris causa*, be it

Resolved, first, That this Association deprecates the removal of this degree from the class to which it belongs (namely, B.D., LL.B., M.D., and Ph.D., — degrees conferred after examination), and its transfer to the class of honorary degrees.

Secondly, That a committee of three be appointed to present this resolution to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and to request them to co-operate with this Association in addressing a memorial to the Boards of Trustees of all colleges in the United States empowered to confer degrees, stating the objections to conferring the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*, and praying them to discontinue the practice if it exists in the colleges under their control.

Professor William D. Whitney, of Yale College, moved that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Committee. The motion was carried.

Communications were then presented as follows:

1. On Homer and Strabo, by Dr. E. G. Sihler, of New York City.

The period of Greek literature beginning with the death of Alexander is interesting because of its analogies with our own time. Then as now there was the general tendency to erudition and encyclopedic accumulation, and the opportunity for scholars to apply historical, critical, and grammatical study to the great authors of the classic period. In the Augustan age this movement received a fresh impulse from the favorable political and social conditions attendant on general peace and easy communication. This was when Strabo flourished. His travels extended from Armenia to Etruria, and in the South to the boundaries of Abyssinia (Strabo, page 117, Casaubon). To his knowledge of mathematical and physical geography and political history he joined an accurate and comprehensive acquaintance with literature, and so has been able to fill his work with literary and biographical notes to accompany his account of the birthplaces of men of letters.

Of all authors, the one most persistently quoted by Strabo is Homer. Meineke's index shows seven hundred and twenty distinct references to Homer, while the much more reliable material of Herodotus is used but thirty times. Thus Homer is quoted as authority on Spain, on the peoples of the Danube (p. 295), on the historical geography of Elis (p. 337), etc.

"The Homeric Epos, and especially the Odyssey," says Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, p. 3), "shows the first traces of the transition to the Greeks of the half-fabulous stories of Phenician mariners about the lands they had visited." How now does it happen that Strabo, with his abundant equipment of learning, refers so constantly to his revered but untrustworthy Homer?

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This question Mr. Sihler attempted to answer by showing that among the numerous geographers who preceded Strabo, copious discussions of the Homeric geography had been usual. Strabo did not start them. Indeed, he himself tells us (p. 348, cf. p. 337) that he would not have given so much care to the examination of traditions if he had not received them and grown up with them from childhood, and seen that they met with great acceptance among many of his predecessors and contemporaries. Strabo's personal knowledge often enabled him to state the present condition of things; but the reputation of Homer would not allow Strabo's statements to pass without some critical comparison, or reconcilement in case of difference.

Eratosthenes (275–194 B.C.), the most important of Strabo's predecessors, denied to Homer all authority as a reliable source of information for history or geography. Strabo often finds occasion to enter into polemic with him; and, in view of the learning and high standing of Eratosthenes, it was an essential point with Strabo to vindicate the disputed authority of the great poet. Successors of Eratosthenes had concerned themselves much with Homeric geography. Apollodorus wrote a voluminous commentary on the "Catalogue of Ships" (Iliad ii.); Demetrius of Skepsis treated fully the topography of the Troad; Polybius, the historian, cited Homer, and argued the question whether the places of Odysseus's wanderings might be identified; Posidonius devoted much space to the treatment of Homeric problems; and Aristonicus, a contemporary of Strabo, wrote a work περὶ τῆς Μενελάου πλάνης, which Strabo himself made use of. Thus Homeric discussion had gone on from Eratosthenes's time to Strabo's, and Homer's fame had in no wise abated. No wonder, then, that Strabo should give so much space to Homeric subjects. Herein he reflects the studies of his forerunners.

This gives us an idea of the literary activity of the Alexandrian period. Polemic was no less common than with us; but it was carried on differently. It was the criticism of predecessors by those that came after them, instead of the rapid exchange of views between contemporaries.

2. The Testimony of the Talmud respecting the ancient Pronunciation of certain Latin Letters, by Professor James S. Blackwell, of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

It is known from the Talmud that the Jews of the first centuries of our era gave great attention to orthoepy, — as appears, for example, in the ridicule of the Galilean provincialisms; and that constant contact with the Romans afforded them good opportunities of learning the best Latin pronunciation, which, therefore, we may suppose to be fairly represented by the transliterations of the Talmud. We consider here only two letters, the Roman *c* and *s*. The first of these is regularly transliterated in the Talmud by ק, rarely (and probably from carelessness of copyists) by כ (which rather represents Greek χ), and the second by ס and not by ש. Now ק is not our *k*, but a more guttural sound, and ס is harder than our *s*; nor can we expect absolute accuracy in these representations. Yet the transliteration of the *c* by the ק seems to place the sound of the former as far as possible from a sibilant. So far as the testimony of the Talmud goes, it favors the hard sound for Latin *c*. Nevertheless it must be added, in respect to the general question of our present Latin pronunciation, that the impossibility

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of recovering the precise sounds and restoring tone and accent, and the consideration of economy of time, make it wiser to use the English sounds of the Latin letters.

Professor Whitney criticised the conclusion of this paper. He advocated as near an approach to the ancient pronunciation as is possible.

3. The Home of the Primitive Semitic Race, by Professor Toy, of Harvard University.

Indications of the original dwelling-place of the Semites have been sought from four sources, national traditions, the grammar of the parent-language, its vocabulary, and early Asiatic history; but none of these furnish satisfactory data. 1. It is only among the Hebrews (and Assyrian-Babylonians) that traditions of national and racial origin are found, and the geographical statements in these are fluctuating and indecisive. The position of Eden and Ararat, if known, would not fix the Semitic home. The table of nations in Genesis x. gives the geographical distribution of the peoples speaking Semitic tongues, but not their original centre. The story of the dispersion locates the whole world at one time in Shinar or Babylonia, but does not state in what directions the various nations went from that point. It is impossible to gather anything definite from these data. 2. It has been assumed that the people whose grammar most nearly represents that of the parent-speech dwelt in the primitive home of the race, which has therefore been located in central Arabia. This assumption, however, is untenable. Retention of primitive linguistic forms is due not to the place of abode, but to freedom from influences that produce grammatical change, and such argument can lead to no results. 3. It is supposed that the physical features, climate, minerals, plants, animals, etc., of the cradle of the race may be determined from the vocabulary of the parent-tongue. In seeking for the primitive vocabulary, it is especially necessary to guard against reasoning from the absence of words, since many original words may have fallen out of the various dialects. Supposing the common vocabulary determined, this may fix a place where the race once dwelt, though great caution is necessary in drawing inferences; it does not follow, for example, that all minerals whose names occur in the primitive tongue are products of the soil, — they may be imports; nor can we in all cases conclude that the present condition of localities is the same as that of very ancient times. Different investigations of the vocabulary have assigned the primitive Semites to Babylonia and to the southeastern coast of Arabia, without arriving at data sufficient to decide between these two localities; and it is possible that other data may point to other localities. Further, if it is shown that a race once occupied a certain district, it is still possible that it may have come thither from some earlier home. 4. Controlling or guiding data are sought in supposed indications of the early Babylonian or Akkadian records. If the Semites dwelt all together in Babylonia, and were there the pupils of their predecessors the Akkadians, they ought all to show traces of Akkadian influence. But this is true of only a part of them, the northern branch, and the Sabeans. It would thence appear that they had separated before entering Babylonia. This early history is, however, still very obscure.

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Remarks upon the paper were made by Professors Whitney and Toy.

The committee on the hours of meeting reported. It was arranged that the Association should hold sessions as follows: on Tuesday, at 8 P. M.; on Wednesday and Thursday, from 9 o'clock to 1, and from 4 o'clock to 6.

A recess was then taken until evening.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Tuesday, July 12, 1881.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association met at 8 P. M.

The Annual Address was delivered by the President, Professor Lewis R. Packard, of Yale College.

4. The Morality and Religion of the Greeks.

After a few introductory remarks, in which among other things reference was made to the loss the Association has sustained in the death of Professor S. S. Haldeman, the discussion of the Morality and Religion of the Greeks was taken up in the form of answers to the following questions:

I. *What was the origin of the moral ideas of the Greeks?* Not the Olympian theology in the earliest form of it known to us, nor any religious ceremonies, nor the speculations of philosophers; nor yet, as Coulanges supposes, the worship of the dead and of fire. This is not primary enough, nor adequate in its range, to account for the result. If we go back to the Aryan ancestry of the Greeks, so far as we can infer their system of morals from the evidence of the Vedic hymns, we find it intimately connected with the religious system of the same hymns, and can hardly explain the origin of either unless by a method which applies as well to those of any people. We must, then, either lose our subject in the general one of the origin of the moral ideas of the race, or confess that we cannot find any other source for those of the Greeks than the earliest religious system of the Indo-European family.

II. *What was the history of Greek morality in the time known to us?* Did it make progress up or down in that time? The materials for this investigation, arranged in the order of their value, are (1) inscriptions and contemporary monumental records of all kinds; (2) institutions and customs made known to us in literature; (3) recorded incidents of private or public life in which a moral character can be clearly perceived; and (4) deliberate expressions of moral and religious feeling by poets and philosophers. Of this last source of information too much is usually made. It is of the smallest value in determining the moral ideas of the common people, because these writers are picked men, often out of harmony with the moral tone of the community, and because in their writings they are seen at their own highest moral pitch. If we look at a part of the time known to us, between the Homeric and the Periklean period, we may justly say that there is evidence of an improvement in morals. Three par-

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ticulars are mentioned by Grote in which this is seen, — the position of orphans, the way of dealing with homicide, and the treatment of enemies slain in war. The same progress may also be seen in outward respect for family ties, in the rights of property, in business transactions, and in courage as shown in war. All these are matters which show an increased sense of society as having claims on the individual and doing work for him. On the other hand, in some respects there is a decline in moral tone. On the position of women and of slaves, the progress of civilization seems to have pressed to their disadvantage. The ideal of individual character seems to be higher in the Homeric poems than later; but this may be due largely to the freedom of the poet in shaping his ideal; and if we combine the Hesiodic poems with the Homeric in forming our conception of the heroic age, the difference between it and the historic age becomes less. Some of the proximate causes of this improvement in morals may be easily seen; but it is not so easy to say what was the ultimate cause which made the movement to be for a time upward and not downward. It seems there was something in the stock and surroundings of the Greeks which enabled them to build up a system of usages and principles which supported and shaped, without hampering, the character of the individual.

III. *How good was their morality at its best?* Two cautions are to be observed here. (1) We must not think of the Greeks as precisely like ourselves, and to be judged by the same standard. (2) We must not think of them as wholly different from ourselves. In many respects their civilization was strikingly like ours. In theory their moral system was much the same. Truth, courage, patriotism, and all such virtues are praised and the opposite vices condemned through all their literature. In other respects, such as bodily purity, the permission of revenge, the inculcation of charity and the passive virtues, there was a difference. As to the degree to which their theories were realized in practice as compared with the same thing in modern times, we need more thorough study of the facts before we can venture an opinion.

IV. *What was the influence of the Greek religion upon morality?* Here there is great difference of opinion. In some things we see direct influence of religion to enforce duties of universal morality, — for instance, in the sanctity of oaths, the condemnation of suicide, the dread of the sin of ὕβρις, the duties of hospitality, and pity for suppliants; but it appears that the two ideas "We must do what is right" and "Let us worship and obey the gods" were not by the mass of men consciously and fully recognized as connected, any more than they are always in modern times. There was something, too, in their religion which made the separation of these ideas easy and natural.

V. *What was the character of the religion of the Greeks?* Many unwarranted assertions are made on this subject. It is difficult to estimate fairly the character of any religion, but especially so in this case; for the Greek religion had no accepted standards, was always admitting new elements, had grown out of an unrecorded past, and embraced great varieties of belief and feeling. It needs to be studied historically, for it was continually changing. We must go back as far as we can, and this brings us again to the Vedic hymns. We find there a worship of the powers of earth and air, with constant personification but imperfect anthropomorphism, and a high but wavering idea of the divine character. It is probable that the early Greeks inherited some form of this system, though exactly what form we cannot ascertain. The Sanskrit names *Varuna* and *Dyaus*

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are plainly the same with the Greek Οὐρανός and Ζεύς. To this system the Greeks made additions, — some derived from foreign lands, as Dionysos; some of native origin, as Peitho, Metis, etc. A frequent cause of the multiplication of deities was the separation of the people into small communities, and their subsequent combination into larger aggregates. Then also, in the exercise of both logic and imagination, the Greeks went further than most peoples in the process of anthropomorphism, to which their skill in the plastic and pictorial arts gave powerful assistance. As the social status of the people improved, their ideas of the gods were correspondingly elevated. To this the oracle at Delphi and the tragic poets of Athens contributed their influence. Especially the Apolline doctrine of atonement is the highest point of practical religion attained by the Greeks. After the time of Plato came a decline, but not so sudden and complete a decline as we are apt to suppose. This bare outline, if correct, shows clearly that many current statements about the Greek religion are untenable. It shows that it was not a worship of beauty, nor a worship of nature, nor a simple acting out of human nature unhampered by sense of sin or dread of the future, nor a system of profound truths disguised as fables. From some cause, — we cannot tell certainly what, but perhaps the need of man for some object of worship above him, — the ancestors of the Greeks were led to a system of worship of the powers of nature. This system the tribes that came to Greece brought with them, and in course of time it became localized and humanized and systematized. It was also enlarged on Greek soil by the admission of new deities, both native and foreign, and a theory was formed of a close association of the gods with men. But all along during the time known to us, the conception of these gods was apparently enough above the moral standard of the average man to exert a control over him and lift him up to a higher level. So it was manifestly in such cases as those of Aeschylos and Plato, who themselves did much to raise the ideas of other men. Thus we see how the religion of the Greeks was elevated by the improvement of the moral character of the people, and how at the same time it helped to elevate the character of the people. The apparent consecration of vice in the worship of Dionysos and Aphrodite needs explanation here. Both these worships were apparently introduced from foreign lands; and in the case of both there is evidence of a time when sobriety and chastity were required of the worshippers. The gross indulgences which became associated with them were not the legitimate product of a distorted idea of religion, but the abuse of a natural and right idea. On the whole, the religion of the Greeks, though when compared with some others it appears wavering in its conception of the divine nature and feeble in direct moral influence, was yet worthy of the name of a religion; that is, it was a system of belief as to the relation of man to the divine being, which influenced him, in his conduct, towards reverence, integrity, temperance, and good-will to his fellow-men.

The Association adjourned to 9 o'clock, Wednesday morning.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, Wednesday, July 13, 1881.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association came to order at 9.30 A. M. The Secretary read the minutes of Tuesday's sessions, and they were approved. The reading of communications was then resumed.

5. The History of the *a*-vowel from Old Germanic to Modern English, by Dr. Benjamin W. Wells, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The paper showed both the origin of the *a*-vowel, and its development at four stages of its history, — the Old Germanic, the Old English, the Middle English, and the New English periods.

The Old Germanic *a* was the product of two sounds, represented in Greek by *α* and *o*, and developed in Old English by successive, though often overlapping, changes.

First, the sound was modified from bright to dark *a*, a change found in Old English only before single consonants followed by the dark vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, and before nasals. Examples are: snaca, atol, dagum, mann, nam. After nasals, and occasionally elsewhere, we may find *o* for *a*: thus monn, nom, rodor, nosu; other vacillations or irregularities are quite uncommon.

This was followed by the lengthening of final *a*, so *hwā*.

Next, in all cases except those already mentioned, *a* was raised in tone to *æ*. This change was not permanent before *h*, nor before *h*, *l*, or *r*, + consonant. Examples are fæd, dæg, fæder, æsc. Irregularities in the use of *æ* are rare.

Breaking involves tone-raising, and was perhaps contemporary with it. This changed *a* to *éa* before *h*, and before *h*, *l*, and *r*, + consonant, and sometimes before a single consonant followed by *o* or *u*. Its cause is the epenthesis of an *u*-sound, either present in the following syllable or produced by svarabhakti from *r*, *l*, or *h*. The series of sounds was either *a*, a^u, ae^o, *éa*, or *a*, *ae*, ae^u, ae^o, *éa*. Examples are: béadu, genéah, méaht, wéard, éald. Occasionally we find *éo*, for instance réord, and sometimes an *i* before *ht*, so mihte. Before *w* the breaking appears as *ēaw*, for old Germanic *aw* became *auw*, which is *ēaw* in Old English. Instances are: brēaw, cēaw, hēawan, fēawe. Occasionally we find *ēo*; so ēowe. Contraction of *an* before a fricative or *h* to *ō*, was universal. So gōs, ōđer, brōhte. When *ah* (*ag*) was followed by a vowel it became *ēa*; so slēan, Gothic slahan. The same is true of *a* before nasals and liquids; so bēam, Gothic bagms.

Umlaut or *i*-epenthesis changes *a*, *o*, or *æ* to *e*; so menn, net, gest. It changes *éa* to *íe*; so íeldra: and *ēa* to *īe*; so hīege. It changes *ō* to *ē*; so ēst, tēđ.

A palatal pronunciation of *g*, *c*, *sc*, or *sl* caused a semi-vocalic sound, like that sometimes heard in sky (skyai), to enter between them and following vowels. This was indicated in Old English by the sign *eá* for *a* and *æ*; *éo* for *o*; *ié* for *e*; *eā* for *ā*. It is seldom used regularly. Examples are: sceámu and sceómu, sceácan, geóng, sciéppan, geā.

This was the last modification of Old Germanic *a* in Old English. Old English *a* always corresponds to Old Germanic *a*.

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In the Ormulum, the earliest of the larger Middle English documents, all Old English *a*'s are retained, and many new ones caused by tone-sinking from Old English *ea*, *æ*, and other sounds.

In New English the Old English *a* is almost always spelled *a*, but it has six pronunciations. Before all single nasals, liquids, mutes, and fricatives except *r*, it is pronounced *e*: for example, lane, tame, ape, late, wade, rake, bathe, behave. Before *r*, it is pronounced e^a: so hare. Before nasals + syllable or + consonant, it is pronounced *æ*: thus ganet, rank, lamb. Before *s* + consonant, it appears as *a*: so ass, flask. Before an absorbed *w*, *f*, or *g*, the sound is o^a: so awl, hawk, gnaw. A preceding *w* may modify these sounds to a partially articulated *o*, as in swan, wander, wash.

The New English letter *a* is frequently used for Old English *a*, *ae*, and *éa*, and less commonly for many other Old English vowels. The sound *a* is the regular representative of Old English *éa*, *éo*, and *ae*, before *r* + consonant; and of *éa*, and *ae*, before silent *l* followed by *m*, *f*, or *v*. Examples are: hard, cart, starve, half, salve, alms. This sound is the regular representative of Old English *æ* before fricatives; so path, grass, staff. It is the regular sound for Old English *a* before *s* + consonant; so ass, flask. Elsewhere the use of the sound *a* is uncommon, and subject to special conditions.

Full word-lists and details will appear in the Transactions.

6. Comparison of a few Versions in regard to the Precious Stones of the Jewish High-priest's Breastplate, Exodus, xxviii. 17–20, by Professor James S. Blackwell.

In order to see whether the character of the precious stones in this passage could be determined with any certainty, I consulted the following versions: the targums of Onkelos and Palestine (with that of Jerusalem), Peshito Syriac, Septuagint, Vulgate, Armenian, modern Arabic by Smith and Van Dyck, and other modern versions in English, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Irish, Welsh, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Hebrew (some of these latter being the authorized standards in their respective cquntries, and others the productions of evangelists), and the mineralogical works of Nicol, Phillips, Feuchtwanger, Cleaveland, Jameson, and Dana. The result is not very satisfactory. In the first row the first stone (אדם) I hold to be carnelian after the Chaldee *achmar* and *akik* (so the carnelian is called in Yemen; see Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung, p. 142). The second (פטדה), commonly taken as topaz, is doubtful. For the third (ברקת), I suggest thunderstone (from the stem ברק 'to lighten'), which may have been so called from its supposed celestial origin, or its talismanic power in protecting from lightning. In the second row the first and third stones (נפך and יהלם) are altogether doubtful; the second (ספיר) is generally agreed to be sapphire. In the third row the first stone (לשם) is indeterminable; the second (שבו) is doubtfully rendered agate; and the third (אחלמה) almost universally given as amethyst. In the fourth row the first name is variously translated,—it is the doubtful tartessus (תרשיש),—and the third (ישפה) is usually taken to be jasper. Thus, of these eleven, only two can be said to be known with any certainty.

In respect to the second stone (שהם) of the fourth row, rendered onyx in the English version, I would hazard the conjecture that it is jade. From the Hebrew

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root, as preserved in the Arabic conjugates, we may infer that the *shoham* had the following characteristics: It was green, pale, or leek-colored, translucent, and had splinters, or arrow-shapes, on the fresh surface of fracture. The *burîl*, which is the Chaldee equivalent of the Hebrew *shoham*, was sometimes strung on strings and girt about the heads of pregnant women, and was probably the אבן תקומה, or stone of resurrection, mentioned in the Talmud (*Shab.* 66: 2) as being worn even on the Sabbath, that it might prevent miscarriage. The coin ornaments for hair decoration, worn by Syrian women at present, may be a survival of the ancient custom without its ancient significance; or probably its significance remains, and, from the seclusion of Eastern women, and the indisposition of Eastern men to speak of their women, it has escaped the knowledge of travellers. In connection with this it is interesting to note that the peasants of Germany hold the jade celts as having a mysterious power in assisting the birth of children. The jade is also at present used in India, being formed into chains and small plates, and worn as an amulet attached to the neck (*Cleaveland's Mineralogy*, p. 358). The jade has all the known characters and uses of the *shoham* or *burîl*, and I know of no other stone that has them. It is pale or leek-green; it is translucent, and occasionally partly transparent; it is characterized by white-colored splinters (*Jameson's Mineralogy*, vol. ii. p. 290); is capable of being polished (*Cleaveland, l. c.*, p. 337); is susceptible of being cut into any form (*Ure's Dict. of Arts*, etc., vol. ii. p. 769); and was and is used as an amulet. It is hard enough to scratch glass (*Feuchtwanger, l. c.*, p. 361), and was doubtless the stone used for incision in embalming, and in circumcision, whence it became venerable and sacred. It may be in connection with this old employment that it has the name of *Egyptian Stone* (Pietra d'Egitto) among lapidaries. Jameson (*l. c.*, p. 290) says it is the ὄμφαξ of Theophrastus, which was engraved and used for seals, its impression probably giving a sacred and binding force to contracts (p. 231). That jade was anciently engraved is shown by the remarkable celt brought from Egypt and exhibited in England before the Archæological Institute in 1868. On both faces of the celt are Gnostic inscriptions in Greek, arranged on one face *in the form of a wreath*. "It was doubtless regarded," says Evans, in his account of it (*l. c.*, p. 55), "as possessed of some mystic power." The wreath-shape recalls the wreaths of *burîl* worn on the heads of Jewish matrons.

A wider search of Jewish records than I have been able to make may throw some additional light upon this obscure subject. Jade seems to be found native only in Eastern Turkistan, in the Himalaya Mountains (*Phillips's Mineralogy*), and in New Zealand; but it may have been carried westward by commerce or by migrations.

The Secretary read a letter, the substance of which is here given, from Dr. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia, Pa.

I have paid no little attention, especially while in the East, to the subject of the precious stones of Scripture, and think the (American) Arabic Bible incomparably the best version of every one of the texts concerning them. Excepting Genesis and Exodus, that Arabic Bible-translation is the work of Dr. Van Dyck. I once asked him if he thought he was much nearer the truth in these matters than the recent commentators. He said that some doubts would probably always be unresolved; but that he had made some improvements which the Occidentals gen-

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erally could not well understand. He was familiar with the ancient versions, but he had derived a great deal of help from various Oriental books, and had incorporated the results obtained from them into his Bible. He had gathered all the works he could get on the subject, both printed and manuscript, chiefly the latter, from Egypt to Asia Minor, and from the Mediterranean to Persia, and even further east. The general credit for the Arabic Bible belongs to Dr. Van Dyck; but for Exodus, where many names for precious stones occur, Dr. Eli Smith, who translated that book, must have equal credit with Dr. Van Dyck.

The Arabic lexicons do not help very much to an understanding of the terms employed in this translation, unless one has had some practice in the Arabic technical literature. If a man like Dozy, of Leyden, should get up a lexicon of the Arabic precious stones, it might be very useful. I imagine that no great aid to an interpretation is to be had from the versions, except the Septuagint and Peshito Syriac, and their defects are known in this matter. The very modern versions ought to be better, but I think that some of the better modern commentators are better than the versions, excepting the Arabic Bible.

7. On Mixture in Language, by Professor W. D. Whitney.

Professor Müller, in the first series of his Lectures on Language, lays it down as an "axiom" that a mixed language is an impossibility. By a mixed language, however, he does not mean one with mixed vocabulary, since mixture of this kind is well-nigh or quite universal; he holds, rather, that languages, "though mixed in their dictionary, can never be mixed in their grammar;" and by "grammar," as thus used, he means only the inflectional system, of declension and conjugation. Müller's doctrine accordingly may be thus expressed: 1. There is a part of a language, namely its inflectional system, which appears to be inaccessible to mixture; 2. in virtue of this, a mixed language is an impossibility; 3. hence, the unmixableness of language is an axiom of linguistic science. On the other hand, Professor Lepsius, in his Nubian Grammar (Introduction, p. lxxxv.), says: "It is at present an assumption usually made, that the vocabulary of one language may indeed to a great extent be transferred to another, but not its grammatical forms and their use. The linguistic history of Africa . . . shows this to be a prejudice." Such a sharp contrast of views seems to make it desirable to submit the subject to a new and careful consideration. This was attempted in Professor Whitney's paper, which reached the following principal conclusions:

There is nothing in the least axiomatic about the unmixableness of a language, or of any part of it; so far as properly held, this doctrine is only an induction from the facts of language-mixture, as observed by us in a certain number of cases; and such cases, though tolerably numerous and varied, are far from representing all the possible circumstances of mixture; nor has the mode of working of the forces concerned been clearly enough demonstrated to give the principle any other than an empiric character, applicable to cases analogous with those already observed. Lepsius, then, although not justified in calling it an "assumption" and "prejudice," may prove to be in the right in claiming that it should not be brought up in bar of his theory as to the relationships of African languages. When the speakers of two diverse tongues are brought into contact or commingled with one another, the great possible variety of linguistic results

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may be rudely classified under three heads: 1. Each tongue maintains itself nearly unchanged, and the community, or a part of it, becomes bilingual, as at present in the border-lands of Arabic and Turkish and Iranian speech. 2. One tongue, remaining almost unmixed, crowds the other out of existence, as in the Latinized countries of southern Europe. 3. A notably mixed tongue arises, like the English. And where this last is the result, it appears everywhere that the borrowing language takes in the material of the other as crude material, and proceeds to use it according to the rules of its own grammar. It does not by a first process import the structure of the other language. So far as this goes, Müller's dogma, though no axiom, has a certain truth. But the material thus borrowed may, by a secondary process, work itself into any part of the structure of the borrowing language that is still in a formative, growing condition; and in this way every part of the latter is capable of becoming mixed. Thus, in English, such pairs as *pure* and *purity* being numerously imported, they come to be regarded in the same light as *good* and *goodness;* and the foreign *ity* is then used, like the native *ness*, and for the same reason, in making new derivatives. And this and its like has gone on upon such a scale in English that, since the apparatus of derivation is just as much a part of grammatical structure as is that of inflection, English cannot justly be declared unmixed in its grammar; so that the "axiom" is not even strictly true as a fact. It is conceivable, moreover, that cases enough like *phenomenon* and *phenomena*, and *stratum* and *strata* should be imported to introduce a foreign mode of plural-making. And such numeral words as *second*, and such indefinite pronouns as *one* (in *one says*, etc.), and such frequent and indispensable parts of the apparatus of sentence-making as the adverb-preposition *around* and the conjunction *because*, further show how deeply, by the ordinary processes of linguistic growth, elements of foreign origin can be brought into the formal parts of a language.

It seems, then, that the special conditions of each separate case of mixture have to be carefully considered in determining the possible effects of mixture: and especially, the condition of a borrowing tongue in respect to its capacity — that is, its habits — of growth. What is most to be avoided is the assumption, which many are ready to make, that when two languages are brought face to face, one of them notices and is inclined to imitate the habits of the other.

8. On the Language of the Isle of Man, by Mr. W. S. Kerruish, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Kerruish, to whom the Manx Gaelic was a vernacular, explained the divisions of the Keltic family, the place of the Manx in the Gadhelic division (beside the Scotch Gaelic and the Irish), and its diversity from the languages of the other division, the Kymric (including Welsh, Breton, Cornish, etc.). The paper discussed Manx orthography and phonetics, initial inflection of nouns, and the conjugation of verbs. It also gave some specimens of Manx poetry.

A recess was taken until afternoon.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, Wednesday, July 13, 1881.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor Packard, at 4.15 P. M.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer had been compared with the vouchers and found correct. The report was accepted.

The Secretary, Professor Lanman, made a report of further business transacted by the Executive Committee. [Cf. page 3.]

d. It had been voted to report to the Association for action at the next annual meeting (see page 40 — Article VI. of the Constitution), an amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Professor T. D. Seymour, of Yale College, according to which the first clause of Section 2 of Article IV. shall read as follows:

> 2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars [*instead of* five, *as now*,] from each member.

e. It had been voted to lower the price of *complete sets* of the Transactions from two dollars a volume to one dollar a volume.

f. The following new members had been elected:

Mr. W. S. Kerruish, of Cleveland, O.
J. O. Notestein, Professor of Latin, University of Wooster, O.
Calvin Thomas, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Zachary P. Taylor, Principal of the Central High School, Cleveland, O.
Elisha Jones, Assistant Professor of Latin, Michigan University.
W. R. Perkins, Assistant Professor of Latin and Greek, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Charles W. Super, Professor of Greek, Ohio University, Athens, O.
Newton B. Hobart, Principal of Preparatory School of Western Reserve College, Hudson, O.
Charles W. Reid, Professor of Greek, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
C. T. Beatty, Principal of High School, East Saginaw, Mich.
H. McL. Harding, Principal of Brooks Academy, Cleveland, O.
Henry Garst, Professor of Latin, Otterbein University, Westerville, O.
L. S. Potwin, Professor of Latin, Western Reserve College.
Miss Harriet E. McKinstry, Instructor in Latin, Lake Erie Female Seminary, Painesville, O.
James M. Gregory, Professor of Latin, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

g. The Executive Committee returned the resolutions touching the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (page 4), with the recommendation that they be passed.

These resolutions were laid before the Association. Professor March, while admitting the gravity of the evil arising from the abuse

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of the power to confer degrees, thought the contemplated action lay without the proper sphere of the Association. Professor Gildersleeve coincided with Professor March. Professor J. W. White gave some illustrations of the way in which the degree is now conferred. He urged that some protest ought to be raised against the practice, and that there were no non-local organizations in the country from whom such a protest could come with more propriety or with less danger of invidious reception.

The question being put, the resolutions were passed.

The President appointed as a committee of three to confer with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor John Williams White, Professor Charles R. Lanman, and Professor Irving J. Manatt.

The Curator of the Association, Professor Lanman, made a report as a matter of record.

There were in his charge at Cambridge, Mass., two chests containing Proceedings and Transactions, records and correspondence, and sundry books that had been given to the Association; further, there was in the Watkinson Library Building at Hartford, Conn., a considerable stock of the publications of the Association; and, finally, there were a few of the same publications at New Haven, Conn., in the care of Professor Whitney and Mr. Addison VanName.

On motion, the President appointed a committee, consisting of Professors March, J. W. White, and T. D. Seymour, to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On motion, Professors Whitney, D'Ooge, and Toy were appointed a committee to recommend a suitable time and place for the next meeting.

The Vice-President, Professor F. D. Allen, of Harvard University, then took the chair and the reading of papers was resumed.

9. The Use of Abstract Verbal Nouns in Thucydides, by Dr. E. G. Sihler.

One of the most striking features of the style of Thucydides is his tendency towards condensation; and this is particularly observable in his use of verbal nouns in *-σις*. Such nouns occur, roughly speaking, 400 times. A few of them had obtained general currency before the time of this historian, — for example, *ὄψις*, *τάξις*, sundry compounds of *-βασις*, *πρόφασις*, etc. The great majority of them, however, are distinctly Thucydidean. Stahl's edition contains 471 pages. Using this as a basis of calculation, these verbals occur, on the average, once in $1\frac{1}{6}$ pages of text. The average amount of text in which one occurrence is found, is, for the several books, as follows: for book i., $1\frac{2}{3}$ pages; ii., $1\frac{1}{7}$; iii., $\frac{6}{7}$; iv., $1\frac{1}{4}$; v., $1\frac{1}{8}$; vi., $1\frac{3}{8}$; vii., $\frac{6}{8}$; viii., 2. Comparing these with the general average, $1\frac{1}{6}$,

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the diversities are, on the whole, too small to warrant any inferences as to the stylistic development of Thucydides, although the last book may possibly have been less thoroughly worked over into the characteristic diction of the author.

In respect of function and usage these nouns show differences sufficient to be made the basis of their classification. They are found:

1. As substantives, pure and simple; as subject, or object, or predicate-noun; and in prepositional phrases.
2. With a genitive objective attached. Here their verbal force is well maintained.
3. Introducing constructions such as would properly follow a verb.
4. In dependence upon a genitive subjective or possessive.
5. In periphrases with ποιεῖσθαι, γίγνεσθαι, ἔχειν, παρέχειν, εἶναι.

1. They are employed with concrete force; as, ἐπίκλησις, equivalent to ὄνομα, i. 3. 2. This is especially the case in couplets; e. g. καὶ λιμένα καὶ ἐφόρμησιν, vi. 48. Double compounds occur; as, προεκφόβησις, v. 11. 2. Modified by an attributive of some complexity, these verbals make a very concise phrase; thus, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν, iii. 102. 3. The verbal sometimes replaces a subordinate clause; as δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν, iii. 33. 1.

2. This class comprises 125, or nearly one third of the whole. Here the word in -σις retains the active function of a verb, and also, as a noun, admits of precise determination of its logical relation to the leading clause or word. This relation may be: temporal, as, μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν, i. 12. 3; instrumental, as, χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει, i. 6. 3; final, as, ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα . . . ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει, etc., iii. 10. 3.

3. The verbal introduces an indirect question (i. 73. 3) or an object clause (i. 132. 5), κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι, κτλ. The future infinitive occurs twice with δόκησις. The dative of interest is found with καταδούλωσις. The genetivus privandi of στερεῖν is maintained with στέρησις, ii. 63. 1.

4. Under this head fall about 42 cases. Here double compounds are frequent; as ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ προαναχωρήσει τῶν Μακεδόνων, iv. 128. 4. Genitives subjective and objective are combined at vii. 34. 6. A number of nouns assume a concrete sense (e. g. διάβασις, 'ford').

5. These verbals occur about 70 times in periphrasis. The verb is ποιεῖσθαι in nearly half (32) of these instances, and γίγνεσθαι in a quarter. The former is used especially in speaking of military movements; as, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν, iii. 33. 3.

With reference to the use of these verbals, Mr. Sihler compared Thucydides with his predecessors Herodotus and Antiphon, and his successor Xenophon.

The eighth book of Herodotus is equivalent to about one sixth of Thucydides. The occurrences of the -σις nouns number 40, and are to those in an equal amount of Thucydides as 3 to 5 But 15 are nouns long in vogue, like ὄψις and φύσις. The accumulation and insertion of attributives and other modifiers is the feature of Thucydidean diction most strikingly absent in Herodotus.

Antiphon's extant works are in bulk rather more than one eighth of Thucydides. The verbals occur 38 times, or thrice where Thucydides would use them four times. The percentage of new and original formations is much larger than in Herodotus.

The first three books of Xenophon's Hellenica equal one fifth of Thucydides.

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There are but 25 occurrences; or considerably less than one third as many as Thucydides would have in that space. The variety is limited and nouns like πρόφασις, στάσις, πρᾶξις, κρίσις, and φύσις make up most of the count. A very small number of free formation are noteworthy: thus, φοίτησις, i. 6. 7, and ἀντίληψις, iii. 5 5.

10. On the Vowel-scheme of Melville Bell, by Professor Samuel Porter, of the National Deaf-mute College, Washington, D. C.

The main aim of this paper was to offer suggestions in the way of supplement to and rectification of the vowel-scheme of Mr. Bell, — as the same is set forth, in a slightly modified form, by Mr. Henry Sweet, in his Handbook of Phonetics.

One thing to be desired is a more precise description of the articulating organs, and of the oral configuration for the several vowels. The forward boundary of the guttural passage needs to be defined, not only as made by the division between soft and hard palate, above, but also, on the sides, by the inner and anterior edge of the ascending branch of the lower jaw, behind which line the guttural passage widens out and thus makes a compartment which is, or may be, distinctly separated from the rest of the oral cavity. Again, it needs to be noticed that, as the dome of the hard palate widens in receding from the front and the tongue also widens from the point backwards, the passage made by applying the tongue to the palate at different points, in the positions for *i*, *e*, *æ*, respectively, would naturally differ in breadth. On the soft palate also, there would be a similar difference for *u*, *o*, and *â*. Again, not only the place of greatest constriction between tongue and palate should be noted, but the mode of formation (and hence the position and limit) of the resonance-chamber forward of this place needs to be distinctly described. This (for non-labials, and as an inner chamber for labialized vowels,) is made by the tongue flaring away from the palate. It is closed on each side by contact of margin of tongue with palate or with the walls of the guttural passage; and its forward limit is just where this contact ends. Thus, the place of constriction forming, as it were, the neck of a bottle, the resonance-chamber in question would be the flaring mouth of the bottle. It is important in every case to note the limit of this resonance-chamber. Another cavity, answering to the body of the bottle, lies back of the place of constriction; but this probably contributes far less to the quality of the vowel.

Instead of variation of tongue-position "horizontally" for the "back," "front," and "mixed," and "vertically" for the "high," "mid," and "low" vowels, these differences are, in fact, all made alike by horizontal variation. This is virtually admitted by Mr. Sweet (*Handbook*, page 211). *Outer* and *inner* would thus seem more appropriate terms than "high" and "low."

The *a* (in *father*) is wrongly placed as "mid-back-wide;" and should be set by itself, for reasons to be stated further on. And, for the mixed vowels, a dual instead of the threefold division is sufficient. Thus we should have nine leading vowel positions: — three front, *i*, *e*, *æ*; two mixed, *eu* and *eû* (as in *leur* and *jeûne*, French); * three back, *u*, *o*, *â* (as in *all*); — these eight having, in this order, the place of constriction and also the limit of the resonance-chamber re-

* Bell and Sweet regard the *eu* French, not as a "mixed" vowel, but as an *e* labialized. Of course, it is a labial anyway.

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ceding further and further by eight successive steps; — the three front positions being under the hard palate; the three back on the soft palate and limited entirely to the guttural passage; and the *eû*, of the mixed, limited to the guttural passage, while the *eu* reaches over across the division between soft and hard palate; the ninth, the *a*, is to be described below. For the back vowels, the axis of the resonance-chamber inclines more and more upward from *â* to *u*; for the mixed, points directly forward; and for the front, inclines downward.

The difference between the "narrow" (or "primary") and the "wide," as it is in fact, and as described by Mr. Sweet (*Handbook*, page 9), would better be designated by the terms *close* and *open*. It makes the difference between the quality of the long *i*, *e*, *æ*, *u*, *o*, *â*, and *eû*, respectively, and, on the other hand, the quality we give to the corresponding English short and stopped vowels. Of this difference, there may with advantage be noted, not merely two, but, for the seven vowels just named, as many as four degrees, which may be designated as the *close*, the *half-open*, the *open*, and the *open-depressed*. We need the second, the half-open, for the quality given to the short vowel in the Continental languages generally, the same which we hear in the attempts of foreigners and of Scotchmen to pronounce the short stopped vowels in English. Sometimes, also, to mark the quality of a vowel in unaccented syllables. Also, for the terminal part of our long *i* and of our *ou* diphthong. The open-depressed occurs in a drawling pronunciation of our short vowels, that is still habitual to some extent in New England, and elsewhere also, and perhaps may be heard almost anywhere occasionally in some such words as "Well" and "Yes." Without any such inelegance, it may be employed on these vowels in the way of emphasis. Tongue-depression is a natural attendant on the nasal twang, as this draws forward the soft palate, opening the way to the nose. That the *eû* should admit of four degrees (the fourth being made by depression from the *u* in *up*, *but*), while the *eu* (of which our *ea*rth and b*i*rd are non-labial forms) can admit of not more than two degrees at the most, is because the *eû* position is wholly within the guttural passage, thus allowing range of tongue-movement vertically, while for the *eu*, the position reaching further forward, there can be no such movement without breaking the lateral contact entirely. The *eû*[4] is the initial of our long *i* and our diphthong *ou*.

The *a* is to be set apart from the other vowels, for the reason that the place of constriction is not on tongue and palate at all; but the constriction is between the epiglottis, or the part of the tongue just above the epiglottis, and the back wall of the pharynx. Sounding this vowel on a low pitch, we can easily produce a decided trill from the epiglottis; and more or less of a fricative quality from this source is always to be distinguished in this vowel. On the other hand, in the *â*, *o*, and *u* vowels, there is always more or less of a peculiar quality that proceeds from the soft palate, and that is not perceptible at all in the true *a* vowel. The evidence of the ear, that of the eye, and that of the touch, — all go to exclude this vowel from the category of the *â*, *o*, *u*. Again, the *a* differs from all other vowels in this, that, in their case (laying out of account now the fourth degree), the open is naturally shorter than the close, and the short tends to be less close than the long; while for the *a* the reverse is the fact, the tongue is raised for the shorter and is depressed for the longer form of this vowel. For a test, compare the different *a*'s in the French.

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Placing the *a* thus by itself, we have the only arrangement that is in accordance with facts in the history of language. We have it in a position from which there is an easy, and physiologically perfectly natural, transition both to the front vowels under the hard palate and up along the back series on the soft palate. To locate it as "mid-back-wide" is to put it out of all such relation. Mr. Sweet (*History of English Sounds*, p. 28) has accordingly been led to assign as the point of divergence, not a proper *a* vowel, but an *ȧ*, the "low-back-wide," the "Scotch short *a* in *man*;" which, in fact, has no direct relation of easy transition with any front vowel.*

It is to be remarked that, for the *a* vowel, the effective resonance-chamber does not extend forward of the boundary of the guttural compartment. This is proved by uttering, as may be done, a clear and proper *a* with the tongue retracted within this boundary.

It is claimed as a merit on the part of the Bell system that it does not assume a correspondence between acoustic and physiologic characters; that is to say, it admits, and contends, that sounds presenting similarity may proceed from quite dissimilar organic adjustments, — that thus, for instance, the French *peur* is liable to be confounded with the English *purr*. But, if the vowel in *peur* is really spoken, in the way Mr. Sweet thinks correct, as a labialized *e*, it will hardly, in fact, be confounded with or likened to the *u* in *purr*. And, at all events, it is only so far as sound corresponds to organic adjustment and action, that a physiological scheme of the vowels can have any value whatever. If it were so that precisely the same sound could be produced by two or more different organical instrumentalities, the value of any such scheme would be so far diminished. To deny that there are generic characters of sound that correspond to generic organical characters, would be to detract from the value of the Bell vowel-scheme to an extent doubtless beyond what Mr. Sweet would approve.

It is to be noticed that there is a way of adjusting the point of the tongue upon the palate with an effect that shall simulate, though not exactly imitate, that of labial contraction. The two adjustments may even be combined, as they perhaps sometimes are in the French *u* and *eu*, or the German *ü* and *ö*. This adjustment is to be carefully distinguished from the resonance-chamber as that exists apart from such modification.

These criticisms and the proposed amendments are offered, not with any disposition to disparage the work of Mr. Bell and of Mr. Sweet, but in hearty recognition of the eminent service they have rendered to phonetic science, and with the view of contributing to the correction of what, if they are defects, could not fail to hinder the full and final success of the scheme to which these gentlemen have given so much of their labor.

The Association adjourned at 6.15 P. M. until Thursday morning.

In the evening, about thirty of the members took part in an excursion from the Forest City House through Euclid Avenue to East

* By Dr. Graham Bell, as well as by Mr. Sweet, the *a* in *father* is ranked as "mid-back-wide." The elder Mr. Bell has never so described it; the implication to the contrary, in the note in the separate issue of the *Proceedings*, was erroneous. But, what is hardly less objectionable, he does give this position to the *a* in *ask*, *path*, etc.

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Madison, and thence to Gordon Park on the border of Lake Erie. Upon their return a collation was served in the Public Library Building.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Thursday, July 14, 1881.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association came to order at 9.15 A. M. The minutes of Wednesday's sessions were read by the Secretary, and approved.

Remarks upon Professor Porter's paper were made by Dr. B. W. Wells and Professor Whitney. The reading of communications was resumed.

11. On Latin Pronunciation, by Professor M. M. Fisher, of the University of Missouri. This was presented by his colleague, Professor Blackwell.

The author criticised the "Roman" or "Restored" method, claiming that it could never be taught with uniformity inasmuch as its ablest advocates differed widely in regard to its details. He argued that the true ancient pronunciation could never be positively and fully known, and that, from practical considerations, it was better to adhere to the English system of pronouncing Latin.

Dr. Sihler spoke of the agreement of the best German authorities in regard to the general correctness of the Roman or historical method.

Professor J. B. Weston, of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, said that men did not agree respecting *all* sounds in English, and that a disagreement concerning a few sounds in the Roman pronunciation did not militate against its adoption as a system. Moreover, it was better to be near the truth than far from it.

12. What is Articulation? by Professor Whitney.

The word "articulate" is generally used as distinctively descriptive of human speech; but for the most part without any clear idea of what it really means, or why human speech should be designated in this particular way. And this unclearness is found not only in popular use, but in that of scientific treatises, even those of a high class. In Sievers's *Lautphysiologie*, for example, "articulation" is defined and used in a way that makes it the precise equivalent of "utterance," voluntary production of sound by a living creature, whether human or other than human. Is this authorized, or to be approved?

The term goes back to the Greek *ἔναρθρος*, which means 'jointed,' and is used primarily of physical jointing, as that of a limb, or of a stalk of grass. The corresponding noun and verb are *ἐνάρθρωσις* and *διάρθρωσις*, and *διαρθρόω*. These are rendered by the Latin *articulo*, denominative of *articulus*, 'joint,' and its various forms and derivatives.

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Now articulation in this its literal sense, of jointedness, is in very truth *the* characteristic of human speech-utterance, distinguishing it from other varieties of human utterance, as laughing, crying, groaning, yelling, etc., and from all brute utterance. Speech moves on by a succession of similar parts, separate but joined on to one another — namely, syllables. Articulation is virtually syllabication, — a breaking of the stream of utterance into joints, by the intervention of closer utterances, or consonants (only exceptionally of hiatus), between the opener utterances, or vowels. The essence of articulation lies not in the mode of production of the individual sounds, which is virtually alike in all animals possessing voice, but in the mode of their combination. We recognize this meaning plainly enough still, in saying that a person "articulates well," when the transitions between vowel and consonant elements are clearly made; or in accusing of bad articulation a singer who slurs the consonants and hardly utters any but vowel tones, or a mumbling indistinct speaker. Articulation in this sense is a still higher characteristic of speech, inasmuch as it is an acquired one, coming with the historical development of speech. We have every reason to believe that the first significant uttered elements were monosyllables, earlier open ones, perhaps later in part closed ones (this is a disputed point). In this stage language was not properly articulate; each utterance was a simple isolated voice-gesture, in meaning equivalent to a whole sentence. But such an isolated utterance was made complicate, in part by repetition or reduplication, in part by combination with other like utterances: this combination being either syntactical, as now in Chinese, so that each sentence became an articulated whole, each joint having its own meaning and motion, or, on the other hand, in part also agglutinative, so that each word became an articulated whole, its members having each its own part to play as a joint, and the sentence became a jointed entity of double complication. Our own children have to go through a similar course: they begin with simple utterances, and with isolated ones, learning later, by practice, to joint these on to one another in an unbroken articulated succession. And the organs of the lower animals are not incapable of producing single sounds like enough to ours; but those animals are incapable of the development which would lead them to combined articulated utterance.

It appears, then, as if the Greeks made one of their very happiest hits, showed their genius for observation and distinction at its best, in calling human utterance 'jointed;' no other term could so well describe its phonetic character, nor be so deeply founded in its history. It is a great pity if we cannot show the secondary ability to understand what they meant, and to keep the word to its true value. If there really is no available German word for 'utter,' and *articulate* must hence be reduced to that sense in German use, let it be done at least with the confession and excuse of poverty, and not as if no degradation of the word, but only a proper continuation of it in its ancient significance, was implied in such use.

13. On the Origin of ν Movable in Greek, by Professor Fisk P. Brewer, of Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.

The origin of ν movable in Greek seems to have been different after different endings.

1. In third-singulars in -ε. Here the view of Deventer is accepted, that the

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forms with -ν are earlier than those without. Otherwise, the ν should appear under similar phonetic conditions after -ε in the second person and elsewhere.

In the parent speech these forms ended in -τ. Deventer supposes that this -τ was changed directly to -ν, but gives no other instance of such a change. Perhaps the true explanation is that there was an assimilation of the third-singular to the third-plural. When the earliest Greeks began to discard final mutes, and to modify all such words as *ἔλυετ and *ἔλυσετ, they remolded these to ἔλυεν and ἔλυσεν, in imitation of the new plurals ending in -ον and -σαν. About the same time, probably, the third-plurals assimilated in accent to the third-singulars,

	*ἔλυετ and *ἐλύοντ,	*ἔλυσετ and *ἐλύσαντ	
becoming	ἔλυεν and ἔλυον,	ἔλυσεν and ἔλυσαν.	

This was not a development of ν from τ, but a replacement of one letter by the other. The change may have been facilitated by the fact that ν or αν was in the earliest times a representative of a third-person pronoun in Greek verbal endings, and in later times remained a recognized demonstrative element.

N movable in these forms may be considered, then. a personal ending of secondary formation which began to fall away, but was continued in the literary period, subject to phonetic rules for its use and omission.

2. In third-plurals in -σι. The earlier form was λύοντι, which never assumes ν. Such forms as λύονσι and λύωνσι also exist. From these came the ordinary λύουσιν by transfer of the liquid, -νσι changing to -σιν. The final ν, representing in its original position a third-person pronoun, was unstable in its new place, and became a movable letter.

3. Later all other words in -σϊ assumed ν as a mere phonetic addition, acquiring double forms after the analogy already established in the frequently recurring forms of the third plural. ἔστιν seems anomalous, though Deventer considers the termination -στι sufficiently like -σι to have assumed ν by the same analogy.

It is admitted that the above explanation rests on slender evidence, but it is claimed to accord better with the general process of word-formation than to consider ν movable from the beginning a merely euphonic addition.

14. On the Use of πρίν in the Attic Orators, by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the introductory part of the paper the author took occasion to show how carelessly and inconsistently the particle had been handled even by leading writers on grammar. The negative element which is involved in πρίν has been overlooked, and false rules for use have been laid down. The difficulty of the combination with πρίν and the infinitive has not been fairly met. As a prepositional combination with the infinitive, it is an anachronism, and yet it is hardly explicable on other grounds.

After detailed strictures on various points the author proceeded to present, with a few comments, the normal use of πρίν, with a tabular conspectus of the occurrences in sentences that might have assumed the finite form; but the examples weigh little in comparison with the whole number, and we are far from the Homeric freedom, — nearer the scenic norm. πρίν with the infinitive after affirmative sentences is becoming a rule; πρίν with the indicative after affirmative clauses is extremely rare. Perfect infinitive and present infinitive are rare

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and carefully used, and there is little good warrant for πρὶν ἤ or the omission of ἄν. Of individual peculiarities in the handling there is not much to be said. Isokrates in his more formal orations treats πρότερον — πρίν as he does everything else, in the interest of his æsthetic seesaw and fastidious rhythm. There is more masculinity and familiarity in the abrupt use of πρίν, as for instance in Lysias.

15. On the use of the Aorist Participle in Greek, by Professor T. D. Seymour, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The aorist participle seems to have no more natural right than the aorist infinitive to the signification of past time. We find examples of this *achronic* use, e. g., in Homer, Σ 210, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι | πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν. A paper was presented to this Association at Baltimore in 1877 on the "Temporal Coincidence of the Aorist Participle with the Primary Verb," in ἤκουσε εὐξαμένου, κτλ., by Professor Merriam.

Although there are many instances to be found of this original use, yet the rule is that the aorist participle regularly refers to an action or state "which is past with reference to the time of the leading verb." An explanation of this may be found by an examination of the different classes of participles.

The aorist participle when attributive clearly corresponds to the aorist indicative (οὗτος ὁ λύσας = οὗτος ὃς ἔλυσε), and as the aorist infinitive refers to past time when it represents the indicative, so naturally is it with the participle. When this participle corresponds to the subjunctive or optative the case is different, as we should expect.

The same principle holds with the supplementary participles; ἐλαθεν ἀφικόμενος corresponds to ἀφίκετο λάθρα, ἔτυχεν ἰδών to εἶδεν τύχῃ, φαίνεται σπουδάσας to φαίνεται ὅτι ἐσπούδασε, κτλ. In all these instances the participle represents the indicative mood.

For the circumstantial participles it is instructive to compare, e. g., Homer, Δ 149, ὡς εἶδεν μέλαν αἷμα ῥίγησεν, and 217, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἕλκος, ἐπὶ φάρμακα πάσσε, with 279, ῥίγησέν τε ἰδών. So ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου κτλ. would be expressed by most prose writers παυσάμενοι πόνου κτλ. ἐδαίνυντο. It is a commonplace saying that in the English idiom two verbs are used where the Greek preferred a verb and a participle. Thus εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνεσχών is logically though not rhetorically equivalent to ἀνέσχε χεῖρας καὶ εὔχετο, ἄνοιγε ἀνύσας to ἄνυσον καὶ ἄνοιγε; so in Homer, A 85, we have θαρσήσας μάλα εἰπέ and, 92, θάρσησε καὶ ηὔδα.

Often the participle corresponds to the subjunctive or the optative mood; so Homer, α 163, εἰ κεῖνόν γε ἰδοίατο νοστήσαντα κτλ. may be resolved into εἴ γε νοστήσειε . . . . πάντες κ' ἀρησαίατ' ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι, and perhaps Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει into ἐὰν διαβῇ κτλ.

In general, however, the aorist participle, whether attributive, supplementary, or circumstantial, represents the aorist indicative, and thus naturally refers to time prior to that of the principal verb. In later Greek, as was to be expected from the predominance of this reference to past time, this participle was used as an absolute past participle.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professors Price and Gildersleeve.

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16. Report of the Committee on the Reform of English Spelling, by the Chairman, Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The Philological Society of England has just issued a pamflet entitled "Partial Corections of English Spellings aproovd of by the Philological Society." These corections ar the result of a discussion introduced by the President, Dr. Murray, in his retiring adress on the 21st May, 1880, and continued thru six meetings. Mr. Sweet was authorized to prepare a statement of the results, and this was finaly adopted at a special general meeting on January 28th, 1881. The corections ar made in the interest of etymological and historical truth, and confined to words which the changes do not much disguize from general readers.

Your Comittee finds that the corections of the Philological Society's pamflet ar such as ar contemplated in the report of your Comittee of 1875, and in subsequent reports; and it recomends the imediate adoption of the following corections which ar therein set forth, and which ar uzed in this report:

1. e.—Drop silent *e* when foneticaly useless, as in *live, vineyard, believe, bronze, single, engine, granite, eaten, rained*, etc.
2. ea.—Drop *a* from *ea* having the sound of ĕ, as in *feather, leather, jealous*, etc.
   Drop *e* from *ea* having the sound of a, as in *heart, hearken.*
3. eau.—For *beauty* uze the old *beuty.*
4. eo.—Drop *o* from *eo* having the sound of ĕ, as in *jeopardy, leopard.*
   For *yeoman* write *yoman.*
5. i.—Drop *i* of *parliament.*
6. o.—For *o* having the sound of ŭ in *but* write *u* in *above* (abuv), *dozen, some* (sum), *tongue* (tung), and the like.
   For *women* restore *wimen.*
7. ou.—Drop *o* from *ou* having the sound of ŭ, as in *journal, nourish, trouble, rough* (ruf), *tough* (tuf), and the like.
8. u.—Drop silent *u* after *g* before *a*, and in nativ English words, as *guarantee, guard, guess, guest, guild, guilt.*
9. ue.—Drop final *ue* in *apologue, catalogue*, etc.; *demagogue, pedagogue*, etc.; *league, colleague, harangue, tongue* (tung).
   Drop *e* in *argue, ague.*
10. y.—Spel *rhyme* rime.
11. Dubl consonants may be simplified:
    Final *b, d, g, n, r, t, f, l, z*, as *ebb, add, egg, inn, purr, butt, bailiff, dull, buzz* (not *all, hall*).
    Medial before another consonant, as *battle, ripple, written* (writn).
    Initial unaccented prefixes, and other unaccented syllabls, as in *abbreviate, accuse, affair*, etc., *curvetting, traveller*, etc.
12. b.—Drop silent *b* in *bomb, crumb, debt, doubt, dumb, lamb, limb, numb, plumb, subtle, succumb, thumb.*
13. c.—Change *c* back to *s* in *cinder, expence, fierce, hence, once, pence, scarce, since, source, thence, tierce, whence.*
14. ch.—Drop the *h* of *ch* in *chamomile, choler, cholera, melancholy, school, stomach.*
    Change to *k* in *ache* (ake), *anchor* (anker).

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15. d. — Change *d* and *ed* final to *t* when so pronounced, as in *crossed* (crost), *looked* (lookt), etc., unless the *e* afects the preceding sound, as in *chafed, chanced.*
16. g. — Drop *g* in *feign, foreign, sovereign.*
17. gh. — Drop *h* in *aghast, burgh, ghost.*
    Drop *gh* in *haughty, though* (tho), *through* (thru).
    Change *gh* to *f* where it has that sound, as in *cough, enough, laughter, tough*, etc.
18. l. — Drop *l* in *could.*
19. p. — Drop *p* in *receipt.*
20. s. — Drop *s* in *aisle, demesne, island.*
    Change *s* to *z* in distinctiv words, as in *abuse* verb, *house* verb, *rise* verb, etc.
21. sc. — Drop *c* in *scent, scythe* (sithe).
22. tch. — Drop *t*, as in *catch, pitch, witch*, etc.
23. w. — Drop *w* in *whole.*
24. ph. — Write *f* for *ph*, as in *philosophy, sphere*, etc.

On motion, the Report was approved, and the committee, appointed in 1875, was continued for another year, the name of Professor T. R. Lounsbury, of Yale College, being added, to serve in place of the late Professor S. S. Haldeman. It now consists of Messrs. Whitney, Child, Trumbull, March, and Lounsbury.

It was voted that the reports of the committees on the time and place of the next meeting and on nomination of officers be called for at the beginning of the afternoon session.

The Association thereupon took a recess.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Thursday, July 14, 1881.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Vice-President, Professor Allen, called the Association to order at 4 o'clock.

Professor March, in behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1881–82, reported as follows:

For *President* — Professor Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

For *Vice-Presidents* — Professor Milton W. Humphreys, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; Professor M. L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.

For *Secretary and Curator* — Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

For *Treasurer* — Charles J. Buckingham, Esq., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

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For additional members of the *Executive Committee* —

Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Professor William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Professor Thomas R. Price, University of Virginia, Va.
Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.
Professor William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The report was accepted, and the persons therein named were declared elected to the offices to which they were respectively nominated.

Professor Whitney reported for the committee on time and place of meeting. It was recommended that the next session be held at Boston, Mass., or some place in its immediate vicinity, on Tuesday, July 11, 1882, at 3 P.M. The determination of the precise locality of meeting was left to the Executive Committee.

On motion, the report was accepted.

At this session, the election of the following members was announced:

Professor Irving J. Manatt, Marietta College, Ohio.
Professor John L. Johnson, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss.

The reading of papers was resumed.

17. Shemitic or Semitic? by Professor Blackwell.

It were much to be desired that some uniformity were prevalent among scholars in the use in the English language of one or the other of the terms "Shemitic" or "Semitic." I believe the time is near at hand when the desirable uniformity will be secured, and when scholars will settle upon Semitic. The defenders of Shemitic have been chiefly, I believe, from the theological side, though Shemitic and Semitic, with a preference for the latter, both occur in Kitto's Bible Cyclopedia, in the able article by Emmanuel Deutsch. Smith's Bible Dictionary dismisses the controversy with the curt and half-indignant statement that "English scholars have lately adopted from the French the form Semitic, but there is no reason why *we* should abandon the Hebrew sound because the French find the pronunciation difficult." (Vol. IV. p. 2971, *note.*) Professor Murray (*Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, p. 2) remarks that "Semitic and Semite, now so much in vogue as to be almost good usage, are survivals of the French nomenclature of the English Orientalists who learned Arabic at the feet of De Sacy." It will be observed that the statement of Smith's Bible Dictionary involves several charges: first, That English scholars have *lately* adopted Semitic; second, That there is no reason why *we* should abandon the Hebrew sound; third, That we received Semitic from the French; fourth, That the French find the pronunciation of *sh* difficult. Professor Murray grants, in addition to the third charge, that Semitic is in "*almost* good usage."

I. With regard to the first charge of Smith's Bible Dictionary, that English

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scholars have "lately" adopted Semitic, it may be said that they must have lately adopted it if they were to adopt it at all, using the word "lately" in a broad sense. The term was not in general use until the first quarter of this century, having been used in Germany, as it is alleged, first by Schlözer in 1781, only nineteen years before 1800. Its use could not, however, have been general, since Eichhorn claims to have introduced it in place of "Oriental" in 1794, and could not have known of any earlier usage. If the English scholars who introduced the objectionable term, learned it, as Professor Murray asserts, "at the feet of De Sacy," they must have used it at its very earliest entrance into speech, for De Sacy was in the prime of his fame in the beginning of this century. In 1800 De Sacy was forty-two years old, had been known as a prominent Arabist since his memoir on the "History of the Arabs before Mohammed," read in 1785, and had been a professor of Arabic for five years. It was in 1806 that he was appointed to the professorship of Persian in the Collége de France, and in the same year appeared his *Chrestomathie Arabe*, three years before the death of Schlözer, and twenty-one years before the death of Eichhorn. Hence even from the very arguments of the defenders of Shemitic, it may be proved that the term Semitic preceded it in English usage. It would, therefore, be entitled to all the rights which precedence gives, and should not be evicted by Shemitic without some good grounds. Not only so, but the English pupils who had imbibed and assimilated the instructions of such a man as De Sacy, would undoubtedly have such rights as are by common consent freely granted to distinguished special learning, and would justly lay a claim to the prerogative, above other men of meaner qualifications and less acknowledged authority, of determining and fixing what our usage should be.

II. The second point of the remark in Smith's Bible Dictionary is that "there is no reason why we should abandon the Hebrew sound." Shall we then be required to say Shabbâth for Sabbath, Môshe for Moses, Shelach for Salah, Yerushalaim for Jerusalem, Sh'altiêl for Salathiel, Shôm'rôn for Samaria, Shimshôn for Samson, Sh'muêl for Samuel, Shâûl for Saul, Shêth for Seth, Shim'ôn for Simon, Sh'lômôh for Solomon, Abhshâlôm for Absalom, Yeshai for Jesse, Y'shayâhû for Isaiah, M'nassheh for Manasseh, Yêshû'a for Jesus, Shôshannah for Susannah, and Mâshîach for Messiah? The Jews also are sinners against the rule set up in the Bible Dictionary, for they very usually write Shim'ôn in the Talmud with a *Samekh* instead of a *Shin*, as for instance in the Talmud of Jerusalem, Shab. 11: 2, and Berach, 8: 1. The very sufficient answer against the enforcement of the implied recommendation of Smith's Bible Dictionary seems to me to be that many of these names have become part and parcel of our speech, and are woven into the woof of our historical and domestic life. *Sem* stands in the same category, for we find it where we have found the other names, namely in the English Bible, e. g. in Luke 3: 36. To the allegation that there is "no reason" for the adoption of Semitic, I answer again briefly that Semitic appears to me the better term because of the very possibility of its failing to suggest to an English mind the more usual form of the name Shem. *Japhetic* is about obsolete, *Hamitic* is obsolescent, and *Shemitic*, founded on error and guarded by prejudice and obstinacy, should follow in the same road. It is possible for Semitic to attain a conventional wide significance, similar to that we attribute to Aryan and Turanian; Shemitic, on the contrary, carries with it the history of a misconception, from which it cannot easily be divorced.

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III. The writer of the article "Shemitic Languages" in Smith's Bible Dictionary affirms that we received Semitic from the French, and Professor Murray coincides with this statement. No evidence, no reference to any historical document, is cited by either authority. But it is not a necessary conclusion, at all, that we borrowed the term from the French. There were other persons in England besides Coleridge, in the beginning of this century, who, like him, were more or less devoted both to Semitic and to German literature, and who may have seen the word and used it at its earliest invention. Coleridge was twenty-eight years of age in the year 1800, when Eichhorn's *Bibliothek* had been six years before the public, and it is not unlikely that he had used the word as early as De Sacy used it. At any rate, that the word Semitic was known to him as early as Feb. 24, 1827, is matter of history, for it occurs in his "Table-talk" of that date. The statement of Smith's Bible Dictionary, therefore, that it has been "lately adopted" from the French, must be modified in so far that the word "lately" may mean fifty years.

IV. The Dictionary further affirms that the French find the pronunciation of our *sh* difficult. We should hardly expect to find anything "sensational" in a Bible Dictionary, but this statement is certainly very remarkable. How a Frenchman would allow himself to be convulsed with such impossible phonetic combinations when he would speak of his *chapeau*, or of his *cheval* which draws his *chaise* along his *chemin*, is only to be explained by the fact that a Frenchman is to an Englishman past finding out. The Abbé Chiarini, who spells the letter *Shin*, C-h-i-n, in p. 64 of his *Prolégomènes à la version du Talmud*, would doubtless have raised in the writer in Smith's Bible Dictionary the notion that the design in this odd orthography was to speak of a part of the human countenance.

In conclusion let me note that Professor Murray observes that Semitic is in "almost" good usage. But the Encyclopedia Britannica, the Penny Encyclopedia, the American, and the New American Encyclopedias, and indeed all the large encyclopedias excepting the Edinburgh one; the professors of Oxford and Cambridge, notably Professors Max Müller and Palmer; and indeed all the great scholars and writers of Great Britain, excepting a few like Davidson of obstinate Scotland, including the writers of such good English as Gladstone, Ruskin, Beaconsfield, and Fitz-Edward Hall, uniformly and exclusively use Semitic. In this country the usage of such scholars as Robinson, in his Travels and in his translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, of Green, in his Hebrew Grammar, of the late Professor Hadley in his Essays, of Whitney and March in their respective Sanskrit and Anglo-Saxon grammars, and of Professor Murray's editor and annotator, make the practice more than respectable. In view of all that has been here urged, it may not improperly be said that the term Semitic is authoritative.

18. The Reading and Interpretation of Verse 572 of the Antigone of Sophocles, by Professor M. L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Aldus first assigned this line to Antigone, a view since advocated by Boeckh and adopted by the majority of editors. That Boeckh was unduly influenced by the supposed incongruity of the address ὦ φίλταθ' Αἵμων in the mouth of Ismene, is now generally acknowledged. The two principal reasons for giving

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the line to Antigone are: (1) If the line is assigned to Ismene, τὸ σὸν λέχος of the next line must mean 'the marriage of which you speak,' which, although admissible so far as use of words is concerned, has no application to what Ismene has just said. (2) As the line stands, it is not what would be expected from Ismene in response to the reproachful observation of Creon, κακὰς ἐγὼ γυναῖκας υἱέσιν στυγῶ. Antigone, and not Haemon, is dishonored (ἀτιμάζει) by this reproach, against which Ismene would be likely to defend her sister.

But these considerations, it must be noticed, are objections against assigning the line to Ismene rather than arguments for giving it to Antigone. To suppose the line spoken by Antigone involves, as it seems to me, much graver objections. For, in the first place, we are then to hold that Antigone, who before this had made not the slightest allusion to her relations with Haemon, now so far loses sight of her absorbing devotion to her duty towards her brother, as to resent the imputation that she would be a bad wife for Creon's son. To be sure, Boeckh sees in this ejaculation a kind of magnanimity on the part of Antigone in that she notices the indirect taunt hurled at Haemon rather than the direct one aimed at herself; still, she is moved to break her dignified silence none the less by a reproach cast upon her λέχος. The unnaturalness of this is the more apparent when we take into account Antigone's utterance in 560. But again, to suppose this line spoken by Antigone makes the next line spoken by Creon exceedingly tame. It is hardly in keeping with the proud and indignant temper of Creon to take so little notice of this exclamation (to pay no attention to it at all would suit the situation), if it had fallen from the lips of Antigone. But to settle the interpretation of a line by simply weighing objections over against each other, is at best only a choice of evils. Whether the line be assigned to Antigone or to Ismene, it must be confessed that its connection with the context is not readily apparent. To make the connection of this line and of 569 more clear, Nauck proposes to bracket 570 and to transpose 571 and 572, so as to have this order: 569, 572, 571. According to his interpretation of 572, which he assigns to Ismene, Creon dishonors Haemon by intimating that he will comfort himself for the loss of his bride by finding another in her stead. While thus a better connection for 572 is gained, it is at the expense of the clearness of the relation of 571 to the context. Moritz Schmidt, in his recent edition, proposes more radical transpositions, which a sound criticism will be slow to accept. The only point of interest in his emendation is the connection he makes between 567 and 572, which he explains by supposing that ἀτιμάζει refers to Creon's disposal of Antigone without consulting his son who, having reached his majority, ought to have some voice in the matter. Not to speak of the *modernness* of this view, its finesse is out of harmony with the simplicity and directness of Ismene's character.

To remove the objections urged above against assigning 572 to Ismene, and to make apparent the connection of this line with the next following, I venture to propose a much simpler remedy, to wit, a change of σ' to σφ' in 572. The line would then read: 'O, dearest Haemon, how your father dishonors *her*' (i. e. Antigone), by calling her κακὴ γύνη for you his son. The omission of the article or pronoun with πατήρ is no objection, and the use of σφέ in Tragedy, when no deictic force is intended, is common enough. The disappearance of the φ from σφ' is quite similar to the omission of δ' in O. C. 1363, ἐκ σέθεν δ' ἀλώμενος, or of θ' in O. C. 1012, ξυμμάχους θ' ἵν' ἐκμάθῃς.

With this reading we first get a clear view of what is referred to by ἀτιμάζει,

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and a fair connection for the next following line. Now Creon says, with manifest allusion to the exclamation of Ismene: Stop, you and this marriage to which you have been referring (just now and in 568 and 570) are provoking me beyond endurance. For this reference of τὸ σὸν λέχος we have proof in the scholium on this line: τὸ σὸν, τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ ὀνομαζόμενον· οἷον, τὸ ὄνομα τῆς νύμφης ὃ σὺ προβάλλῃ.

From this scholium the proposed emendation receives inferential evidence; for, while the name of the bride is not mentioned in this connection, the proposed σφέ adds to the clearness of the reference.

19. A Confession about Othello, by Professor March.

The scenes in which Iago moves Othello to jelousy seem to me unnatural. I hav tried since my boyhood to make them seem natural, but I hav not succeeded, — that is my confession.

If we compare the jelousy of Leontes we find it natural though utterly groundless. It springs from temperament and mood in Leontes. But in Othello the attempt is made to show us a man, not jelous in himself, convinced by testimony and reasons that he has cause for jelousy.

His own view of his wife presents her to him in perfect purity. We ar to believ him overpowerd by reasons. There is great elaboration of the steps of Iago's procedure to convince him. We ar led therefore to scrutinize them, and we must see they amount to nothing. How could any man like Othello be moved by such tricks and trifles? It is possibl, to be sure, that a man should hav such perfect confidence in another as to accept his views without good reasons. If we ar to recognize such a friendship between Othello and Iago, grounds for it should be shown in the character of Iago in the earlier part of the play. But he is exhibited as a rascal, and a gross one, from the first. It is hard to think of such shallow rascality, so obtrusively set forth at every turn, as deceiving any one. Was there some actor of Shakespeare's time who had a natural expression of superhuman trustworthiness, some unimaginabl "confidence man," looking on whom the theater coud believ that any Othello must trust him in everything? Or has Shakespeare for once lowerd his genius to giv the actors an opportunity to show off their power of depicting changes of mood and passion too artificial for nature?

On motion of Professor Toy, it was

Resolved, That the following minute be put on the Records, and be sent to the gentlemen here mentioned:

The American Philological Association desires to express its hearty thanks to the Board of Education of Cleveland for the use of their Assembly Room, to the representatives of the Cleveland *Leader* and of the Cleveland *Herald* for their careful reports of the proceedings, to the officers of the Union Club for the generously offered privileges of their Club House, and to Mr. Charles W. Bingham, Mr. W. S. Kerruish, Dr. H. H. Powell, and especially to Mr. E. P. Williams, for their kindness in making the needed arrangements for the meeting, and for the pleasant ride and collation provided by them.

The minutes of Thursday's sessions were read and approved.

On motion, the Association then adjourned.

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CHARLES J. BUCKINGHAM, *Treasurer, in account with the* AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, *July* 13, 1880 — *July* 12, 1881.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
Balance in Treasury, July 12, 1880,	$414.05	Printing "Transactions" and "Proceedings,"	$529.10
Fees and Assessments since received,	543.58	Expenses of session in Philadelphia,	16.86
Sales of "Transactions,"	35.00	" " Assistant Secretary,	36.15
Interest,	24.00	" " Secretary,	2.46
		" " Treasurer,	8.60
		Printing Bills and Receipts,	5.00
		Balance in Treasury to new account,	418.46
	$1,016.63		$1,016.63

E. E. CHARLES J. BUCKINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

There is also in the hands of the Treasurer one Bond of the Connecticut Western Railroad for Five Hundred Dollars, with nine overdue and unpaid coupons.

C. J. B.

Having examined the above accounts, and compared them with the vouchers, we certify them to be correct.

(Signed) F. A. MARCH, T. D. SEYMOUR, } *Auditing Committee.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 12, 1881.

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OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1881–82.

PRESIDENT.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS,
MARTIN L. D'OOGE.

SECRETARY AND CURATOR.

CHARLES R. LANMAN.

TREASURER.

CHARLES J. BUCKINGHAM.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The officers above named, and —

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE,
WILLIAM W. GOODWIN,
THOMAS R. PRICE,
J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,
WILLIAM D. WHITNEY.

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Eben Alexander, East Tennessee University, Knoxville, Tenn.
Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William F. Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
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OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Article I. — Name and Object.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II. — Officers.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

Article III. — Meetings.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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Article IV. — Members.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of five dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

Article V. — Sundries.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Article VI. — Amendments.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decide to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the first twelve volumes of Transactions:

1869–1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅπως and οὐ μή.

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VanName, A.: Contributions to Creole grammar.

Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

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March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

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Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

1874. — Volume V.

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Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's Odyssey (x. 81–86).

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Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the Anabasis.
Whitney, W. D.: *Φύσει* or *θέσει*—natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

1875.—Volume VI.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.
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Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

1876.—Volume VII.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *εἰ* with the future indicative and *ἐάν* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.
Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.
Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.
Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.
Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.
Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

1877.—Volume VIII.

Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.
Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis of the Hebrew verb.
Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of *ὥστ*.
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Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.
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March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

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Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.
Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.
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Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the Cynegeticus of Xenophon.
Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.

Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

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1880.—Volume XI.

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Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

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Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

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1882.

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TRANSACTIONS

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I. — *The Greek New Testament as Published in America.*

BY ISAAC H. HALL, LL.B., PH.D.,

OF PHILADELPHIA.

I. *Preliminary.*

ASIDE from the bibliophile's passion or the collector's mania, there are sundry sound reasons for an inquiry into the history and character of the Greek New Testament as published in America. Most of these reasons are those developed by the inquiry itself, and centre themselves in the varieties of text thus disclosed; varieties existing not only in the critical editions, but in the adored *textus receptus* itself — before the critical editions had much circulation, or, as to most of them, an existence.

Secondary, but still a fact and noteworthy, is the revelation thus made of the industry and enthusiasm of the earlier American editors; who, to a greater extent than is commonly suspected, exercised an independent judgment and skill. Although their pioneer work would not fill the wants of to-day, it has been rather too meanly judged by their successors, and deserves at least an honorable record.

The ground, moreover, is almost unbroken. In O'Callaghan's American Bibles,[1] only sixteen editions of the Greek Testament are described or enumerated; a mere fraction of the number then existing; not to mention those issued in the twenty-two years that have since elapsed — nearly all of them prolific, except the four years of war.

[1] A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof, printed in America previous to 1860. By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, 1861.

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In the last two centuries, though theological books abounded, it was an almost unheard of thing to see a quotation from the Greek Testament—at least, in Greek type—in an American book. Nor were the English citations always made from our Common Version. The lawyers were apt to follow Coke's example, or to cite at second hand from him and others, who quoted the Vulgate Latin and supplied an original rendering therefrom. The clergymen had not altogether ceased to use or to quote the Genevan Bible, the version which came over to New England with the early settlers, and which still is often to be seen preserved for its associations and its ancient family record. To this day certain theological books are printed in this country with their Scripture citations from an English version earlier than our Common one. An every-day example of this is the edition of Luther's Commentary on Galatians commonly circulated among the Presbyterians. This translation (it is a revision as well) antedates our Common Version, and still keeps its Scripture citations unchanged.

Of course the Greek Testament was in the land, in numbers abundant for the times. I have no data, even approximate, to form a judgment as to the particular editions which were most common; but in the theological libraries and in private collections I have seen evidence of their great variety. For many years, too, I have known it as a fact that the rarer and more highly prized editions used to be regularly sought by certain second-hand dealers for exportation to Europe; where, until recently, such old treasures readily brought a higher price than here. To judge from such facts as are apparent, the earlier immigrants chiefly brought editions produced in Antwerp, Leyden, Geneva, and Lyons, with a sprinkling from presses along the Rhine, and some of Paris make; but just before and after the American Revolution, more copies came from England and Scotland. However, but few editions were produced in England before the settlement of Massachusetts. I can find traces of but two[1] printed before 1620.

[1] These were Vautroller's (H. Stephens's text), London, 1587, 16mo; and another of the same text, *e Regia Typographia*, London, 1592, 16mo. The London Beza of 1565, mentioned by Scrivener (*Plain Introd. to N. T. Crit.*, ed. 1874, p. 390, note 1; also, his *N. T. Gr.*, ed. 1873, etc., p. viii.) is doubtless a mistake.

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II. *The Mill Editions.*

The earliest Greek *book* printed in America, so far as I can discover, is the Enchiridion of Epictetus ("ex editione Joannis Upton accurate expressum"), with a Latin translation, published at Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1792. The type is quite small, and is apparently the same as that used thirty years later, with much less skill, in Kneeland's Greek Testament—to be described farther on.

But the first Greek Testament printed in America, as all acquainted with the general subject know, was published at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1800, by the famous printer Isaiah Thomas (b. 1749, d. 1831). The book is now rather uncommon, though easy enough to be had a few years ago. It bears many slight resemblances to the various English editions of William Bowyer—a series of at least twelve editions, varying slightly from each other, which appeared in London at various times from 1715 to 1812. Of these Bowyer editions, that of 1794 (an edition not noticed by the bibliographers, but the last of the series to appear before Thomas published) seems to have furnished Thomas with his title-pattern. At least, its title is exactly reproduced, line for line, word for word, and style for style of type, in the Thomas edition, except only as to date and names and place of publisher. Thomas's titlepage reads as follows: "*Η ΚΑΙΝΗ* | *ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ.* | NOVUM | TESTAMENTUM. | JUXTA EXEMPLAR JOANNIS MILLII AC- | CURATISSIME IMPRESSUM. | [Ornament—a caduceus with cornucopias at the sides.] | EDITIO PRIMA AMERICANA. | WIGORNIÆ, MASSACHUSETTENSI : | Excudebat ISAIAS THOMAS, JUN. | SINGULATIM ET NUMEROSE EO VENDITA OFFICINÆ SUÆ, | APRIL — 1800." The book is a 12mo, pp. 478.

At the end of some copies is bound in a leaf of advertisements dated December 25, 1802; but the copies are all one impression; for stereotyping was then unknown in America, and no reason could exist for dating back the issue. The text is, of course, divided into verse-paragraphs. As to accessory matter, it has only one page, containing "A Chronological

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Table of the Books of the New Testament," with a statement at its end that it has "been, carefully and faithfully, collected from the writings of the famous Rev. Nathaniel Lardner, D.D." (The name Nathanael is here misspelled, as well as the Latinized "Isaias" of the titlepage.) This table is signed "Caleb Alexander;" but no other external professions of editorship appear. A somewhat similar table, condensed and altered from Mill and J. A. Fabricius, occupies a like place in the Bowyer of 1794, and seems to have given more than one hint for the construction of Alexander's table; though the two differ slightly in length and in dates. The subscriptions to the Epistles copy those of Bowyer (or Mill at second hand) exactly, even to giving the numbers of the *στίχοι* in the various books (see the authorities therefor in Küster's Mill), and that partly in Greek numerals and partly in Greek words, just exactly as Mill and Bowyer gave them—with only one difference. That difference is, that these numbers are wanting in the subscriptions to 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, and Titus; evidently because in each of these cases one of the Greek numerals was the *koppa* or *sampi;* characters for which Thomas probably had no type, nor an editor bold enough to spell out the numbers in words.

However, this edition does not appear to be a slavish reprint of any former work. On the titlepage, to be sure, it professes to be an accurate reprint of Mill; but so do many other editions that exhibit intentional alterations. The same is true of the great majority of the very numerous English editions which have made that profession—ever since the original Mill appeared. I have devoted no little time to searching for some edition of which this one of Thomas might be an exact reprint; but thus far I only find that while some of the Bowyer editions show some of the same alterations of Mill, no one of them agrees nearly enough to pass for the exact pattern. I must therefore believe that the editor exercised his own judgment, and derived his changes in the text from some edition of the Elzevir family.

In order to show this, it must be remembered that three leading editions were the main sources of the text of the ordi-

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nary editions of that time. These were Robert Stephens's of 1550, Beza's of 1565, and the Elzevir of 1678 (not of 1624 or 1633, though these are commonly regarded as standards of comparison). Mill's edition (London, 1707, fol., and Küster's Mill with additions, 1710, 1723, 1746) keeps generally the text of Stephanus, departing from it in only four places of moment: viz. Matt. 24: 15, reading *ἑστώς* for *ἑστός*; 1 Pet. 3:11, adding *ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω*; 1 Pet. 3: 21, *ᾧ καὶ ἡμᾶς* for *ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς*; and Rev. 2:5, *τάχυ* for *τάχει*. The Küster edition, indeed, returns to the Stephanic text in the first and last of these places. Thus the Mill text might be classified as a Stephanic text; and such would be its classification in this paper, did not a series of facts occur which compel a little different treatment.

But Thomas, while keeping the departures of Mill from Stephanus, adds a number of other departures; such as the following: Matt. 23: 13, 14, reversing the order of the two verses; Mark 8: 24, omitting *ὅτι* and *ὁρῶ*; Luke 1: 35, adding *ἔκ σου*; John 18: 20, reading *πάντοθεν οἱ* for *πάντοτε οἱ*; Acts 9: 35, *Σάρωνα* for *Σαρωνᾶν*; Acts 17: 25, *καὶ τὰ πάντα* for *κατὰ πάντα*; Acts 21: 3, *ἀναφανέντες* for *ἀναφάναντες*; Acts 21: 8, *ἦλθομεν* [*sic*] for *ἦλθον*; Rom. 7: 6, *ἀποθανόντος* for *ἀποθανόντες*; Rom. 8: 11, *διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος . . . πνεῦματος* [*sic*] for *διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν . . . πνεῦμα*; Rom. 12: 11, *Κυρίῳ* for *καιρῷ*; 1 Cor. 15: 31, *ὑμετέραν* for *ἡμετέραν*; 1 Tim. 1: 4, *οἰκοδομίαν* for *οἰκονομίαν*; Rev. 5: 11, adding *καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων*; Rev. 11: 1, adding *καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει*; Rev. 11: 2, *ἔξωθεν* for *ἔσωθεν*. These specimens show nothing but editorial judgment, together with a Beza or a late Elzevir text, or both, from which to select the variant readings. It is not necessary to pass upon the editorial judgment here displayed—which is sometimes good and sometimes bad. The facts we are concerned with here are, first, that the work of an editor is manifest, and that better than might have been expected from the Latin of the titlepage; and second, that the profession in the title that the text is an accurate reprint of Mill, is intentionally false. But the title was copied from English editions which had made the same false pretense—already for nearly a century. And not only so, but the lauded

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textus receptus has been perpetually juggled with in the same way; so that it is rare to find two editions that agree exactly, or one that bears out the professions of its titlepage. The horror with which the simple-minded venerators of the *textus receptus* shrink from the latest critical texts and the latest revised translations is a mild sensation in comparison with the confusion which a little closer examination of its various *exemplaria* would bring upon them. The *textus receptus* of to-day—or of former times, for that matter—is nothing but a shadow and a ghost, which its professed adherents and admirers would generally be the last to recognize as an acquaintance.

Following the order of genealogy, instead of the order of time, we come upon a second edition, virtually, of this Greek Testament of Thomas; published at Boston, in 1814. Its title proper differs slightly from that of the other in the lines, but not in the words. Instead of the caduceus with the cornucopias, the ornament here is two reclining figures supporting the open Bible, with the verse 1 Cor. 15:22, in Greek, underneath for a motto. Then the words "BOSTONIÆ: | Excudebat ESAIAS THOMAS, JUN. | Typis WATSON & BANGS. | 1814." Its form is 16mo, pp. 478, like the other. The accessory matter is the same chronological table, but differently arranged, and without signature. The Latin for "Isaiah" is this time correctly spelled (Esaias) on the titlepage. Otherwise this edition so nearly resembles the last that a very close look is needed to see the difference. It coincides with the former, page for page and line for line, and almost letter for letter, only it spells out most of the ligatures and employs more recent forms of type for some of the letters. A mutilated copy of this edition might also be recognized by the erroneous page-number 231, in place of 431. It agrees with the former in all the departures from Mill, abovementioned, and adds a few more of its own besides. Of these last are: Matt. 6:6, the Erasmian ταμεῖον for Mill's ταμιεῖον (a variation of which the more recent editions of Pritius, or the title of Schmidt's Greek N. T. Concordance, may have

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been a nearer source); Mark 6: 33, *προσῆλθον* for *προῆλθον* (perhaps an error, but committed in the earlier Brylinger series of editions, from 1542 onward); and 1 Cor. 15: 33, the ancient *χρῆστὰ* [thus accented] restored in place of the metrically adapted *χρῆσθ'*. It is, however, a very tolerable Mill.

Following still the order of genealogy—almost every one is familiar with Bagster's "Polymicrian Greek Testament," edited by William Greenfield, with its (Greenfield's) Lexicon, and other conveniences for the beginner. This first appeared in England in 1829. It seems to vary from Mill's text in only three noticeable places, viz.: Acts 17: 25, *καὶ πάντα* for *κατὰ πάντα*; Acts 21: 3, *ἀναφανέντες* for *ἀναφάναντες*; and Colossians 1: 2, *Κολοσσαῖς* for *Κολασσαῖς*; all intended to be adoptions of Elzevir or Beza readings; only the first is a misprint for *καὶ τὰ πάντα*. This English edition has been repeated many times without date; and of the copies imported to America, some bear the imprint of Wiley, New York; and some others that of Lippincott, Philadelphia. But an actual reprint has appeared in America, issued many times, both with and without date, and with different imprints. Its title and form are as follows: "*Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ.* | NOVUM TESTAMENTUM | AD | EXEMPLAR MILLIANUM, | cum | Emendationibus et lectionibus Griesbachii, | præcipuis vocibus ellipticis, | thematibus omnium vocum difficiliorum, | atque locis Scripturæ parallelis. | Studio et Labore | Gulielmi Greenfield. | Hanc editionem primam Americanam, | Summâ curâ recensuit, atque mendis quàm plurimis expurgavit, | JOSEPHUS P. ENGLES, A. M." 32mo, pp. 571; lexicon, pp. iv. 281.

As the title states, it was edited by Joseph P. Engles, A. M.,[1] whose claim to have purged it of many errors committed in the original edition is not wholly unfounded. From the latter it differs chiefly in substituting an English preface for the

[1] Joseph Patterson Engles (b. 1797, d. 1867), a Philadelphian, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, 1815; pastor of Seventh Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1820; editor of "The Presbyterian," 1834; president of the Presbyterian Board of Publication 1863. He published "Records of the Presbyterian Church," a "Bible Dictionary," and other works chiefly devotional.

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Latin one of the London editions. In this English preface an apparent error of the Latin is made more definitely an error by stating that the text "is that commonly called the received text, which was first published at Leyden, A. D. 1624, by Elzevir, and republished in folio at Oxford, by Mill, A. D. 1707." Which shows that the editor possessed at best but a second-hand knowledge of the matter. As to text, he retains the three above-mentioned instances of departure from the Millio-Stephanic text to the Beza-Elzevir; except that he corrects the error of the London edition in Acts 17: 25, and reads *καὶ τὰ πάντα.*[1] All the perfect copies of this edition seem to contain the familiar plate with the words "The New Testament" in forty-eight different languages; though the London editions sometimes omit it. It first appeared in 1832, published at New York, by J. Leavitt; then Philadelphia, H. Perkins, 1841, 1846; Philadelphia, Perkins & Purves, 1844, 1846; New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1846; Philadelphia, H. Perkins, 1850; also, without date, Philadelphia, Peck & Bliss, Theodore Bliss & Co., and Lippincott. All the copies have "Hanc editionem primam" on the titlepage. I am not certain that this list is exhaustive. But this American edition is not so easy to find as formerly.

Another of the Mill family is that of the Rev. J. A. Spencer,[2] under the following title: "***Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*** | The | Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles | in Greek. | With English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exe- | getical; Maps, Indexes, etc. | Together with the Epistles and Apocalypse. | The whole forming the complete text of | The New Testament. | For the use of Schools, Colleges, and Theologi-

[1] In making his corrections, the author made use of "a very accurate copy of Mill's Testament, published at Oxford in 1825; the various readings, with Griesbach's Testament, published in Cambridge, New England, in 1809." This Oxford edition of 1825 is not very easy to find, and is not noticed in Reuss's *Bibliotheca.* If it was one of the series which reproduces the Oxford ed. of 1805, Engles could not have followed it. But there are at least two series of Oxford professed reprints of Mill, one of which (including that of 1805) is rather a Bowyer text than a pure Mill; the other series, starting in 1825, being a faithful reprint. But the Oxford and Cambridge reprints of Mill are generally altered here and there.

[2] Jesse Ames Spencer, D. D., b. 1816. For a sketch of his life and numerous works, see *Johnson's Cyclopædia,* iv. p. 426.

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cal Seminaries. | By Rev. J. A. Spencer, A. M., | author of | 'The Christian Instructed,' 'History of the English Reformation,' etc. | τὸ καλὸν κἀγαθόν. | New York: | Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff Street. | 1847." This title is fairly descriptive, except as to the author himself. It was evidently intended first as a class-book, and to contain only the Gospels and Acts — which indeed were issued separately the same year, 1847, and again in 1859. Other editions of the entire book were issued by the same publishers in 1859 and 1865. Only the Gospels and Acts have notes; but the Epistles and Revelation have a little accessory matter in the shape of general introductions and tables. It is a book of no little merit and usefulness. Its text is very nearly that of Burton (Oxford, England, 1831, and several subsequent editions), which departed from Mill to Elzevir in fourteen noticeable places, which may be found enumerated in Prof. Dr. Eduard Reuss's *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Græci* (Brunsvigæ, 1872), p. 154. Spencer professes to adopt Burton's text, and to venture to differ therewith only on a few occasions, and then principally in the pointing, the use of capital letters, and other particulars of a like grade of importance. But he leaves Mill for Elzevir in two places more than Burton, viz. in the last two of the three just mentioned in the case of the Polymicrian.

One more edition, and that a noteworthy one, exhibits Mill's text professedly; though I cannot speak from personal examination as to its variations. This is the elaborate Greek-English work of the American Bible Union in 4to, published at New York from 1854 onward; the first volume issued containing 2 Peter; 1, 2, and 3 John; Jude; and the Apocalypse. In the small portion I have examined, it leaves Mill for Elzevir in a few places, as, *e. g.* the place already noticed by Reuss (*idem*, p. 157), Rev. 3: 1, inserting ἑπτὰ before πνεύματα. But the notes of this edition give it a thoroughly critical character, and as such it should be classed. To have changed the *text* materially would have been a work too bold for its contemplated purpose, and for the times. A later edition of a part of this work, the Epistle to Philemon, small 4to, 1860, anonymous, but, I believe, by the late Dr. H. B. Hackett,

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shows independent editorship in the text also. Concerning the issues of this work, I have been promised complete information, but have not yet received it. But as to the issues which I have observed, a second edition of some of the parts appeared in 1858; others bear date 1860; and the immense bound volume which contains the great bulk of them, entitled "The Sacred Scriptures," etc., bears date 1861; though the parts which compose it bear the dates of their own impressions, severally.

III. *The Leusden* (Elzevir) *Editions.*

The next family to appear in America was that of the Leusden editions. The first example was the Greek-Latin New Testament published by Bradford, at Philadelphia, in 1806. The titlepage is preceded by a short false title (consisting of the first six lines of the true), and reads as follows: "*Η ΚΑΙΝΗ* | *ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ.* | NOVUM | TESTAMENTUM, | cum versione Latina | Ariæ Montani, | in quo tum selecti versiculi 1900, quibus omnes Novi | Testamenti voces continentur, asteriscis | notantur; | tum omnes & singulæ voces, semel vel sæpius occurrentes, | peculiari nota distinguuntur. | Auctore | Johanne Leusden, Professore. | Editio Prima Americana: | qua plurima Londiniensis errata, diligentissime animad- | versa, corriguntur: | Cura Johannis Watts. | Philadelphiæ: | Ex Officina Classica: | Impensis S. F. Bradford. | 1806." 12mo, pp. 561.

As already seen, this can only be the "editio prima *Americana*" as a Leusden edition; for it is the second of the Greek Testament absolutely. The corrector named on the titlepage was the printer, as we see from the note at the end of the book: "Excudebat J. Watts." In this edition an editor's work has no place. As it professes, it is a reprint of the famous edition of John Leusden, in which 1900 select verses are marked with a *, as containing together all the words of the New Testament; and words which occur only once, or very rarely, are marked by a † and ‡ respectively. For its immediate original, the "London edition" mentioned on the titlepage, we have three from which to choose. One of these was

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issued at Leyden by the Wetsteins in 1772, but bears also on the titlepage the imprint "Londini, apud Joannem Nourse." The second so closely resembles this one, line for line and page for page, that it requires close scrutiny to see that they actually are different issues. It was published at London in 1794, and bears the imprint of six different publishing houses, of which the first named is F. Wingrave. The third, dated 1804, is of exactly the same description as the second, except that it contains some misprints not found in the other two, and has the imprint of *seven* different publishing houses, of which the first named is F. Wingrave. The form of each is 12mo, pp. 699, on sheets a trifle smaller than the American Bradford. Those of 1772 and 1794 have the well known Wetstein maps, which are lacking in the edition of 1804, as well as in the American editions.

The text of this edition need not be dwelt upon at length, since, except in just one noticeable change, it is pretty purely the Elzevir of 1678. The first Leusden appeared at Utrecht in 1675, in two different forms, with nearly the Elzevir text of 1633; but the second Leusden, 1688, struck out a new path, following the Elzevir of 1678. A series of editions kept this latter text till 1740, when the change above referred to was introduced: viz., the adding *καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς, εἶπε* at the beginning of Luke 10: 22. It was this edition of 1740, or rather its Greek-Latin form of 1741, from which descended, by mere reproduction, the editions of 1772, 1794, and 1804 above mentioned; either of which, again, may have been the immediate parent of the American Bradford. Of this ancestral series, the first edition was published at Amsterdam and London; at Amsterdam by the two houses of Boom and Van Soemeren, and in London by Sam. Smith. The other editions of the series were all issued by the Wetsteins at Amsterdam. A double group of offshoots of this Leusden edition, each with its very trifling variations, appeared during the same period. One of the two started at Frankfurt-a.-M., 1692, edited by Rudolph Leusden, son of John. Another, more nearly conforming to the Elzevir of 1633, was published at Leyden from 1699 onward. It is of a

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form rather minute, and probably the first Greek Testament ever stereotyped. It usually bears the imprint of Luchtmans. Then followed a long series of branches, more or less different from Leusden's original and from each other, issued by various publishers at various places in Germany.

In the same year with the Bradford edition just mentioned, the same publisher issued the same Greek text without the Latin, calling it "Editio Secunda Americana"; but it is second only as a Leusden. Watts is named as the corrector and printer of this edition also. It is a 12mo, like the last, pp. 286.

The next edition of Leusden's New Testament appeared at New York in 1821; the title being like the Bradford edition as far as applicable; the note of publication being "Novi-Eboraci: Typis et Impensis Georgii Long, No. 71, Pearl Street, 1821." This is a 12mo of small sized sheets, pp. 699; being page for page, line for line, and word for word, a close copy of the editions of 1772, 1794, and 1804 above referred to; but in every respect save thickness it is a smaller book. It might be called a "facsimile" of either; only, as it copies the misprints of the edition of 1804, the last is doubtless its immediate parent. (One of these misprints, for example, is in John 19: 30 *Τετέληται* for *Τετέλεσται.*)

These three editions, the two Bradfords and the Long, are the only Leusden editions, so far as I know, ever published in America; though one phenomenon of the book-stores and libraries, to be mentioned farther on, speaks otherwise to the unwary.

To be mentioned in this connection, as presenting a text of the same general family, is the peculiarly constructed Harmony of the Gospels by the Rev. Dr. James Strong. Its text is nearly the Elzevir of 1633. This is a 12mo, published at New York by the Harpers in 1854; also, the same year, by J. C. Riker, and again by the Harpers in 1859.

It may be added that these four books are the only American representatives of the European *textus receptus;* and that not one of them is a perfect representative of either of the

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patterns — that is, of either the Elzevir of 1624 or that of 1633.

IV. *The Griesbach Editions.*

The next family to appear came in order of time next to the Bradford Leusdens of 1806; starting with the most important of our early issues. This was the reprint of Griesbach's Manual (Leipzig, Goeschen, 1805), his third edition and most finished text; issued at Cambridge, at the University Press in 1809. The form of this reprint is 8vo, pp. xxiv, 615. Its titlepage differs from that of its original by adding the words: "Cantabrigiæ. Nov-Anglorum 1809. Typis Academicis; sumtibus [*sic*] W. Wells et W. Hilliard." It has a titlepage for each volume (the second volume beginning with Acts), but the paging is continuous throughout, disregarding in the enumeration, however, the titlepage to volume ii., and the blank pages on each side of it. The whole is a pretty accurate piece of work; and adds to the original only one page of matter: the publishers' dedication to the President and Fellows of Harvard University. This edition had a deservedly wide circulation; and it has been taken as the basis of all the Griesbach texts published in this country — though its successors have generally followed it only *longo intervallo.* This edition was used by Mr. Engles, as he states in his English preface to the American Polymicrian Greek Testament noticed above, in verifying the Griesbach readings given in that volume.

The Gospels of this text, accompanied by a vocabulary, were issued at Boston in 1825, by "Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, Washington Street." The type is the same as that used in the volume just mentioned; the form 8vo, pp. iii, 240; Lexicon, pp. 71. The marginal readings are omitted. This volume was "prepared in consequence of the new arrangement of the studies in Greek, preparatory to admission into the University at Cambridge," "the Corporation having substituted Jacobs' Greek Reader and the Four Gospels for the Collectanea Græca Minora and the whole of the New Testament." The titlepage, indeed, says that it is "Designed for the use of schools."

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This text next appeared in Moses Stuart's edition of Newcome's Harmony, published at Andover by the Junior Class of the Theological Seminary, in 1814, and printed by Flagg and Gould. This appears to be the first Greek Harmony of the Gospels published in this country. An "Advertisement" states that it had been the editor's intention to follow an arrangement of Townson's, mentioned by Newcome, and followed by White's Diatessaron; but as no copy of Townson could be had, Newcome was the best resource. The original Newcome appeared at Dublin in 1788, folio; a harmony constructed on the basis of Le Clerc, Amsterdam, 1699, folio. The form of this American Newcome is 8vo, pp. xvi, xii, 424, 188. Another edition appeared the same year, in 4to.

Another issue of the same text appeared at Philadelphia in 1822–23, in parallel columns with an English Version, edited by "Abner Kneeland, minister of the First Independent Church of Christ, called Universalist, in Philadelphia"; also the Greek text alone (1822) and the English version by itself (1823), and perhaps each of them twice. At least, some copies of the Greek are dated 1823; which I am inclined to believe is the *true* date of both the single texts. It was "published by the Editor, No. 9 North Second Street, and sold by him — also by Abm. Small, No. 165 Chestnut Street." William Fry, often said to be the publisher, was the printer (spelled "printe" in vol. i., but "printer" in vol. ii.). The form is a rather small 12mo, vol. i., pp. xvi, 360; vol. ii., pp. ix, 444. The Greek is printed without accents, and the Griesbach margin is omitted. The first volume appeared as an experiment; with a preface containing, among other things, the Greek Alphabet, directions for pronunciation, and the declension of the article and personal pronouns. An abstract from Parkhurst's Greek Grammar is promised for the second volume, provided the work meets with sufficient encouragement — which promise is fulfilled at the end of the second volume. The long lists of errata in each volume show the editor's care and the printer's ability; but it is to be remembered that the editor, as he himself says with regret, lacked the privilege of an early clas-

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sical education.[1] The type of this Greek Testament appears to be the same as that used in the "Enchiridion of Epictetus," mentioned above as probably the first Greek book published in America, with, however, more recent forms for some of the letters intermingled. The use of the type can be traced in a series of small Greek grammars, and other books, printed in Philadelphia, by Carey, Aitken, and Fry, respectively.

Still another Griesbach New Testament has been issued in this country; printed, however, without either breathings or accents. This is the notorious "Emphatic Diaglott" now regularly published by the "phrenological" firm, S. R. Wells & Co., of New York. It is an astonishing edition, by reason of its high price, its mysterious name, and its other qualities. It was first published by the editor, Benjamin Wilson, at Geneva, Illinois; the issue extending over a period of seven years, ending in 1863. The second edition, or the first issued in a complete form, was published by Fowler & Wells, New York, in 1865; the editor's preface being dated 1864. Its claims are best set forth by its title: "The Emphatic Diaglott: containing the Original Greek Text of what is commonly styled the New Testament, (according to the Recension of Dr. J. J. Griesbach,) with an Interlineary Word for Word English Translation; a New Emphatic Version, based on the Interlineary Translation, on the renderings of eminent critics, and on the various readings of the Vatican Manuscript, No. 1209 in the Vatican Library. Together with Illustrative and Explanatory foot notes, and a copious selection of References; to the whole of which is added, A Valuable Alphabetical Appendix." No remarks need be made upon the style of editing, or upon either of the translations. The Griesbach margin is generally omitted, except when it happens to coincide with a "Vatican Manuscript, No. 1209" reading. But as to the source of these

[1] Abner Kneeland (b. 1774; d. 1844) was a Baptist clergyman, then Universalist, then Deist. He edited a Universalist periodical in Philadelphia (1821–23); the *Olive Branch*, N. Y.; founded the *Investigator* at Boston (1832); in 1836 was tried before the Supreme Court at Boston for blasphemy. He published several other books.

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Vatican readings, I judge from sundry indications, such as "*Ευροκλυδων*" (Acts 27: 14) without note of a variant, that it was some reprint of the inaccurate edition of Angelo Mai; probably that of Appleton, New York, 1859.

The form of this "Emphatic Diaglott"[1] is a 12mo, apparently; with no paging or sheet signatures, except in the Appendix, which has pp. 44. As far as I have traced this edition, it has reappeared in 1871, 1876, and 1880; also the Gospel of Luke separately in 1878, in quest of patronage through the "International Sunday-School Lessons."

V. *The Stephanic Editions.*

The Stephanic editions are treated separately from the Mill editions, only because the phenomena in America require it. They form the next thread to be taken up in chronological order. The first of these was the edition of Peter Wilson,[2] LL. D., Professor Emeritus of Columbia College, New York. This was first published in 1822, at Hartford, Connecticut, by Oliver D. Cooke & Sons; stereotyped by Hammond Wallis, New York. In Reuss's *Bibliotheca N. T. Gr.*, p. 163 (and its "Index Editionum," p. 296), the first issue is mistakenly set down as "New York, stereotypis Hammondi Wallis. 1808." But stereotyping was not introduced into America till about 1813; and Peter Wilson was not Professor Emeritus of Columbia College till 1820; and about 1808 he must have been too busy with his *Latin Prosody* (New York, 1810) to be editing a Greek Testament. Indeed, his known labors and published works account pretty well for all his time. (See Dr. H. Drisler's art., *Wilson, Peter*, in Johnson's Cyclopædia.) Moreover, Reuss had not seen an edition of 1808, nor does he state his authority. The origin of the error is probably to be seen on p. 137 of Reuss's *Bibliotheca* — in a confusion for the

[1] This word, I am informed, has been used as meaning *interlinear;* and therefore may not be a mistake for "Diglott." But in the book itself it is not the "interlineary" part that is "emphatic," but the other English version.

[2] Peter Wilson, b. 1746, in Scotland, studied at the Univ. of Aberdeen, removed to New York 1763, member of New Jersey Legislature 1777–83, codifier of the New Jersey laws 1783, Prof. in Columbia College 1789–92 and again 1797–1820. In 1820 he was made Professor Emeritus. d. 1825.

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moment with the (Scotch or) English printer, Andrew Wilson. An index error in O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, p. 414, of "C. P. Wilson" for "*cura* P. Wilson," may have added to the confusion. Reuss had seen no edition earlier than 1829.

This edition of Wilson is a 12mo, pp. 368, with no accessory matter; but bearing on the titlepage the statement that it is "ad exemplar Roberti Stephani accuratissime impressum." Dr. Edward Robinson had written to Reuss that "it has no critical value, and probably Prof. Wilson did nothing more than read the proofs." But Reuss found otherwise. He states that out of the 56 differences of moment between the first (1546) and third (1550) editions of R. Stephanus, Wilson retains the reading of the first in 38 places; also that he deserts the latter in 22 other places. All which I have verified. The places which Reuss gives in particular may be summarized as follows: from the Complutensian N. T., as retained in Stephanus of 1546, to Erasmus or Elzevir, 10 places; from Erasmus, as retained by Stephanus of 1546, to the Complutensian, 2 places; from the older Stephanus to the later, 6 places; also, 3 places where the first three Stephanus editions agree, but Wilson leaves them all for Elzevir; and also one Erasmian reading adopted by Wilson which occurs in neither the Stephanus nor the Elzevir editions. (See Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 163, 164.) The places not given in particular can be easily picked out from the lists (*idem*, pp. 50–58).[1] An ex-

[1] The places specified *in particular* by Reuss are as follows: departures from the Complutensian to Erasmus or Elzevir, Matt. 9: 17, ἀμφότερα for ἀμφότεροι; Matt. 26: 52, ἀπολοῦνται for ἀποθανοῦνται; Mark 11: 1, Βηθφαγῆ for Βηθσφαγῆ; Matt. 24: 31, σάλπιγγος φωνῆς for σάλπιγγος καὶ φωνῆς; 1 Pet. 2: 21, ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν for ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν; Luke 5: 19, διὰ ποίας for ποίας; Matt. 19: 9, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορν. for μὴ ἐπὶ πορν.; Matt. 21: 1, same as Mark 11: 1; Luke 3: 2, ἀρχιερέων for ἀρχιερέως; Rom. 2: 5, omitting καὶ after ἀποκαλύψεως. Departures from Erasmus to Complutensian: Acts 12: 25, Σαῦλος for Παῦλος [this also in R. Steph. 1551]; 2 Tim. 4: 13, φελόνην for φαιλόνην. Leaves R. Steph. 1546 for a later R. Steph.: Mark 8: 34, ἐλθεῖν for ἀκολουθεῖν; Mark 14: 32, ἕως προσεύξωμαι for ἕως προσεύξομαι; Mark 8: 13, εἰς τὸ πλοῖον for εἰς πλοῖον; 1 Cor. 15: 33, χρῆσθ' for χρηστὰ; Phil. 2: 1, εἴ τινα for εἴ τις; Rev. 10: 4, μὴ ταῦτα γράψῃς for μὴ ταῦτα γράφῃς. Leaves Steph. for Elz.: Matt. 21: 7, ἐπεκάθισαν for ἐπεκάθισεν [this also Steph. 1551]; Coloss. 1: 2, Κολοσσαῖς for Κολασσαῖς; 1 Pet. 3: 21, ᾧ καὶ ἡμᾶς for ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς. Erasmian unknown to Steph. or Elz., Mark 7: 26, Συροφοινίκισσα for Συροφοίνισσα. The differences *not* particularly mentioned, *i. e.*, the 38 first mentioned above, can easily be picked out from Reuss's lists (*idem*, pp. 50–54).

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amination of these variations from the Stephanic editions, without going any farther, will make us agree entirely with Reuss — "editionem hic quoad textum plane singularem reperi" (*idem*, p. 163).

Wilson's New Testament has had an enormous circulation, and is still in use by very many. The editions which have come to my knowledge are the following: Hartford, Cooke, 1822, 1825, 1827, 1829; Philadelphia, Towar & Hogan, 1829, 1831, 1833; Philadelphia, Haswell (with other firms, one in Pittsburgh), 1838; Philadelphia, Barrington & Haswell, not dated, but issued in 1854; Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1854, 1858, 1859, 1860.

Following Wilson, in the same family, and next also in order of time, comes one of the most remarkable pieces of book-making to be found in modern sacred literature. This professes to be John Leusden's, with the Latin version of Arias Montanus; also to have Leusden's 1900 select verses marked with a *, besides his † and ‡, for their several purposes. The title is evidently copied from the Leusden edition of Long,[1] so as to have an orthodox and market-catching title for a Greek-Latin edition. It is a 12mo, pp. 775, Greek and Latin in parallel columns, and first published in New York by Collins and Hannay, stereotyped by Hammond Wallis & Co. Reuss (*idem*, pp. 128, 129), without seeing it, had noted it as a genuine Leusden, on the authority of a distinguished American clergyman, a college president and theological professor. But the fact is otherwise, as Reuss would have known had he seen that edition; for he did detect it in the repetition of 1858. So far from being a Leusden, of the Elzevir family, it is nothing but a Wilson, from plates that the stereotyper (who two years before had stereotyped Wilson) could easily furnish, and apparently did; with scarcely more alteration than to cut them in half lengthwise, so as to fit the pieces alongside the Latin column. Wilson, however, is altered in one place, viz.,

[1] Long was employed as a printer by Collins & Hannay for other publications. The names of Collins, Hannay, Long, and Dean all appear on the title-page in some books.

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by inserting the verse Luke 17: 36, so as to accommodate the Latin and tally better with the real Leusden editions. But besides the general falsehood of the title, these minor statements about the 1900 select verses marked with a *, and the †, and the ‡, are false likewise. No trace whatever of any of them appears in the text.

O'Callaghan (*Amer. Biblcs*, p. 368), first finding this book in its issue of 1858, unsuspectingly and innocently remarks that it inverts the order of the verses Matt. 23: 13, 14; not knowing that this inversion was one of the distinguishing characteristics of a family of texts different from Leusden.

The deceptive character of this edition is only equalled by the extent of its success. It is still in print, apparently from the very same plates as at first, and still finds a ready market. I am informed by the Philadelphia booksellers that this edition, together with Wilson and the Polymicrian, are the ones which the new crop of students, every autumn, chiefly purchase. It may readily be recognized by a mistake in the title to Matthew, where an *O* still holds the place of a **Θ**, as it has done from the beginning.

The re-issues which have come to my knowledge are the following: New York, Collins, 1835, 1840; New York, Dean (also Collins), 1840; New York, Dean, 1844, 1849; Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1855, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1863, 1865, 1878, 1880. Wilson under false colors has had a circulation rather more extended than Wilson under the true.

Whatever doubt may be entertained of the propriety of classing the two foregoing publications among the Stephanic editions, none can exist with regard to the reprint of Scrivener's convenient manual, by Holt, at New York, 1879. Scrivener's Manual, as is well known, is a reprint of the third edition (1550) of R. Stephanus, with footnotes showing the different readings of the most noted critical editors, and a different type to mark the variant places. It first appeared in 1859, and has reached at least its ninth edition; those of 1873, and later, having been considerably revised.

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VI. *The Knapp Editions.*

Knapp's text was the next to make its appearance; in the shape of a Harmony of the Gospels constructed by Dr. Edward Robinson on the basis of Newcome, and with Newcome's notes; published at Andover, by Gould & Newman in 1834; 8vo, pp. xxviii, 328. Knapp's fourth edition[1] is apparently the text here followed. Knapp's text differed somewhat from Griesbach, but seems to have inserted only one reading peculiar to himself; the other variants coming from other less known editors, among whom Mace (1729, published anonymously — too much censured in his own time, and too much neglected later) seems to be chiefly followed. Knapp's editions were published at Halle in 1797, 1813, 1824, 1829, 1840. The second and third are identical; and so, again, are the fourth and fifth.

Knapp's text again appeared in "The Student's New Testament," edited by R. B. Patton, and published by Charles Starr, New York, 1835. It was printed on ruled writing-paper with very wide margins (the edition being intended for note-taking students), and so arranged that a verse always ends at the foot of a page. Otherwise this edition keeps Knapp's paragraphs, also his spaces to mark sub-paragraphs (like Bengel's before Knapp, and Westcott & Hort's more recently); and all his other conveniences and accessory matter. It has also a preface by Patton. It is a reproduction of Knapp's fourth edition entire. This, stereotyped, was issued again at New York by J. C. Riker, in 1845, and by the same again, without date. It was to be had either separately or bound up with the English Old Testament, printed on the same ruled paper with broad margins. The whole formed "The Student's Bible." It was a large 4to, the New Testament having pp. xix, foll. 248; the numbering of the leaves containing the text being by leaves or folios, not by pages.

[1] That is, the fourth genuine Knapp. The edition published by Valpy, London, 1824, though called "fourth edition," is really an altered reprint of the third.

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VII. *Miscellaneous.*

From this point onward we traverse ground more familiar, where little more than enumeration is necessary.

The American edition of Bloomfield (2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 597, 631) appeared at Boston in 1837, under the superintendence of Moses Stuart, and with a preface by him. The publishers were Perkins & Marvin; also Henry Perkins, Philadelphia. It is a difficult matter to trace or to enumerate all the re-issues. Perkins & Marvin seem to have published five editions, and then to have transferred the work to Lippincott. And there is apparently some confusion in the numbers. I have seen many of different dates; the last issued at Philadelphia in 1868, by J. B. Lippincott & Co., designated as the fourteenth American edition. This book is more noteworthy as a *multum in parvo* commentary than as a text. In the latter point of view, indeed, it is behind the age in almost every respect. It is to be considered as an altered Mill; but it has little critical merit of the desirable sort. Its mention of the readings of the MSS. is made in a manner so loose and careless that the natural expansion thereof in the ninth edition (London, 1855) results in many statements wholly imaginary; such, for example as citing the Vatican MS. in a portion of the New Testament where that MS. is lacking.[1] The first original Bloomfield appeared at London in 1832; the second, much amended and improved, in 1836. It is this second edition which is reproduced in the American edition.

Bloomfield's minor edition (London, several editions between 1840 and 1860), 12mo, was imported by Lippincott, and is said to be seen sometimes with their imprint, but I have seen it only with their name on the back of the bound volume. I do not know that this edition has ever been reprinted in

[1] That, however, is scarcely equal to the Lord Bishop of London's remark in *The Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Tim. 3: 16 (N. T. vol. iii, p. 780): "The Vatican MS. cannot be appealed to [*i. e.* as to whether the reading is ὅς or θεός], because the jealousy of Rome has prevented accurate collation, and the edition published by Cardinal Mai proves to be not so much a faithful reproduction of the MS. as an edition of the New Testament grounded upon it." The Lord Bishop surely ought to know that the Vatican MS. does not contain the Pastoral Epistles.

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America. (For the curious matter of its readings — their alleged agreement and actual difference with the larger editions — see Reuss, *Biblioth. N. T. Gr.*, p. 238.)

Robinson's Hahn,[1] the next in order (12mo, pp. xxviii, 508), is also too well known to need description. It first appeared in 1842, with three different forms of titlepage, two of them dated. One of these was published at New York, by Leavitt & Trow; the other at Boston, by Crocker & Brewster. The third, without date, bears the imprint of Leavitt & Allen, New York; and this was often re-issued. The other dated issues which have come to my knowledge are: New York, Leavitt, 1845, 1854, 1857; New York, Appleton, 1868, 1875.

Robinson's Harmony (8vo, pp. xx, 235) naturally belongs to the same text. This, Robinson's own arrangement, and Hahn's text, was published in 1845, at Boston, by Crocker & Brewster. Other issues, the same place and publisher, 1851, 1853 (rev. ed.), 1857, 1859, 1862, 1865.

Another specimen of the Hahn text appears in the "Collectanea Evangelica," or selections from the Gospels, with a passage or two from the Acts, arranged in "chronological order" so as to form a connected history of the principal events in the life and ministry of Christ. Its compiler is N. C. Brooks, A.M., then principal of the high school in Baltimore, afterwards LL.D., and president of the (Methodist) Baltimore Female College. The "Collectanea" was intended as a school book,[2] and is provided with notes and a lexicon. It is a rather small 16mo, pp. 210, published at Baltimore, 1847, two editions the same year, by Cushing & Brother, also Sorin & Ball at Philadelphia; third edition, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., also Cincinnati, H. W. Derby & Co., 1849.

To the same Hahn text conform also Owen's Acts,[3] 12mo,

[1] All the American Hahn texts are the *earlier*. The later Hahn text, 1861, etc., has not been reprinted here.

[2] One of a series of school books edited by the compiler; a series recommended by Edgar A. Poe, then editor of the *Broadway Journal*, N. Y. His recommendation is printed in the fly-leaves of the first two editions of the "Collectanea."

[3] John Jason Owen, D.D., LL.D., b. 1803, d. 1869, president of the College

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pp. xii, 276, New York, Leavitt, 1850, 1852, 1856; New York, Appleton, 1869, 1876; and chiefly also Prof. Samuel W. Turner's editions of several Epistles, with English translation, and a commentary. These were, Hebrews, pp. viii, 186, N. Y., Stanford & Swords, 1852; Romans, pp. xvi, 252, N. Y., Stanford & Swords, 1853, and again, 1855; Galatians, pp. xiii, 98, N. Y., Dana & Co., 1856; Ephesians, pp. xix, 198, N. Y., Dana & Co., 1856; all in 8vo. All these are known as works of high character.

At this point comes in an edition of the Gospel of John (12mo, pp. 292), edited by Geo. William Heilig, and published at Philadelphia by Charles Desilver, 1861. This is one of the "Hamiltonian System" series of school-books, as improved by Thomas Clark, containing an "interlinear and analytical translation," and a great deal of accessory matter. One half of the book seems to be a reprint of James Hamilton's Gospel of John in Greek, etc., fifth ed., London, 1847; and the other half matter compiled by Heilig, from well known sources, which he states in full. The Greek text is professedly that of Theile's ed. stereotyp., Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1858.

Tischendorf's text (ed. viii, *crit. maj.*) is adopted in the Harmony of the Gospels by Prof. Frederic Gardiner, D.D., 8vo, published at Andover, by Warren F. Draper, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1876 (revised ed., pp. lv, 268, 64), 1879, 1880.

The rest of the list seems to be made up merely of reprints of European editions, or of editions printed in Europe, but bearing the name and place of an American publisher.

The 8vo edition of Cardinal Angelo Mai's New Testament

of the City of New York. It is of this edition of the Acts that "J. H. W." thus speaks in *M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia*, vol. vii. p. 496: "It was a frequent comment of Prof. Owen's that theological students were unable to combine the study of Greek and of the Bible at the same time, to remedy which he finally translated the Acts of the Apostles into Greek, appending a dictionary of the words in the same language." Dr. Owen's scholarly work has, however, met a very competent and sensible, as well as wide, appreciation.

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after the Vatican Manuscript was re-issued in New York by D. Appleton & Co., in 1859, but without the necessary tables of errata of the Leipzig and London editions.

The first volume (Gospels) of Alford's Greek Testament was issued by the Harpers, New York, 1859, 8vo; the entire work by Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1871, and repeatedly. The original Alford appeared in London in successive parts, dated respectively 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862. It has passed through six editions, each with its revisions and corrections, and partly through the seventh; the last being stopped by Dean Alford's death. It was then printed as a "new edition." The American editions of Lee & Shepard have been only the English sheets. An issue of theirs dated 1877 was called the "seventh edition;" but those of 1878 and 1880 were called "new edition." The editions I have traced appear in the list at the end. The abridged edition of Alford, by B. H. Alford, is said to have been imported in sheets by Lippincott, and to bear his imprint; but I have only seen copies of Longmans' (London) edition, with Lippincott's name on the back of the binding; as, for example, the edition of 1869. It is a 16mo, pp. xxvii, 644.

Wiley of New York has reprinted the Critical Greek-English of Bagster (text of Scholz, with various readings of other editors), 16mo, in 1877 and 1880, besides having his imprint on editions manufactured in England. Lippincott, Philadelphia, has also his imprint on sundry editions of the same book. These editions with Wiley's or Lippincott's imprint are either undated, or dated some year of the last decade. Wiley's name appears also upon certain copies of Tregelles's New Testament.

Draper of Andover has issued a number of editions of Ellicott's text and commentary — of several of the Epistles of Paul, both separately and in sets, at various times from 1862 to 1881.

And last, Westcott and Hort is issued by the Harpers, New York, 1881, 1882, with an introduction to vol. i. by Dr. Philip Schaff; besides another edition of the text of vol. i., interleaved with the Revised English version, 1882. Both these

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editions contain some serious misprints, as, *e. g.*, ὡμῶν for ὑμῶν, in Matt. 10: 9; but they are in the original English plates.

VIII. *The Foreign Supply.*

Every one knows that the American editions by no means comprise the entire supply of Greek Testaments used in this land during the present century. Yet the American editions — especially the non-critical — have had an immense circulation amongst three classes: (1.) Those who have revered the *textus receptus* almost as a matter of religious faith, and have known nothing of its myriad variations. These have been the easiest prey for the vendors of the sham editions — a natural result; but what a commentary upon their ignorant despising of the labors of conscientious critics! (2.) Those who cared little for a critical text, and wished only to have a taste of the original flavor for themselves. (3.) The multitude of students who used the New Testament as one of their early aids in acquiring the Greek language. To these might be added a fourth: those sermonizers who, not very familiar with the Greek Testament, used the cheapest means for "examining critically," as their phrase is, their sermon text, with the help of lexicon, grammar, and our Common English version. These, of course, were the least excusable and the least profited of all.

But of the foreign editions most current here in the first half of this century, the popular ones would seem to be the various Scotch and English editions based on Mill, the Greek-Latin reprints of Leusden by the Wetsteins and by Wingrave, etc., with the Knapp and Scholz editions. The scholars had their Valpys, later their Burtons, and a few others, very much as they now have their Wordsworth. It is within the course of the present generation that Webster and Wilkinson, used a little, gave way to Alford for those who could afford it. Meanwhile, for popular use, Tischendorf was beginning to eclipse all others, with the rather feeble rivalry of Scrivener. The larger editions of Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, like their predecessors, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, have always been within the reach of the better scholars, though their popular circulation was never contemplated.

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At present, while for certain purposes Scrivener's manual is, and will be, popularly preferred, it is plain that the choice of the bulk of students, in the matter of a manual, lies between Westcott and Hort on the one hand, and Von Gebhardt's Tischendorf on the other. The fact is encouraging; for it shows decidedly the progress of correct ideas. Westcott and Hort's edition will win and hold its place by sheer merit; but the additional conveniences found in Von Gebhardt (the various readings of Tregelles and of Westcott and Hort, the parallel references, etc.), as well as its lower price, give it a very strong claim upon the preference of students.

Since the Old World must remain the depository of the vast mass of material for restoring the true text of the Greek Testament, it is hardly to be supposed that America, at least for the present, can well supply the critical text for the world. But American scholars have not been idle or unfruitful in their contributions to the common end. Were this the proper place, it would be interesting to sketch in outline their work of the sort; a work of which the most remarkable item and example is that, now in progress, of two American scholars engaged in compiling the Prolegomena which Tischendorf's death left wanting to his great critical edition.

But from like or kindred efforts the American scholars have never improperly hung back; nor are their researches or their results to be ignored at home, any more than in other quarters of the scholarly world.

IX. *Chronological List of Greek New Testaments published in America.*

NOTE. — A * designates a part only of the Greek New Testament. Where the entire item is in brackets, the edition is one actually printed abroad. Where an earlier text or edition is chiefly followed, the earlier name is generally given in parenthesis at the first occurrence of each example.

1800. (Mill.) C. Alexander. Worcester, Thomas, 12.
1806. Leusden, Gr.-Lat. Philadelphia, Bradford, 12.
1806. Leusden. Philadelphia, Bradford, 12.
1809. Griesbach. (3d ed.) Cambridge, Wells & Hilliard, 8.
1814. (Mill.) Boston, Thomas, 12.
* 1814. (Griesbach, 3d ed.) Stuart. Newcome's Harmony. Andover, Flagg & Gould, 8.

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* 1814. The same, 4.
1821. Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, George Long, 12.
1822. (R. Stephanus.) Peter Wilson. Hartford, Cooke, 12.
1822–23. (Griesbach, 3d ed.) Kneeland, Gr.-Eng. Philadelphia, Small, also Fry, 12.
1822. The same, Gr. only, 12.
1823. The same, Gr.-Eng., 12.
1823. The same, Gr. only, 12.
1824. (Wilson.) Pseudo-Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, Collins & Hannay, 12.
1825. Wilson. Hartford, Cooke, 12.
* 1825. (Griesbach, 3d ed.) Gospels. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard, 8.
1827. Wilson. Hartford, Cooke, 12.
1829. Wilson. Hartford, Cooke, 12.
1829. Wilson. Philadelphia, Towar & Hogan, 12.
1831. Wilson. Philadelphia, Towar & Hogan, 12.
1832. (Greenfield.) Polymicrian, Engles. New York, Leavitt, 32.
1833. Wilson. Philadelphia, Towar, Hogan, & Thompson, 12.
* 1834. (Knapp, 4th ed.) Robinson, Newcome's Harmony. Andover, Gould, 8.
1835. Pseudo-Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, Collins, 12.
1835. (Knapp, 4th ed.) Patton. New York, Starr, 4.
1837. Bloomfield (2d Lond. ed.), Stuart. Boston, Perkins & Marvin, 8.
1838. Wilson. Philadelphia, Haswell, Barrington, & Haswell, 12.
1840. Pseudo-Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, W. E. Dean, also Collins, 12.
1841. Polymicrian, Engles. Philadelphia, H. Perkins, 32.
[1842.] *n. d.* Robinson's Hahn. New York, Leavitt & Allen, 12.
1842. Robinson's Hahn. New York, Leavitt & Trow, 12.
1842. Robinson's Hahn. Boston, Crocker & Brewster, 12.
1844. Polymicrian, Engles. Philadelphia, Perkins & Purves, 32.
1844. Pseudo-Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, Dean, 12.
1845. Robinson's Hahn. New York, Leavitt & Trow, 12.
* 1845. (Hahn.) Robinson's Harmony. Boston, Crocker & Brewster, 8.
1845. Patton. New York, J. C. Riker, 4.
1846. Bloomfield, 5th Amer. ed. Boston, Perkins, 8.
1846. Polymicrian, Engles. Philadelphia, Perkins, 32.
1846. Polymicrian, Engles. Philadelphia, Perkins & Purves. 32.
1846. Polymicrian, Engles. New York, Barnes, 32.
* 1847. (Burton.) Spencer, Gospels. New York, Harpers, 12.
1847. (Burton.) Spencer. New York, Harpers, 12.
* 1847. (Hahn.) Collectanea Evv., N. R. Brooks. Baltimore, Cushing, 16.
* 1847. The same, 2d ed., 16.
1848. Bloomfield, 5th Amer. ed. Boston, Perkins, 8.
1849. Pseudo-Leusden, Gr.-Lat. New York, Dean, 12.
* 1849. (Hahn.) Coll. Evv., Brooks, 3d ed. New York, Barnes, 16.
* 1850. (Hahn.) Owen's Acts. New York, Leavitt, 12.
1850. Polymicrian, Engles. Philadelphia, Perkins, 32.
* 1851. Robinson's Harmony. Boston, Crocker, 8.
* 1852. (Hahn.) Turner's Hebrews, Gr.-Eng. New York, Stanford & Swords, 8.
* 1852 Owen's Acts. New York, Leavitt, 12.

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* 1853. Robinson's Harmony, rev. ed. Boston, Crocker, 8.
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* 1856. Owen's Acts. New York, Leavitt, 12.
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* 1863. Ellicott, Ephesians. Andover, Draper, 8.
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* 1865. Robinson's Harmony. Boston, Crocker, 8.
* 1865. Ellicott, Epp. Paul, whole set. Andover, Draper, 8.
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* 1868. Ellicott, Epistles, whole set. Andover, Draper, 8.
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* 1869. Owen's Acts. New York, Appleton, 12.
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1871. B. Wilson, Emphatic Diaglott, Gr.-Eng. Geneva, Ill., 12.
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* 1871. Ellicott, Epistles, whole set. Andover, Draper, 8.
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* 1880. Ellicott, Epistles, whole set. Andover, Draper, 8.
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Without Date; and not enumerated in the foregoing.

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IN most languages possessing a definite article it appears to be a very general law that nothing shall be inserted between the article and its noun except such words or phrases as are attributive to the noun. So strictly in fact does this obtain that it may be regarded as a law founded in the very nature of simple and unaffected language, while any violation is either

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poetic, or due to poetic influence in a highly rhetorical and elevated style. The order of words in Cicero and Livy is so artificial, and bears so many resemblances to the Greek, that if the Latin had ever possessed an article we might expect to find alien elements intruded into the attributive position. But in the Romance Languages, which have flowed from the Latin and have developed the article, no such intrusion is admitted; a fact which may be placed among the many other evidences that these modern languages sprang from the simple folk-Latin, instead of the artificial and stately prose of the Augustan Era. So it is, also, with the Modern Greek vernacular, though what individual purists may do in their eager imitation of ancient models may be hard to assert. In general its only insertions appear to be the genitive of the personal pronouns, and the demonstratives in agreement with the noun, both following an attributive standing next to the article. This, too, is exactly what occurs occasionally in ancient Greek, and has been noticed frequently enough by our grammarians; and, in fact, is scarcely an exception to our general principle; rather the wonder is that, with all the comprehensiveness of the Greek feeling for the attributive, these pronouns should have ever had any other position than the attributive.

Ancient Greek, however, exhibits a remarkable violation of the general law, whereby alien words of every class—verbs, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, conjunctions, nay, even conditional, nominal, final, and other clauses—are thrust into the attributive position; a fact which I have never been able to find formulated in any grammar or commentary, ancient or modern, although many editors in the treatment of individual cases appear to have had a consciousness of the principle underlying the idiom. To exhibit the law of this idiom, and to show its prevalence, as well as its development and progress through the various stages of the language, is the object of this paper.[1]

The ancient rhetoricians gave the name *ὑπερβατὸν καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν* or *κατ' ἀναστροφήν*, to any wide separation of the arti-

[1] The references in this paper are to the Teubner text-editions. The page of the Teubner text is made the standard for the statistics.

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cle from its noun, and the stock quotation as an example is Dem. Ol. ii. 15: *τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦθ' ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτε ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δόξαν.* If this were the only specimen they give, it would be doubtful if the class to be treated here could be placed under that head; for any word or phrase which individually or comprehensively forms an attribute of the noun, may properly be placed in the attributive position, although long and unwieldy clauses are usually avoided by writers in the simple style. Now the entire hyperbatic clause in the Olynthiac passage is an adjunct of *δόξαν*, and is consequently in its admissible position; something like Chapman's, "The golden-rod-sustaining Argus'-Guide." An anonymous rhetorician in Spengel, iii. p. 136, quotes not only this passage from the Olynthiac, but also *ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔκθορε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ* (*M* 462), adding that the latter stands for *ὁ δὲ φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ ἔκθορε.* Likewise Phoebammon (Sp. iii. p. 48) cites under this head, *ὁ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα ἐτύπτησεν ἑταῖρον.* The last example illustrates what I shall distinctively call *ὑπερβατὸν καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν*, and also exemplifies the law which regulates the idiom.

This law is simply an extension of that recognized by our grammars in the case of the genitive of the personal pronouns, and the demonstratives, namely, that *the alien element*, as the verb here, *is admitted only when an attributive also stands between the article and its noun, and normally the adjunct must precede the alien element.* To speak figuratively, the verb here is a stranger, prohibited from entering the household without the personal presence and introduction of one of the family; or, a metic that must have his patron. There is a third and familiar class of words, neither citizens, nor yet exactly metics; I mean the particles, which may stand at any time between article and noun. These as given by Kühner are *μέν, μὲν γάρ, μὲν οὖν, δέ, δ' οὖν, γέ, δέ γε, δὲ καί* (rare), *τέ, τὲ γάρ, τοί, τοίνυν, γάρ, δή, ἄρα, αὖ, μὲν οὖν δή*, and, rarely, the parenthetic *οἶμαι.* To this list some additions might be made, especially in the combinations, but it is substantially complete and well known. To the most of these particles this position belonged by prior right of immemorial occupation, and the

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rest have gained it by enlisting under the same standard. Long before the demonstrative ὁ had begun to weaken into the article, the particles had become firmly established in the second or third place in the clause, and we see them often in Homer following this demonstrative, a position which was not altered by the altered power of the latter as article.

Ground being thus laid, we may begin the task of tracing this idiom historically. Should the dictum of Aristarchus in relation to the article in Homer be admitted without challenge, it would be illogical to examine the Iliad and Odyssey on this point; but few at the present time incline to accept it without abatement; and, as the germ, if not the full flower of so much else in the Greek language is found in these poems, so this idiom occurs in various stages of advancement, and occasionally in entire harmony with its completed form. The position of ὁ at the beginning of a line with a proper noun at the end, and various words between, is very familiar. Here ὁ is explained, and rightly, as the original demonstrative, and the noun as its appositive, and instances of the same may be found occasionally in the later poets. But an example such as *ἶξε δ' ὅθ' ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς*, *Υ* 320, is quite like many prose forms. So, too, the passage quoted by the anonymous rhetorician, referred to above, is poetic only in the position of the verb before the attributive. Phrases beginning with *οἱ ἄλλοι* frequently approach or coincide with prose constructions; *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἴσαν θεοί*, *Φ* 518; *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὔ σφιν πάρεσαν θεοί*, *Λ* 75; *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητι νεώτεροι ἄνδρες ἕπονται*, *γ* 363; *τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔτινα οἶδα ἀνθρώπων*, *ζ* 176; *τῶν δ' ἄλλων μή τις Ἀχαιῶν πευθέσθω*, *π* 133: likewise with some other adjectives, as *οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*, *Η* 403; *τὴν ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν*, *μ* 113, 428; *ὁ θρασὺς εἶπετ' Ὀδυσσεύς*, *κ* 436: with the adverb; *τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, *Ι* 524: and in the case of the possessive there is complete harmony; as, *τὴν σὴν ποτιδέγμενοι ὁρμήν*, *β* 403; *τοὺς μὲν ἑοὺς ἠρύκακε μώνυχας ἵππους*, *Ε* 321; *τὸ ἐμὸν δόλῳ ἅρμα*, *Ψ* 585; *τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μαζῷ*, *τ* 483; *ἡ δ' ἐμὴ οὐδέ περ υἷος ἐνιπλησθῆναι ἄκοιτις*, *λ* 452; cf. *Λ* 608, *δ* 71. Even the preposition appears between the

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attributive and the noun, as among the later poets; *τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μαζῷ*, τ 483; *τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκ' ἀγγελίης*, π 334. These examples do not pretend to be exhaustive, but they are sufficient to show that the idiom began early and began in poetry, where it must still be traced for some centuries to come before the rise of prose composition. And here I must add that my statistics below do not pretend to be exhaustive in the wide field which has been included in the survey. Some cases will naturally slip by one; even a Homer might nod in such a task; but the cases adduced are actually noticed, so that the sum total in any instance may be somewhat greater, but not smaller. Let this stand, as Herodotus says, for the whole treatise.

Hesiod, in the Works and the Theogony, has a few instances with proper names, which of course need not be classed here, and one case with *ἄλλος*, if *αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μὰψ αὖραι ἐπιπνείουσι*, be read in Theogony 872, where *μαψαῦραι* is found in many MSS.

Next in order of time come the writers of the Gnomic and Lyric Period, and in treating these I have followed Bergk in his Anthologia Lyrica, Teubner text-edition, since we have there all the most important fragments. Accordingly, I find, in Tyrtaeus (10, 3) one instance of the idiom; in Archilochus, 3 (50, 57, 85); Simonides Amorg., 1; Solon, 2; Sappho, 2; Erinna, 2; Anacreon, 4; Simonides Ceos, 8; Theognis, 11. Here, with the vast change in sentiment, manners, government, in metre and language, from the Epic, we find an approximate change in the development of the article, which, though still removed from the frequency and delicacy of Attic prose usage, is now fairly established, and the instances of our hyperbaton are not only clear but also about as frequent as in the poetry of any period except the tragic. The adjunct regularly attaches itself to the article, except in Erinna 6, and Simonides Ceos 117; the intruder is generally a verb, but not exclusively, and in Solon 27, 3 it is the main part of a temporal clause; the possessive is a favorite as attribute, occurring 5 times, and the preposition with its case becomes the adjunct in Sappho 29, and Erinna 6. Certain peculiarities exist which we shall revert to when Herodotus falls under review.

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Next in the same Lyric field follows Pindar, where my statistics exhibit 52 instances, 15 in the Olympic Odes, 18 in the Pythian, 9 in the Nemean, and 10 in the Isthmian. The attributive uniformly adheres to the article, though where more than one belongs to the same noun, the foreign element may be thrust between (O. 1, 68; P. 5, 55). In 34 cases the adjunct is an adjective, 4 times a possessive, once *αὐτός*, 'same', so great a favorite in prose, and appearing already in Homer; the remainder is made up variously of genitives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and participles. The intruded element is mainly the verb, often with all its adjuncts, whether subject or predicate or both, so that the number of words mounts up from four and five to seven and eight or even ten, forming therein a striking feature of his style. A vocative phrase occurs thrice, as it did once in Archilochus (85). The preposition is a favorite; *ἀμφί* thrice, *ἐς* thrice, *ἐπί*, *ἐν*, and *ἀπό* each once. Even the predicate adjective occurs alone. The proper name in apposition with *ὁ* or *ἡ*, and separated from it by words without adjunct, as in Homer, occurs but rarely; I have but one actually noted down. If Isth. 1, 14, *τὸ μὲν ἅρματι τεθρίππῳ γέρας* be construed according to Heyne, as I understand him, a difficulty is presented; because he deems it an unattributive dative placed between article and noun without attributive. But the Scholiast regards *τὸ* as used adverbially without connection with *γέρας*, and perhaps rightly; still this is not necessary, since the dative may be considered a proper attributive depending on some participial idea unexpressed, as *τὰ γὰρ δόλῳ τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματα*, Soph. O. C. 1026; and we may compare *τὴν ὑπὸ Μελήτου γραφήν*, Xen. Mem. iv. 4, 4, and Kühner on Mem. ii. 1, 34. Another case has been sufficiently elucidated by the grammars, and has its parallels in both prose and poetry. When an attributive participle has adjuncts of its own, the whole may stand as compound attributive between article and noun, or part of the phrase may appear within and a part without, so that even a word or expression which is itself not attributive to the noun may be all that remains within, producing an apparent violation of our general law for this hyperbaton; but it is only

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apparent. The example which I have noticed of this in Pindar is O. 13, 53: *τὰν πατρὸς ἀντία Μήδειαν θεμέναν γάμον αὐτᾷ* (cf. Erinna 5).

In Aeschylus I find 84 instances within the space of 257 pages of the Teubner text, or an average of one to every 3 pages, while in Pindar the average was about one to 3½ pages. The Prometheus presents a wide disproportion to the other plays, containing 37 cases within 34 pages, or one to somewhat less than a page. Of the others, the Supplices has 3 cases, Persae 7, Septem 10, Agam. 14, Cho. 5, Eum. 8. The attributive is an adjective 51 times, possessive 12 times, genitive 7 times, *αὐτός* 5 times. It does not adhere so uniformly as in Pindar to the article. I have noticed three exceptions, where the alien precedes the adjunct (Suppl. 51, Paley; Agam. 836, 1450). Two of these are Homeric, and one, Agam. 836, is the well known *τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ πήμασιν*, where the order is partly due to the metre, and partly to the fixity of the expression *αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ*, though Aeschines (3, 233) says *αὐτὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ δυναστείαν*, and Xenophon, (Mem. i. 4. 9), *τὴν σαυτοῦ σὺ ψυχήν*. The same position recurs Soph. Ajax 1132, O. C. 1356, imitated by Longinus 15, 3 (Spengel i. 264). Plato Alc. II. 144 C is a duplication of Soph. O. C. 930; *πόλιν τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ*. The construction with the participle noticed in Pindar occurs Prom. 313, *τὸν νῦν ὄχλον παρόντα*.

The foreign element as usual is mainly the verb; *ὅδε* appears 4 times, but not yet *οὗτος* and *ἐκεῖνος*; the preposition 5 times in the Prom., once in the Eum. The number of words forming the inserted phrase is much more moderate than in Pindar; I have not observed any case of more than five. A difficulty at first sight is presented by Septem 632, *τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κασίγνητον*, since *αὐτοῦ*, as well as *σοῦ*, has commonly the predicate position, and our law would be violated; but it is getting to be pretty well understood that *αὐτοῦ* when *emphatic* or *semi-reflexive* may have the attributive position as here. An early case is Hes. Theogony 754, *μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὥραν*; and Theogony 470 is similar, *τοκῆας τοὺς αὐτῆς*. Tyrtaeus (10, 3) has *τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν*, and Theognis, besides other cases like this, also *τῶν αὐτοῦ χηρώσει πολλῶν*

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(955), and *τῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπέων* (1334), where, as in the Aeschylean example, *αὐτοῦ* forms the adjunct which introduces the alien word.

A more difficult passage is Prom. 289: *τό τε γάρ με, δοκῶ, ξυγγενὲς οὕτως ἐσαναγκάζει,* where between *τό* and *ξυγγενὲς* we have *με* and *δοκῶ*, both alien, without a ghost of an attributive. There are two ways of surmounting this obstacle. It may be observed that when the article is construed with an adjective without a noun expressed, the Greek mind did not regard the ports as closed with the same strictness as with the noun, and occasionally admitted craft otherwise excluded. Or we may regard *δοκῶ* as admitted on the same principle as its synonym *οἶμαι* later on in prose, while *με* will fall under the head of an Ionicism to be treated below.

Sophocles exhibits a marked and continuous increase in his employment of our idiom. I find 238 instances within 347 of the Teubner pages, or about 1 to 1½ pages; in the Ajax, 25; Elec., 32; O. T., 43; O. C., 49; Antig., 22; Trach., 32; Philoc., 35. The prominence of the possessive pronoun among the attributives is a noticeable feature, occurring 97 times, the adjective 90 times, genitive 32 times, adverb 18 times; *αὐτός* 4 times. I have noted but 5 divorcements of the article and attributive (Aj. 311, El. 287, O. T. 1171, O. C. 1356, Tr. 117), not including cases where no adjunct occurs, a few of which are found, mainly with proper names in imitation of Homer, and offer no features differing from those already noticed among his predecessors, except *ὁ δ' εἶπ' Ὀδυσσεύς*, Philoc. 371, which, like Eur. Elec. 781, is also Homeric.

The interposed element, for the most part a verb, is here of greater variety; several times we find conjunctions and conjunctive clauses; prepositions, 17 times; *οὗτος*, twice; *ὅδε*, twice; *ἐκεῖνος*, once.

Akin to the interposing of non-attributive adjuncts of the participle, noticed in Pindar, is a similar insertion of adjuncts of an extruded attributive adjective; thus, O. C. 1514, *αἱ πολλὰ βρονταὶ διατελεῖς*; so Aristophanes Pax 294; Aeschines 3, 241. Allied to this is *τὸν μακρῶν ἀλάταν πόνων*, Aj. 888;

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likewise the interlacing of two nouns both of which have the article and one, or both, attributives; as, *τὸ τᾶς εὐφάμου στόμα φροντίδος*, O. C. 131; cf. Xen. Anab. ii. 6, 29. Still more common, especially in prose, is the interlacement, where one is the participle with its article, as *ὁ τὰν Κρίσᾳ βούνομον ἔχων ἀκτάν*, El. 180; cf. 695, Aesch. Eum. 768, Plat. Leg. 657 A, Protag. 353 A, Hdt. vii. 96, etc. Of course, one of these phrases must be dependent on the other, and it is interesting to see how carefully the main feature of our rule is observed, however intricate the interlacement.

The well known insertion of *ὑμῶν*, O. T. 62, and of *ἡμῶν*, O. T. 1458, between article and noun without adjuncts is abnormal, it is true, but the article in both instances with *μέν* opposed to a following article with *δέ* carries it back close to the Homeric demonstrative. But see *ὑμῶν* in 2 Cor. 1, 6 (twice); 7, 7 (thrice); 11, 8; 12, 19; 13, 9, without such reason.

In the 19 plays of Euripides the occurrence of this idiom is slightly less frequent than in Sophocles, 436 times according to my count, or once in about 1¾ pages. The possessive has nearly the same prominence as in Sophocles, 162 cases, to 168 adjectives, 68 genitives, and 30 adverbs and adverbial phrases. Separation of noun from its adjunct is generally limited at most to four or five words, as in Sophocles and Aeschylus, though Eur. Suppl. 741 is a marked exception if allowed at all. Severance of adjunct from its article is confined to two or three instances, and the occasional absence of attributive is to be explained as before. The interposed demonstrative is rarer than in Sophocles; I find *ὅδε* 3 times, *οὗτος* twice, *ἐκεῖνος* not at all. In the use of *αὐτός* 18 times as attributive he comes nearer prose. The inserted preposition is not so common, proportionately, as in Sophocles, there being only 19 cases of it in all. Of interlaced expressions I find about a dozen, with a tendency to insert an appositive proper name before its subject (*ἁ δὲ Διὸς Ἑλένα κόρα*, Iph. Aul. 781), somewhat like *ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός*, in prose, but not without attributive. If anywhere, we are strongly tempted to see a violation of our general law in *τὸ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμ' ἰδεῖν*,

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Bacch. 760, making δεινὸν predicate; but the commentators are right in holding to the attributive use.

Aristophanes yields 10 instances from the Clouds, and 13 from the Frogs, or about 1 in 5 pages; and some of these, especially in the Frogs, are parodies of tragic lines. The possessive appears as adjunct 4 times, while the alien is chiefly the verb; 5 times it is οὗτος, once ἕνεκα, and once τὶς after an adjunct.

In several of these particulars we are nearer the prose of this period, to which our attention must now be directed. And in this field we must begin with Herodotus as the earliest whose writings have come down to us in any entirety. We know how constant was his imitation of the poets; in fact Demetrius (Spengel iii. p. 287) says that it is not so much μίμησις as μετάθεσις. Hence we might expect to find this hyperbaton with some frequency, as is actually the case. In the 720 Teubner pages I have counted 109 instances, or 1 in $6\frac{3}{8}$ pages. These are exclusive of certain peculiarities to be treated by themselves. The possessive was rare as attributive (3 cases only); but αὐτός occurs 22 times; otherwise there was no peculiarity in the adjunct. The verb plays the important part as usual in the hyperbatic element; but οὗτος enters 24 times (in 14 instances, after αὐτός), and ὅδε 3 times. Of prepositions, only περί (ii. 43, 148) and εἵνεκα (viii. 100, ix. 85), are intruded, as is usual in prose. The participle of the genitive absolute occurs vi. 43 (τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν), examples of which I have found elsewhere only Eur. Herc. Fur. 37, Demosthenes De Cor. 18, and Argument to Andocides iii. The article and participle interlace with article, attributive, and noun, v. 22, and vii. 96. I have placed by themselves 5 instances (i. 18, 103, vi. 75, vii. 111, 115) of the verb interposed between article and participle with omitted noun, though here and generally the law holds that the verb shall stand next to the participle, or at least follow one or more of the adjuncts of the latter. Noticeable cases of the attributive phrase, partly without and partly within, are vii. 124, 184, ii. 53, 87, 169, and vii. 145, which last is peculiar in having the article repeated after the noun, and

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therefore leaves some ambiguity; but a comparison of i. 207 (*τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα τὰ ἐόντα*, Stein), ix. 71, and vii. 172, seems to settle the question.

The inserted vocative, *τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης*, vi. 86, is very rare in prose (Dem. De Cor. 21, Plat. Alc. ii. 138 A, Xen. Hel. ii. 3, 43), though somewhat of a favorite in poetry, and that as early as Archilochus, as has been shown.

There remain to be treated certain violations of our general law, which fall under three heads, enclitic pronouns, the enclitic *τὶς*, and the partitive genitive. Now it is a fact easily observed in Homer that the enclitic pronouns gravitate towards the head of the clause, and have pretty constantly the second or third position, especially following the conjunction, and already there we have such phrases as *τὼ δέ οἱ ὤμω κυρτώ* (*B* 217), and this fixed position remains a characteristic of the Ionic dialect. In Archilochus we read *ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη* (29), *ἡ δέ οἱ σάθη* (97); in Sappho, *ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρως* (2); in Erinna, *τὰ δέ τοι καλὰ σάματα* (6); in Hipponax, *οἱ δέ μευ πάντες ὀδόντες* (62); in Anacreon, *αἱ δέ μευ φρένες* (81); in Theognis, *οἵ με φίλοι* (575, 813, 861 — without conjunction; so *μοί*, Hdt. vii. 38). So Hdt. has *οἱ* 7 times between article and noun without attributive (sometimes as possessive, sometimes not), *μοί* twice, *σφί* thrice. Once *οἱ* adheres to the article and an adjunct follows (iii. 153); it occurs after the adjunct, iii. 74, ix. 64; similarly, *σφί* at i. 159, 166, vii. 160. *μέ* adheres to the article once (i. 115), and *μίν* once (v. 46), both with following attributive (compare Erinna 6, Aesch. Prom. 289, Eur. Hippol. 10, Hel. 922, Hipponax 62, and the position of these pronouns in Hdt. when inserted between the preposition and its case, as vi. 63, 92, 50). Imitations of this Ionicism appear sporadically in Attic prose; as, Plat. Phaedr. 236 D (*οἱ δέ μοι λόγος*), Sympos. 177 A, Lucian Nigr. 2. In Lucian's Ionic imitation, De Dea Syria, he quite outstrips his model. Within 22 pages he intrudes *μοί* once, *οἱ* twice, *μίν* twice. Hdt. once (iii. 65) extends this usage to *ὑμῖν*; cf. Plat. Apol. 39 C, *τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται.*

Another Ionicism is the insertion of *τὶς* without attributive,

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occurring 23 times in Hdt.; or if an adjunct is used, τὶς adheres to the article, as i. 124, 187, 189, iii. 63; cf. ii. 175. This seems to follow the same principle as the enclitic pronouns, and its prevailing position in Homer is the same as theirs. An example approaching the Herodotean usage is Iliad *E* 424, *τῶν τινὰ καρρέζουσα 'Αχαιϊάδων εὐπέπλων*, where, however, the attributive is seen, though extruded. Similar to the Attic is *τῶν δ' ἄλλων μή τις 'Αχαιῶν*, Odyssey *π* 133, *σ* 62. Herodotus has *ἄλλο* added to *τὶ*, ii. 179 (cf. i. 124, Thuc. iii. 5, Aesch. Prom. 772), but in *τῶν τις 'Αθηναίων ἀνήρ*, vii. 143, *ἀνήρ* is extruded.

That the partitive genitive is sometimes intruded without attributive is a common assertion of the grammars and commentators, but this position is pretty generally confined to phrases where an *adjective or participle is used without the noun expressed*, in which case, as we have seen, a certain license is permitted. It is used most commonly by Herodotus and Thucydides, rarely elsewhere, and then the adjective is more frequent than the participle. In Hdt. we have it with the participle, i. 167, iv. 2, v. 77, vi. 57, 119, 130, vii. 110, 129, viii. 4, 66, 68, 129; with the adjective, i. 53, 177, iii. 113, iv. 167, vii. 156, ix. 29. In several of these, the genitive is *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτῶν*, all instances of the occurrence of which, after the article, Stein lumps under one head, as if all were alike. But we must distinguish three classes, the first of which is the partitive already noticed (i. 167, 177, iii. 113, iv. 2, 167, vii. 110, 129, 156, viii. 66, 68, 129). In *τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος* (i. 98), placed here by Stein, *αὐτῶν* simply forms a compound attributive with *μέγιστόν*, as in *τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος* (ii. 178), *τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ* (i. 24), *τοῦ δὲ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος* (Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 31). The second class is where *αὐτοῦ* is emphatic, as i. 165; the third, where it is semi-reflexive, as ii. 133, vi. 30, 111, which is common in Hellenistic Greek. This last is extended to *σφέων* in *οἵ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες*, ix. 50; cf. *τοὺς γὰρ ἂν ψιλοὺς τοὺς σφῶν*, Thuc. vi. 64, and *τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν*, Arrian Anab. i. 18, 2. In Hdt. i. 143 we have *τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτῃσι*, where *αὐτῶν* is usually regarded as a partitive; but if so, it certainly is a

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rare case, since it stands between article and noun without attributive, and it may be regarded as a simple "their." So *οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες*, iv. 187, is a simple variety for *οἱ Λίβυες οἱ νομάδες*. Lastly, *οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι λάβεσκον* occurs at iv. 130, where *ἂν* appears to have deserted to the ranks of the favored particles, as Eur. Phoen. 512, *ταῖς* (MSS.) *γὰρ ἂν Θήβαις τόδε γένοιτο*, Thuc. vi. 64, Aesch. Suppl. 1055 (?), Hdt. ii. 174 (?).

The plain style of the Ionic Hippocrates exhibits our hyperbaton but rarely; in the treatise De Aere, usually regarded as genuine, I have but one example.

Turning now to Attic prose I find 11 cases in the first bk. of Thuc., 97 pp., or 1 in 9 pp. Only 4 of these have the verb inserted; the others have *ἡμῶν, αὐτῶν* (partitive), *ἕνεκα, περί, ἤδη, τὶ* twice.

Xenophon: — Anab. first 4 bks., 138 pp., 9 cases, or 1 in 15; verb thrice, *ἕνεκα* and *οὗτος* once. Memorabilia, 141 pp., 7 cases, or 1 in 20 pp.; verb 4 times.

Plato: — Apology, 33 pp., 7 cases; verb 3 times, *οὗτος* twice. Crito, 16 pp., 1 case, *τὶς*. Protagoras, 63 pp., 7 cases; verb 4 times, *οὗτος* and *ἕνεκα* once. Republic, first 3 bks., 101 pp., 15 cases; verb 11 times, *οὗτος* once, *ἐκεῖνος* once. Phaedrus, 68 pp., 20 cases, 1 in $3\frac{2}{5}$ pp.; verb 13 times. Total pages under review, 281, 50 cases; average, 1 in $5\frac{3}{5}$ pp. These do not include three instances of the verb between the article and infinitive and following the adjuncts of the latter, Republic, 332 A, 339 C, 405 C.[1] Noticeable: the greater frequency of occurrence in the poetic Phaedrus, and especially when Socrates professes to be under the poetic afflatus; the Ionic *ὁ δέ μοι λόγος*, Phaedrus, 236 D, Symp. 177 A (already referred to); Apol. 39 C (quoted above); and Phaedrus, 240 C, *ἡ γάρ, οἶμαι, χρόνου ἰσότης*, where *οἶμαι* adheres to the article with adjunct following. But enough has already been said of all these peculiarities.

[1] Such intrusion between article and infinitive is rare, but in general holds to the rule that the intruded verb or other word shall follow one or more adjuncts of the infinitive, as, *τοὺν δόμοισιν ἦν διαιτᾶσθαι γλυκύ*, Soph. O. C. 769. Dem. Ol. ii. 3 is an exception.

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Turning back to the Orators, I find no instances in the Helen of Gorgias, and but 2 in the Palamedes. The total number of pages is 17. No verb.

Alcidimas, in his highly rhetorical Sophistes, has 4 cases in 11 pp., all verbs.

Antiphon: — 87 pp., 8 cases, or 1 in 11 pp.; verb 5 times, οὗτος once according to the MSS.

Andocides: — 63 pp., 4 cases, or 1 in 16 pp. (rejecting the speech against Alcibiades); verb 3 times.

Lysias: — the first 11 genuine orations, 89 pp., 5 cases, or 1 in 18 pp.; verb 3 times.

Isocrates: — Panegyric, 45 pp., 5 cases; Demonicus, 12 pp., 1 case; Euagoras, 19 pp., none; total, 76 pp., 6 cases, or 1 in 12⅓ pp.; all verbs.

Isaeus: — first 3 orations, 48 pp., 4 cases, or 1 in 12 pp.; verb once, οὗτος once, τὶς once, ἕκαστος once.

Demosthenes: — three Olynthiacs, first Philippic, 37 pp., 16 times; verb 11 times, οὗτος 4 times; De Corona, 80 pp. (omitting decrees), 34 cases; verb 21 times, οὗτος 3 times, ἐκεῖνος twice, ἕνεκα 3 times. Total number of pages 117, 49 cases, or about 1 in 2½ pp.

Aeschines: — Adv. Ctes., 78 pp., 30 cases, or 1 in 2⅗ pp.; verb 20 times (besides twice between article and participle), οὗτος 4 times, ἐκεῖνος twice.

Lycurgus: — Leocrates, 41 pp., 6 cases, or 1 in 7 pp.; verb 5 times.

Aristotle: — Rhet., first 20 pp., 5 cases, 1 in 4 pp.; verb 4 times.

Polybius: — first 30 pp., 15 cases, 1 in 2 pp.; all verbs.

Apollodorus: — 30 pp., 9 cases, 1 in 3⅓ pp.; all verbs.

Dion. Hal.: — De Comp., 20 pp., 14 cases, 1 in 1⅗ pp.; 13 verbs.

Longinus: — 46 pp., 39 cases, 1 in 1⅓ pp.; 31 verbs, οὗτος twice, ἐκεῖνος 3 times.

Plutarch: — Lycurgus, 39 pp., 19 cases, 1 in 2 pp.; 16 verbs, οὗτος once.

Lucian: — first 190 pp., 45 cases, 1 in 4⅔ pp.; verb 8 times, οὗτος 19 times, ἐκεῖνος 10 times; omitting demonstratives we

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have 1 to 12 pp. In his best pieces included here, the Dream, Timon, Dial. Deorum, Marin., Mort., we may observe a return to the simplicity of Thuc. and Xen.; for in these 5 pieces the verb occurs but once.

Arrian: — Anab., first bk., 2 cases, neither of them the verb. One is τὶς in the Attic position, while at ii. 26, 4, and vii. 24, 2 it adheres to the article, with attributive and noun following, the rare position in Herodotus.

New Testament: — Epist. to Hebrews, τὶς once, verb twice, all after αὐτός. 1 Corinthians, none. Gospel Matthew, only ἡ δεξιά σου χείρ, 5, 30; 5, 39. John, none.

It is needless to trace this idiom further. We have seen it originate in poetry and receive there its fullest development, attaining its greatest height in the tragedians; Aristophanes, as in so much else, tends towards prose. Herodotus, dominated by the poets, almost meets Aristophanes; but the other early prose writers, both historians and orators, employ this hyperbaton charily, as becomes their simpler style. Demosthenes, in his earlier speeches, while still under the influence of the frugal Isaeus, imitates his master's frugality; but in the full flow of his perfected rhetoric, in the Olynthiacs, Philippics, and De Corona, he surpasses even Pindar and Aeschylus in the richness of his usage, and in this he is rivaled by his opponent Aeschines, and even exceeded by Dionysius, by Longinus, by Plutarch, nay, by Polybius himself. Hence we can see that for this later period it had become a favorite artifice of language for all who made any pretence to rhetorical diction. That it was taught in the schools as a regular figure is plainly apparent from the references to it in the rhetoricians, although they treat it without distinction from the idiom of any wide separation of the article from its noun, and apparently they never laid down the law in the case of the alien with the article, perhaps because they did not separate it, or because they obeyed the law idiomatically but unwittingly, as is the case so often with us in our mother tongue. Hermogenes regards it as a beauty, and indeed it does possess a very comely shapeliness, especially when the verb is so neatly enclosed within its own object or subject, or in general when the enclosed

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word bears some governing or governed relation to the encompassing phrase, as it does chiefly. Moreover, juxtaposition of similar or contrasted words is often thus produced, so that it becomes the medium of various rhetorical artifices; and lastly, it frequently exists through obedience to that subtle law of rhythm to which the Greek ear was so delicately attuned.

When, however, we leave the province of rhetorical writing and come close to the plain and natural language of the people, as in the Gospels and the Septuagint, we find that the idiom has scarcely an existence, and the case is little changed in Modern Greek. Upon examining a translation of Hdt. into Romaic by Rhadinos, published in 1836, I find that all the instances of this hyperbaton in the original, throughout the last five books, have been altered, and the simple order restored, except vii. 199, ix. 14, 33, where *οὗτος* remains interposed after an attributive.

The only downright exception to our general law for the admission of the alien element, that has fallen under my notice, is *μὴ τῶν, παραινῶ, τελετῶν μὴ ξένον μοι τορεύσῃς*, Anacreontic iv. This has been altered by some editors to *τῶν παρ' οἴνῳ τελετῶν*, while Rose changes the order to *τῶν τελετῶν παραινῶ*; Bergk makes no change, but remarks that the whole ode is "semi-barbarous," a judgment in which most of the editors agree. In fact, it appears to have been composed by some late poetaster, ignorant not only of metre, but of that genuine Greek idiom which was as firmly imbedded in the language as the rocks in the everlasting hills.

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III.—*Notes on Latin Quantity.*

By TRACY PECK,

PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.

In recent discussions of the "Roman" method of pronouncing Latin, the quantitative feature in that method has been made perhaps unwarrantably prominent and formidable. Advocates of that method have spoken of a ratio of two to one as subsisting between long and short vowels, and have proposed elaborate devices for realizing this ratio: opponents of that method have naturally made the most of the great difficulty—if not absolute impossibility—of naturalizing so foreign and exact a system, and have further emphasized the fact that we are and always must be ignorant of the natural length of many vowels. But, if these assumptions and inferences were well authenticated, if our ignorance of the ancient pronunciation of Latin were greater than it really is, and if our capacity and facilities for grappling with the inherent difficulties of the problem were far less than they really are, there would still be no reasonable ground for regarding either with detraction or with discouragement those who are laboring conscientiously and intelligently toward a restored pronunciation. Few indeed are the matters of faith or practice in which more can be hoped for than a near and nearer approach to the absolute truth; and the scholar who has not the steadily inquiring mind, and the ready courage to adopt the solid results of scientific research, may well look to his credentials. It need be a reproach to no reform if it fall short of the ideals which are set up by its antagonists or by its own zealous champions.

But is there any evidence that the Romans, in the ordinary use of their language, practically recognized the mathematical ratio referred to? And unless such evidence is abundant and conclusive, are there not strong *a priori* presumptions against the view, in the matter-of-fact character of the Roman people,

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and in the very nature of the question at issue? The tragedian Accius—who was a grammarian and purist as well—did indeed propose that long vowels be doubled in writing, as *aara, leege, luuci;* but perhaps this proposal favors rather the view that the every-day use of the language tended so to obliterate the distinction between long and short vowels that such graphical devices were resorted to by the doctrinaires. At any rate the device was but little used and was opposed by the satirist Lucilius. Then the attempt was made to stamp long vowels in the text by a superscribed mark called *apex:* but there was no popular acceptance of this, and in the extant vestiges of it, as in the Monumentum Ancyranum, there is no consistency in its employment. Quintilian (IX. 4, 47) says: "Longam syllabam esse duorum temporum, breuem unius, etiam pueri sciunt:" but it is of facts in verse composition with reference to rhythmical prose that Quintilian is here speaking, and after he has said all, he seems to feel that much attention to such matters was an unwholesome symptom, and (IX. 4, 142) he frankly concedes that a harsh and vigorous manner of speech was better than the emasculate fashion which reminded him of dancing to the most wanton music. And in Cicero's discussions of prose-rhythm it clearly appears that many of his contemporaries regarded the whole subject as puerile, finical, un-Roman.

Apart from these quasi-exceptions I find nothing in the writings of the classical period which supports the dogma that the quantity of Latin vowels was, in practice, peculiarly precise or exacting. But, as this is only negative, it may be of advantage if we group together some facts in the development and experience of the language, the cumulative force of which justifies us in believing that those who used Latin for the ordinary social purposes allowed themselves great latitude in the quantitative utterance of its vowels. Of course it is not meant that the Romans were practically ignorant or heedless in this matter: every line in classical Latin poetry is constructed with reference to a recognizable difference, in time, between long and short vowels, as are many of the sentences and periods of the masters of Latin prose, and we lose much of the music

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and rhythm of all good Latin style if we ourselves ignore those subtle and alternating differences to which the Roman ear was so sensitive.

Naturally the illustrations must be mainly drawn from poetry; but what is true of those who used the artificial and imported systems of verse that prevailed in Rome, must be true *a fortiori* of those who talked prose. As scholars are still at issue in regard to some of the metrical principles of Plautus and Terence, very limited use will be made of these writers, though more than any others they confirm all that will be said, and though the language of their plays seems to be an almost perfect representation of the language of Rome's best society. Aelius Stilo—Rome's earliest scientific philologist, and the teacher of Varro and Cicero—said that the Muses, if they had wished to talk Latin, would have used the speech of Plautus, and the many enthusiastic and discriminating praises which the ancients paid to the diction of Terence are summed up in Caesar's phrase—*puri sermonis amator.*

First of all, the variation in the quantity of final vowels is noticeable. Remains of early Latin and the corresponding forms in cognate languages show that Latin was originally burdened with long final vowels. The tendency to shorten such vowels appears with the appearance of the literature. Latin speakers had developed a system by which the accent was drawn back from the ultima; this fact and the natural economical tendency to hurry over all syllables, except those which were radical or emphasized, greatly facilitated the disintegrating process. Then with Ennius, the introduction of a foreign structure of verse, and widening interest in Greek, a check was given to this tendency. But the struggle went on till finally, under the Emperors, the guiding principle in Latin versification was accent, as distinguished from quantity.

That final *a* was long in the nom. sing. of the first declension is seen from its occasional occurrence in earlier inscriptions and in Plautus, from the archaic gen.-*āĭ*, as well as from the corresponding forms in Sanskrit and Greek. Final *o* in verbs was originally long, and this is its usual length in the poets of the Republic; but there are exceptions on every

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hand, and in the poetry of the Silver Age it is prevailingly short. *O* was thus freely treated at the end of nouns, pronouns, numerals, and adverbs, as, *uirgŏ*, *egŏ*, *octŏ*, *citŏ*; in fact, no limit was set to the shortening of final *o* except at the dat. and abl. of the second decl., and even this limit was transgressed as early as Seneca (*uincendŏ*, Tr. 273: *lugendŏ*, Herc. O. 1867) and Juvenal (*uigilandŏ*, III. 232). In every-day adverbs and verb-forms final *e* was shortened regularly or at the pleasure of the poet, as, *benĕ*, *cauĕ* and, in Martial (XI. 108), *saluĕ*. In the regular work of the language it is not credible that *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*, *ibi*, and *ubi* could exclusively treat final *i* as "common." In Plautus, according to the best authorities, many original and ordinary iambs become pyrrhics; as, *rogă*, *docĕ*, *abĭ*, *bonŏ*, *manŭ*: and in Plautus and Terence many long vowels—not themselves final, but in final syllables—are shortened; as, *forăs*, *bonĭs*, *uirŏs*. The precarious hold which final *s* had on distinct enunciation doubtless helped this tendency. Here belongs the long list of nouns of the third decl. whose abl. sing. ends in *ī* or *ĕ*, as *marī* and *marĕ*. Quintilian speaks (I. 4, 8: I. 7, 24) of the *medius quidam sonus* of final *i*.

In all Latin poetry, syllables which are ordinarily short are sometimes made long. The habit of ascribing such deviations from the prevailing usage to the effect of the metrical ictus, or to poetic license, is indolent and explains nothing. The older poets, as Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, naturally recognized the quantity which was historically more correct and was still heard all about them; later poets might well imitate even the exceptional usages of their forerunners, though it is very doubtful if they would have gone beyond what was at least sometimes heard from the best speakers. Such abnormal lengths do occur much more frequently in the thesis of the foot, and either before a caesura or a pause in the thought—where the exceptional measurement is less observed. But they also occur in the arsis, and perhaps only where it cannot be shown that the vowel was once long should the rarer length be charged to thesis. Nor is "poetic license" the talisman to which recourse can here or elsewhere be duly had. The Roman poets were certainly sometimes perplexed in their

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endeavor to fit the Latin vocabulary to the molds of Greek verse, and they now and then helped themselves on by heroic remedies; but we must protest against the notion that such consummate artists in expression and such careful metrists as Lucretius and Catullus and Vergil and Horace would have allowed themselves to use forms and sounds which were not recognized as correct by the cultivated circles in which they moved. Vergil's metrical treatment of the enclitic *que* is peculiar and suggestive. Sixteen times he lengthens the vowel of this little word. Possibly, with his antiquarian taste, he felt that he was using the original quantity of the vowel; probably he was affected by the Homeric treatment of τε, and perhaps a fondness for greatly varying his music was present here, too. Repeatedly in Vergil (*e.g.* A. III. 91), as in Ovid (M. X. 262), *que* is both long and short in the same line.

Final vowels were not merely thus freely lengthened or shortened; they sometimes vanished altogether. Literary documents have transmitted to us but five apocopated imperatives (*dic, duc, fac, fer, inger*), but these exist side by side with the longer forms, and are in all probability types of a wide usage. The same remark applies to the contracted adverbial expressions *magnopere* and *tantopere*, and the genitives and vocatives of the second declension from nominatives in *-ius*. Gellius devotes a chapter (IX. 14) to showing, by citations from numerous authors, that the gen. and dat. of the fifth declension often ended in *-e* or *-i*, instead of in *-eï*. Colloquial forms like *uin, satin, uiden*, are instructive here, as well as in regard to the sound of final *s* and the free movement of the accent. Ennius reduced *caelum, domum* and *gaudium* to the grotesque forms *cael, do*, and *gau*. Perhaps hypermetrical verses — especially where the concurrent lines divide the thought — may be explained as instances of apocope, or as quasi-absorption of the supernumerary into the next preceding syllable. Full of suggestive interest is Quintilian's statement (XI. 3, 33, 34): "dilucida uero erit pronuntiatio primum si uerba tota exierint, quorum pars deuorari, pars destitui solet, plerisque extremas syllabas non perferentibus dum priorum sono indulgent: ut est autem necessaria uerborum explanatio,

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ita omnes imputare et uelut adnumerare litteras molestum et odiosum; nam et uocales frequentissime coeunt et consonantium quaedam insequente uocali dissimulantur." This important passage shows that the avoidance of hiatus, by the quick half-pronunciation of contiguous vowels in different words, obtained in conversation as well as in poetry. Cicero (Or. 44, 150; 45, 152) speaks of the extreme sensitiveness of the Romans in this particular, and tells us that not to combine sounds was a mark of boorishness, and that, whatever the Greeks might do, the Romans were not allowed to keep their words apart. According to Seneca (Ep. 40) some refused to call Vinicius eloquent because he could not fuse together three words. Cicero (de Div. II. 40) states that when Crassus was leaving Italy on his unfortunate expedition, the cry of the vender of figs from Caunus — *Cauneas* — might have been understood as the ominous warning, *Caue ne eas!*

The terms by which this frequent synalepha is referred to (*contrahere, coagmentare, coniungere, coire, conglutinatio*) seem to show that it was not so much a suppression of one sound as the coalescence of two sounds into one—a genuine diphthongal result. Noteworthy in verse are the different effects of synalepha: sometimes a long final vowel before an initial vowel is left intact; sometimes it is treated as a short vowel; sometimes it appears to be entirely sacrificed.

But variation in and total extinction of quantity affect medial as well as final vowels. Martial (IX. 11), expressing regret that he cannot adjust 'Earinos' to his hendecasyllabic verse without taking liberties with the first vowel, states that the Greeks can say *Ἄρες Ἄρες*, but that such freedom is not allowed those who cultivate the stricter Latin Muses. But such liberties do run like a thread through all Latin poets, Martial included, and in him alone (V. 11) is found the bold measurement *smarăgdus*. Usually in verse, *pro*, in composition, is consistently long or consistently short; but in many words it is either long or short with apparent lawlessness. In Lucretius we find *prŏpagare* five times, *prōpagare* twice. At VI. 1027 he measures *prŏpellat*, but two lines later, *prōpellat*. For the noun *propago* Vergil has the *o* long (G. II. 26), and

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short (A. VI. 870). In Martial occur *prōpino* (I. 68) and *prŏpino* (II. 15). There is the same, though less extended, fitfulness with *re* in compounds, as, *rĕcido, rĕduco, rĕlatum, rĕligio.* The poets seem to have found a peculiar pleasure in playing with quantities when a word is soon repeated; thus, in the same line, *lĭquidis, līquida* (Lucr. IV. 1259), *ubī, ubĭ* (Tib. II. 3, 27), *tibĭ, tibī* (Mart. I. 36, 1), *captō, captŏ* (id. II. 18, 1), *ōhe, ŏhe* (id. IV. 89, 1), and *ĕois, ēoos* (Prop. II. 3, 43, 44). The same fancy is noticeable where a naturally short vowel precedes a mute and a liquid, as, *pătribus, pātres* (Lucr. IV. 1222), *pătris, pātrum* (Verg. A. II. 663), *nīgris, nĭgro* (Hor. O. I. 32, 11), *uolŭcri, uolūcres* (Ov. M. XIII. 607). Lachmann (Lucr. I. 360) gives quite a catalogue and discussion of words with biquantal vowels, as, *cŏturnix, glŏmus, lĭquor, rŭdo, uăcillo.* When a long radical vowel is short in derivatives, the shifting of the accent is often said to explain the change in quantity, as, *ācer ăcerbus, diū diŭturnus, lūceo lŭcerna, mōles mŏlestus, pūsio pŭsillus, offa ŏfella, scrībo conscrĭbillo:* accent may perhaps be here recognized as one of the factors, but accent cannot explain the varying length in such congeners as *dŭx dūco, fĭdes fīdus, lēx lĕgo, sĕdeo sēdes, stătio stāmen, tĕgo tēgula, uōx uŏco.* A short penult occurs here and there in all styles in the third plural of the perfect active, and in the first five lines of the sixth book of Lucretius—a very carefully elaborated passage—we find this almost bewildering variety of forms and quantities: — *dididĕrunt, recreauērunt, rogārunt, dedĕrunt, genuēre.*

This licentious treatment of the medial vowel sometimes went to its complete extrusion. No account is here made of the many syncopated forms which appear to have become fixed before the literary period, as *disciplina* (*discipulina*), *templum* (*tempulum*), *gigno* (*gigeno*), *publicus* (*populicus*), *alumnus* (*aluminus*). In some of these there lingered on an apparent consciousness of the original longer form: thus, *dextera* and *dextra, supera* and *supra* exist together. Lucretius uses *saeculum* forty times, and uniformly as a dissyllable; in Catullus the same word is six times a dissyllable, once a trisyllable; Vergil and other poets are less uniform. Not

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unfrequently the penultimate vowel is dropped from *circulus*, *periculum*, *oraculum*, *uinculum*, and others like them. *Solidus* and *soldus*, *ualide* and *ualde* exist side by side. Augustus, who was exceptionally careful with his Latin, corrected (Quint. I. 6, 19) his grandson for preferring *calidus* to *caldus*, and the emperor's reason is well worth quoting: "non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia sit odiosum et, ut ipse Graeco uerbo significauit, περίεργον." The schoolmaster Quintilian (I. 6, 17) charges "molestissima diligentiae peruersitas" upon those who would say *audaciter* rather than *audacter*. Here belong the syncopated verbal forms like *postus*, *replictus*, *tristi*, *consumpse*, *promisse*, *surrexe*. Of considerable value is the fact that such contractions occur with quite unusual frequency in the satires of Horace. These compositions, Horace insists, are but 'familiar talks' (sermones); they certainly and intentionally lack the poetic dignity and curious and varied music of his other works. According to Aulus Gellius (XIX. 7), Laevius said *oblitteram* instead of *oblitteratam*, and the Romance languages are full of analogous mutilations or substitutions. In Lucretius are many sporadic cases of contraction, as *coplata*, *probeo* (*prohibeo*), *unorsum*, *singlariter*, and — probably without a parallel in classical meter — *ŏrĭundi* (II. 991). As Lucretius was a didactic poet, passionately endeavoring to win men to his master's philosophy, is it to be supposed that he would have thus used his language if thereby his readers would have been offended? The easy merging of two or three concurrent Latin vowels into a single vocal result explains forms like *amasti*, *nolo* (*neuolo*), *prosa* (*prouersa*), *prudens*, and perhaps *praeco* (*praeuoco*), *decuria* (*decuuiria*). The statelier verse presents *auunculus* as a quadrisyllable; in Plautine scansion it is a trisyllable, and its reduction to the mere diminutive ending in the descendants and cognates of Latin (oncle, Onkel, etc.) suggests how the word may have been familiarly pronounced. Under this head reference may be made to the equivalent endings in *-um* and *-ium* for the gen. plural of the third declension, as *apum apium*, *dentum dentium*, and also to synizesis, as *rei*, *quoad*, *eius*, *suo*, *deorum*, *alueo*, *ostrea*.

Less frequent, but found in perhaps all poets, is a change

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in the standard number of syllables in a word when the elements of a diphthong are individualized, or when a consonant is vocalized or a vowel consonantized, as *aquä*, *coëpi*, *suädent*, *suësse*, *peruoluö*, *siluä*, and *gēnu͡a*, *tēnu͡is*, *flūu͡iorum*, *ābi͡ete*, *consīli͡um*. In most of these examples the aggregate quantity continues the same after the transformation; in others, there is a change in this particular, as *omni͡a*, *steli͡o* (Verg. G. IV. 243), *taeni͡is* (id. A. V. 269), *ebulli͡at* (Persius II. 10).

The Latin language was naturally constantly receiving Greek words into citizenship, and Quintilian's statement (I. 5, 60) is important that the strict Latin party accented Greek words after the Latin analogy, as *Castōrem*. This measurement of this particular word is not found in extant Latin poetry, but as Ennius did lengthen the penult of *Hectōris*, we have a hint as to what may have been heard in the literary clubs, and still more on the streets of Rome. In some adopted Greek words a new quantity was certainly stereotyped, as *ancŏra* (ἄγκῡρα), *crĕpida* (κρηπίς), *platĕa* (πλατεῖα), *prōlogus* (πρόλογος), *trŭtina* (τρῡτάνη). Variations in Greek quantities were perhaps not so frequent as to have influenced the Romans, but interesting certainly are such dimetric forms as ᾿ἄνήρ ᾿ᾱνήρ, ῎Ἄρες ᾿Ᾱρες, ῎ἴσος ᾿ῑσος, κᾰ̄λός, φῐ́λος φῑ́λος, ᾿ᾰ̄πο-, ὦ τᾰ̄ν.

The habit of treating a large number of Latin vowels as sometimes long and sometimes short — the vowels which are, from their position, called "common" —, and the fact that the Latin had not, like the Greek, the great advantage of separate characters for long and short vowels, must, it seems to me, have led to very frequent inconsistency in the time of uttering vowels not "common" by position.

When the vowel of a syllable long by position is itself long by nature, is it likely that the Romans in reading poetry practically paid much heed to this natural length? Catullus's Fourth Poem and its parody, in one of the minor poems ascribed to Vergil, are almost the sole specimens of entire poems in unadulterated iambic verse, and something of the rippling melody, of the clearly intended musical effect of these exquisite pieces seems to me to vanish, if we give more than the barest recognition to the long vowels imbedded in conso-

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nants. And the same remark applies to no small part of the best Latin poetry.

In Aulus Gellius there are several chapters (II. 17: IV. 17: VII. 15: IX. 6: XII. 3) which tell of animated discussions among the grammarians and literary men of his time in regard to the proper length of many vowels, as of the *o* of *pro* in composition, the *a* in certain frequentatives like *actito*, the *e* in *quiesco*, the vowel of the preposition that is compounded with *iacio*. And if in these fragments — this dust, rather — that we have received of the ancient literature we discover clear evidences of disagreement in the theory and practice of the educated circles, what are we to infer as to the latitude of usage among the ordinary users of the Latin speech?

IV. — *The Influence of the Latin Syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.*[1]

By W. B. OWEN.

PROFESSOR IN LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

I TAKE the following passage from the introduction to Professor March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. "The Anglo-Saxon was shaped to literary use by men who wrote and spoke Latin, and thought it an ideal language; and a large part of the literature is translated or imitated from Latin authors. It is not to be doubted, therefore, that the Latin exercised a great influence on the Anglo-Saxon: if it did not lead to the introduction of wholly new forms, either of etymology or syntax, it led to the extended and uniform use of those forms which are like the Latin, and to the disuse of others, so as to draw the grammars near each other." In going over one of the Anglo-Saxon gospels for another purpose, I incidentally noted a few points which aptly verify this opinion.

Just when and by whom these gospels were translated is not known; it seems probable, however, that they were taken

[1] The remarks in this paper are confined to Matthew and Mark.

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from the old Latin version, the same that Jerome made the basis of his translation. Whoever the translators were, they were scholarly, and it was a labor of love. The version is notable for its fidelity, its simple candor, and for a certain appealing tenderness which makes us feel that the writers wished the words to be heard and heeded. As a result of such work, and where the very phrase was held to be sacred, we should naturally expect a degree of care that would lead to literalness and frequent imitation.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the subject-matter is simple narrative, and that the Latin is the Latin of the people, as unlike Cicero or Tacitus as Bunyan is unlike Gibbon. A great part of the idioms that fill Latin grammars do not appear; so that in this sense the Latin approaches the Anglo-Saxon, or any kindred tongue in which the main outlines of syntax are the same. While the Anglo-Saxon follows the Latin closely, often word for word, it keeps in the main its own idiomatic structure. In some parts of the syntax, however, the language is more elastic and free than in others, and here we find a prevalent conformity to the Latin.

One of these particulars is the use of participles and incorporated clauses. The Greeks were *φιλομέτοχοι*, and in the frequent use of participles the Vulgate follows the Greek. Our versions have kept up the habit about in the following order: Wycliffe most (following the Vulgate with scarcely a break), Anglo-Saxon next, the Authorized Version next, and Tyndal least — our modern version returning somewhat to the free use of participles.

I note a few instances under heads suggested by the forms in the Authorized Version, and give single illustrations.

Participle for co-ordinate clause: *exeuntes autem statim phàrisaei . . . consilium faciebant;* þa pharisei utgangende þeahtedon; 'went out and took counsel,' Mark iii. 6.

Relative clause: *erat ibi homo habens manum aridam;* man for-scruncene hand haebbende; 'which had a withered hand,' Mark iii. 1.

Temporal clause: *et circumspiciens eos cum ira;* hi besceawiende mid yrre; 'when he had looked round about on them with anger,' Mark iii. 5.

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Relative clause + the antecedent: *vae autem pregnantibus;* wa cennendum; 'woe unto them that are with child,' Mat. xxiv. 19. This occurs rarely. The antecedent pronoun usually appears; as, *ite potius ad vendentes;* gað to þam cypendum; 'go rather to them that sell,' Mat. xxv. 9.

Participle used substantively: *audite parabolam seminantis;* gehyre ge þaes sawendan bigspell; 'of the sower,' Mat. xiii. 18.

Participle as an adjective: *quando te vidimus esurientem ... sitientem;* hingrigendne ... þyrstendne; 'an hungered ... thirsty,' Mat. xxv. 37.

Conditional clause: *si cadens adoraveris me;* gif þu feallende ...; 'if thou wilt fall down and worship me,' Mat. iv. 9.

As an object: *cum consummasset Jesus verba haec praecipiens duodecim discipulis suis;* geendude hys twelf leorningcnihtum bebeodende; 'had made an end of commanding his twelve disciples,' Mat. xi. 1.

For infinitive: *ut appareant hominibus jejunantes;* þaet hig aeteowun mannum faestende; 'that they may appear unto men to fast,' Mat. vi. 16.

In the progressive form: *erat enim docens eos;* he waes hi laerende; 'for he taught them,' Mat. vii. 29.

The absolute construction occurs seventy-five times in Matthew, and fourteen instances reappear in the Anglo-Saxon; it occurs forty-five times in Mark, and twenty-two instances reappear. There is one case only of this construction in the Anglo-Saxon not copied from the Latin (Mat. xiii. 1).

Most of these usages are familiar, possibly none of them a total stranger to the native syntax of our ancestors, but in the regularity and frequency of their occurrence there is a considerable interval between the gospels and contemporary prose. The same interval, and a corresponding approach to the Latin may be seen, too, in the frequent use of synthetic forms, expressing relations without prepositions.

The dative object occurs on an average nearly every other verse: *et pulsanti aperietur;* and þam cnuciendum bið ontyned; 'to him that knocketh,' Mat. vii. 8. Wycliffe here uses the

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preposition more than Tyndal or the Authorized Version, and he uses it regularly with *forgive, answer, threaten, obey, command, give.* Not so frequently, yet often, we find the dative instrumental: Hwilcum bigspelle widmete we hit; 'with what comparison shall we compare it,' Mark iv. 30: so also the dative of manner, and of time. The dative of the possessor, not a favorite construction in Anglo-Saxon, occurs nine times in Matthew, and five times in Mark. The dative after words of likeness is frequent; after comparatives, two instances occur in Matthew, and one in Mark. The home habit is, as with us, to use the nominative with þonne. After the corresponding construction in Latin, verbs meaning *please, satisfy, serve, command, obey, threaten,* and *believe* take the dative.

Prohibitions are expressed by a periphrastic imperative, nillan, with the infinitive, in imitation of the Latin *noli, nolite: noli timere;* nelle þu ondraedan; 'fear not,' Mat. i. 20; *nolite putare;* nelle ge wenan; 'think not,' Mat. v. 17. Twenty-seven instances of this idiom occur in Matthew: eleven of them are copied in Anglo-Saxon, but sixteen are translated without the circumlocution; as, *noli tuba canere ante te;* ne blawe man byman beforan þe; 'do not sound,' Mat. vi. 2. Mark has five instances, and only one is copied in Anglo-Saxon. Bede so translates this Latin form occasionally, and the only instances of it noted in Grein I find to be translations of the same idiom.

The infinitive is used to express the purpose of motion: *veni enim separare hominem . . . ;* ic com man asyndrian . . . ; 'I am come to set a man at variance,' Mat. x. 35; *quid existis in desertum videre;* hwi eode ge ut on wesden geseon; 'what went ye out for to see,' Mat. xi. 7, 8, 9; *veni solvere legem;* ic com towurpan þa ae; 'I am come to destroy the law,' Mat. v. 17, etc. The usual form in Anglo-Saxon is the gerund; as, he hi asende godspell to bodigenne (*praedicare*), Mark iii. 14; ut eode se saedere his saed to sawenne (*ad seminandum*), Mark iv. 3.

The infinitive with subject accusative, following the Latin, occurs oftener than is usual in Anglo-Saxon.

The verb is often omitted in imitation: *et inimici hominis domestici ejus;* and mannes fynd hys gehusan; 'and a man's

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foes shall be,' etc., Mat. x. 36; so eage for eage, Mat. v. 38; and feawa gecorene (*pauci vero electi*), Mat. xxii. 14; wa eow, Mat. xxiii. 13, 15, 16, etc.

Intransitive verbs are made transitive in imitation: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam;* Eadige synt þađe rihtwisnesse hingriađ and þyrstađ; 'hunger and thirst after righteousness,' Mat. v. 6. One MS. has 'for rihtwisnysse,' and Bosworth adopts that reading. *Rachel plorans filios suos;* weop hyre bearn, Mat. ii. 18; but wepan is elsewhere not infrequently transitive.

Wyrđe, taking the genitive in cases noted in Grein, takes (A. S.) *me* in imitation of *dignus:* nis he me wyrđe (*non est me dignus*), Mat. x. 37, 38, etc.

Adjective without noun: *nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua;* nyte þin wynstre hwaet do þin swyđre; 'let not thy left hand know,' etc., Mat. vi. 3; and hi laeddon him aenne deafne and dumbne (*surdum et mutum*), Mat. vii. 32.

Subject omitted when followed by a relative clause: Eadig ys seđe ne swycađ on me; *beatus est qui*, etc.; 'blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me,' Mat. xi. 6; ne underfođ ealle menn þis word ac þam þe hit geseald ys; *sed quibus datum est;* 'all men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given,' Mat. xix. 11.

Predicate omitted: đes ys sođlice be þam awryten ys; *hic enim est de quo*, etc.; 'this is he of whom,' etc., Mat. xi. 10.

Pronoun repeated in relative clause: *cujus non sum dignus procumbens solvere corrigiam calciamentorum ejus;* þaes ne eom ic wyrđe þaet ic his sceona þwanga bugende uncnytte; 'the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose,' Mark i. 7.

Anglo-Saxon *and* translates *et*, even in its stronger meanings, 'also' (usually expressed in Anglo-Saxon by *and eac*, or *eac*), and 'even': *negabo et ego eum;* and ic wiđsace hine; 'him will I also deny,' Mat. x. 33; *sic erit et generationi huic;* and swa biđ ysse cneorysse; 'even so shall it be also,' etc., Mat. xii. 45; *ita et vos scitote;* and wite ge swa; 'so likewise ye... know,' Mat. xxiv. 33.

Peculiar verbal turns abound, which result from the attempt to give an exact translation: *illi manus injecerunt in eum;* hi,

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hyra handa on hine wurpon (where we might expect legdon), Mark xiv. 46.

The phrase 'witness against' in the Authorized Version, uniformly representing the Greek *καταμαρτυρέω*, appears in various dress in Latin, and the Anglo-Saxon follows with scrupulous literalness: *testificantur*, Mat. xxvi. 62, is onsecgeaď; *objiciuntur*, Mark xiv. 60, is onwurpaď; *accusant*, Mark xv. 4, is wregeaď. In 'onwurpaď' for *objiciuntur*, the translator has succeeded better in hitting upon a literal turn of the word than in giving the idea characteristic expression. The same is true of his translations of *mittere*, a word of wider ranges of meaning than Anglo-Saxon sendan, its literal equivalent: *mitte te deorsum;* asend þe þonne nyþer, Mat. iv. 6; *mittentes rete in mare;* sendende hyra nett on þa sae, Mat. iv. 18; so 'rich men casting gifts into the treasury;' heora lac sendan on ďone sceoppan, Luke xxi. 1.

A fuller showing of these features of the translation will be easy when there is a more complete vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon gospels, a work which I now have in hand.

The introduction of Latin *words* is not uncommon in the Homilies; with reference to the gospels, however, it has often been noted that, whereas other versions adopt terms from the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, it is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon to use native words, and where words are wanting, to form home-made compounds: *centurio* is 'hundredes ealdor'; *in oriente* is 'on east-daele'; *discipulus* is 'leorning-cniht'; *parabola* is 'big-spell'; *sabbath* is 'reste-daeg'; *scriba* is 'boc-man' or 'writer'; *pharisee* is 'sundor-halgan'; *homo hydropicus* is 'waeter-seoc man,' etc., etc. Many examples might be given, too, of idiomatic home-phrase, unlike the Latin; as, *aperi nobis*, laet us in, Mat. xxv. 11; the factitive depending upon *to:* ge didon þaet to sceaďena scraefe, Mark xi. 17; aeghwylc daeg haefď genoh on his agenum ymbhogan (*sufficit diei malitia sua*), Mat. vi. 34, etc., etc. Generally, however, in the arrangement of words, as well as in syntactical forms and idiomatic phrases, the gospels have come under the influence of the Latin more than other translations in Anglo-Saxon literature, not excepting even Alfred's translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

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V. — *The Ablaut in English.*

By BENJAMIN W. WELLS, Ph. D.,

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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It has been said that the consonants are the skeleton of a language, the vowels its flesh and blood. While the vowels are more subject to internal change and to influence from without than the consonants, they reflect more clearly in their modifications the spirit of a language. This is in a peculiar degree true of the Germanic dialects, and in no one of them more noticeably than in the Old English. The most important modification of vowels in the Indo-European group of languages is the ablaut, which is preserved with surprising fulness and regularity in the Germanic dialects, and best of all in Old English, sometimes called Anglo-Saxon, which I take for the foundation of this study.

The processes of phonetic development and decay have never shown themselves more general or more rapid than in the later periods of English, so that the study of the development of the ablaut during this time is as difficult as it is instructive. Except in the points mentioned in section I., my aim is less to make this study exhaustive than to make it accurate and suggestive.

The abbreviations are as follows: OG. stands for Old Germanic; WG., for West Germanic; G., for Gothic; ON., for Old Norse; OHG., for Old High German; OS., for Old Saxon; OE., for Old English; ME., for Middle English; NE., for New English. Middle English

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comprehends the period from 1150 to Elizabeth's reign; New English applies to what is now in good use. Verbs which are found only in the present are marked with an interrogation point; those which have both strong and weak forms with a +; W. stands for weak, S. for strong. New English verbs which, though weak, have strong participial adjectives, are marked Ws.

Section I. Scope of the Essay.

I propose in this paper to give a statement of the Germanic ablaut, its classification, and some account of its extent in the various dialects, and secondly, to show how this ablaut was developed in OE. I shall give a complete list of strong verbs in OE. with the corresponding strong verbs of OS., OHG., ON., G., so far as such exist, and with added signs to show whether, and how, they appear in ME. and NE. The OE. words are given in the normalized West-Saxon spelling.

Since a satisfactory analysis of the ME. ablaut would require a more detailed study of the dialects and the geographical relations of the documents than the limits of this paper would allow or the the state of ME. phonetics warrant, only those ME. verbs have been considered which show sometimes or always weak forms; but the general principles which caused and controlled the weakening have been shown. Here also, for convenience of reference, the words are given in the OE. West-Saxon form. The list of ME. strong verbs can be found in section III.

The forms of the ablaut in NE., their origin, and the reasons why they were sometimes abandoned have been treated in detail.

Section II. The Germanic Ablaut.

The ablaut is classified according to the vowel of the present stem. There are four proper ablaut classes, with the present vowels in Indo-European: a^1, a^1i, a^1u, a^2. There is in OE. a fifth class, but this was in OG. a reduplicating class, and got its OE. ablaut by contraction of the reduplication with the root-syllable. The OG. presents, corresponding to these Indo-Europeans vowels, have *e*, *ei*, *eu*, *a*. The preterit has in the singular a darker sound in the first three classes, and in the fourth, where this was impracticable, its place was taken by lengthening; the preterit singular then was *a*, *ai*, *au*, *ō*. The preterit plural, on the contrary, owing to the accent, took the lightest possible form, which in class I. was nothing or

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"schwa;" in II., *i;* in III., *u;* in IV. the plural follows the analogy of the singular and has *ō*, though this can be explained as a contraction (Scherer, *Deutsche Sprache*, 257). Where the vowel had vanished in I., if but a single consonant followed, the preceding reduplication, united with the root and the resulting vowel, was *ā;* thus *bhar* would have in the preterit *babr-um* = *bārum;* but where a double consonant followed, such contraction was impossible, and the place of the vowel was taken by an *u*-swarabhakti; thus, *bhandh* becomes *babndum* = *bundum* in the preterit. The vowels of the preterit plural are then *ā* (*u*), *i*, *u*, *ō*. The participle has also, owing to the accent, the lightest possible forms; but here there was no reduplication, and so in class I. the "schwa" took the form *e* before single mutes or fricatives, and elsewhere *o*. In IV. the vowel of the present was retained. The vowels of the participle are then *e* (*o*), *i*, *u*, *a*.

The four ablaut classes have therefore in OG. the following forms: Ia. (before single mutes or fricatives), *e*, *a*, *ā*, *e;* Ib. (before single nasals or liquids), *e*, *a*, *ā*, *o;* Ic. (before two consonants), *e*, *a*, *u*, *o;* II., *ei*, *ai*, *i*, *i;* III., *eu*, *au*, *u*, *u;* IV., *a*, *ō*, *ō*, *a*. From these ablaut classes all strong verbs in Germanic are developed according to regular phonetic laws.

The number of strong verbs in the various Germanic dialects varies with the extent of the literature. There are in Gothic, 138; in ON., according to Vimmer, 194, but this number is not complete; in OHG., 237; in OE., 253, together with a large number of uncertain verbs. In these numbers, preterito-presentia and verbs of class V. are excluded. We may regard a verb as OG. if it is common both to G. or ON., and to OE., OS., or OHG., that is, to East and West Germanic; many verbs, however, are confined to a single dialect, and of these there are 19 in Gothic, 35 in OHG., and 39 in OE.; others are found only in the East Germanic group or in the West Germanic group, but are not common to both; of such there are 2 in Gothic, 52 in OHG., and 53 in OE.; of verbs which are certainly OG., the Gothic has 107; OHG., 150; OE., 161. The number of distinct verbal stems with ablaut in all the dialects is about 400. The OE. has the fullest and truest picture of the ablaut. In the detailed examination which follows, in each class the OG. verbs are placed first, then the WG., and finally those confined to OE. The abbreviations which follow the verb indicate its subsequent history. Notes at the end of section III. explain anomalies and defend the classification wherever it seems doubtful.

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Section III. The Old English Ablaut.

Class Ia. OG. ablaut e, a, ā, e.

The regular OE. ablaut is *e, æ, ǣ, e;* but this is subject to the following modifications.

1. Initial *g* changes the ablaut to *ié* (*y*), *eá*, *eā*, *ié* (*y*). For example, *giéfan*, *geáf*, *geāfon*, *giéfen*.

2. When the vowel is initial, it coalesces with the reduplication in the preterit singular to *ǣ*. For example, *etan* has *ǣt* in the preterit singular.

3. Preceding *r* has the same influence as following *r*, see Ib., in *troden* from *tredan*, and in *brocen* from *brecan*. The same irregularity occurs in G. *trudans* and *brukans*.

4. Following *h* breaks *e* to *éo* and *æ* to *éa*. Before a vowel the *h* may fall out and *éo* coalesce with the following vowel to *ēo*. For example, *séohan* (*sēon*), *séah*.

5. When the present stem ends in *ja*, *e* becomes *i* and the consonant following is doubled. The simple consonant reappears in the other forms. Examples are: *biddan*, *licgan*, *sittan*, *þicgan*.

6. Grammatic change of *s* to *t*, *ð* to *d*, and *h* to *g* in the preterit plural and participle, owing to the Indo-European accent, occurs in *wesan* (cf. NE. *was*, *were*), *cweðan*, *fēon*, *plēon*, *sēon*.

This class contains 27 verbs. 20 are OG.; 4 are WG.; 3 are OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
biddan ME. NE.	biddan	bittan	biðja	bidjan
brecan ME. NE.	brekan	brecan	breka W.	brikan
cweðan ME. NE. W. note 1	quethan	quedan	kveða	qiþan
drepan ME. +		trefan	drepa	
etan ME. NE.	etan	ezzan	eta	itan
giéfan ME. NE.	gebhan	geban	gefa	giban
giétan ME. NE.	getan	gezzan	geta	gitan
lesan ME. +	lesan	lesan	lesa	lisan
licgan ME. NE.	liggjan	liggan	liggja	ligan
metan ME. NE. W.		mezzan	meta	mitan
nesan.		nesan		nisan
recan ME.		rechen MHG.	?reka	rikan
sēon ME. NE.	sehan	sehan	siā	saíhvan
sittan ME. NE.	sittan	sizzan	sitja	sitan
tredan ME. NE.		tretan	troða	trudan
þicgan ME. ?	þiggean W.	dikkan W.	þiggja	

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OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
wefan ME. NE.		weban	vefa	
wegan ME. NE. W.		wegan	vega	wigan
wesan ME. note 2.	wesan	wesan	vesa	wisan
wrecan ME. NE. W.	wrekan	rehhan	reka	wrikan

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	
cnedan ME. NE. W.		cnetan	cf. ON. knoða W.
fēon		fehan	cf. ON. feginn
plēon	plegan	pflegan	
sprecan ME. NE.	sprecan	sprehhan	

OE. only are: fricgan, screpan, swefan. Sievers (AS. Grammatik) adds *fetan;* I do not know upon what evidence.

ME. are 21. 18 S.; 2 S. and W.; 1 present only.

NE. are 16. 11 S.; 5 W.

Class Ib. OG. ablaut e, a, ā, o.

The OE. ablaut before *l*, *r*, is *e*, *æ*, *ǣ*, *o;* before *m*, it is *i*, *a*, *ā*, *u*. Preceding *w* coalesces with the ablaut vowels to *u*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, in *cuman*, *com* (often written *coom* and *cōm*, but hardly long), *cōmon*, *cumen*.

The class contains 10 verbs 6 are OG.; 4 are WG.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
beran ME. NE.	beran	beran	bera	baíran
cuman ME. NE.	kuman	cuman	koma	qiman
niman ME.	niman	neman	nema	niman
sceran ME. NE.		sceran	skera	
stelan ME. NE.	stelan	stelan	stela	stilan
teran ME. NE.		zeran		taíran

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.
cwelan ME.	quelan	quelan
dwelan ME.?	dwelan	twelan
helan ME.	helan	helan
þweran note 3		dweran

ME. are 9. 8 S.; 1 present only.

NE. are 5, all S.

Class Ic. OG. ablaut e, a, u, o.

The OE. ablaut when undisturbed by consonant influence was *e*, *æ*, *u*, *o*. This occurred only in: *bregdan*, *brestan*, *stregdan*, *þrescan*,

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for in all other cases a following *r, l, h,* or nasal, changed the vowels.

1. Before *r*+ consonant and *h*+ consonant the ablaut is *éo, éa, u, o;* before *l*+ consonant it is *e, éa, u, o;* a preceding *g* can change *e* to *ié.*

2. Before nasals the ablaut is *i, a, u, u.*

3. There are 3 peculiar presents; *frignan, murnan, spurnan.* In *frignan* the *i* is due to the *n,* otherwise the verb is like *brestan;* in *murnan, spurnan,* the *u* for *éo* may be compared to the *o* for *e* in *troden,* Ia. 3., and with the influence of *rn* in NE. (*fern, earn,* etc.). The other parts of these verbs are like those of *béorgan.*

4. Grammatic change of ð to *d,* and *h* to *g* occurs in the preterit plural and participle of *wéorðan, felhan,* and would occur in the questionable *séorðan.*

This class has 77 verbs. 39 are OG.; 22 WG.; 16 OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
béorgan ME.	bergan	bergan	biarga	baírgan
brestan ME. NE. W.	brestan	brestan	bresta	
bindan ME. NE.	bindan	bintan	binda	bindan
bregdan ME.+NE. W.	bregdan	brettan	bregða	
bringan note 4	bringan	bringan		briggan
brinnan ME. NE. W.	brinnan	brinnan	brenna	brinnan
déorfan ME. W.	derven	derben MHG.	diarfa	
drincan ME. NE.	drinkan	trincan	drekka	drigkan
felhan ME. W.	felhan	felhan		filhan
findan ME. NE.	findan	fintan	finna	finþan
frignan ME.+	frignan		fregna	fraíhnan
giéldan ME.+NE. W.	geldan	geltan	gialda	gildan
giéllan ME. NE. W.		gellan	gialla	
-ginnan ME. NE.	-ginnan	-ginnan		-ginnan
helpan ME. NE. W.	helpan	helfan	hialpa	hilpan
hrindan			hrinda	
hwéorfan ME.	hwerbhan	hwerban	hverfa	hwaírban
linnan ME.		linnan	linna W.	linnan
rinnan ME. NE.	rinnan	rinnan	rinna	rinnan
sincan ME. NE.	sinkan	sincan	sökkva	sigqan
singan ME. NE.	singan	singan	singva	siggvan
slincan ME. NE.		cf. slīhhan	slinka Swed.	
slingan ME. NE.		slingan	slingva	
spinnan ME. NE.		spinnan	spinna	spinnan
springan ME. NE.	springan	springan	springa	
spurnan ME. W. NE. W.	spurnan	spurnan+	sperna+	
stincan ME. NE.		stincan	stökkva	stigqan
stingan ME. NE.			stinga	stiggan?

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OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
swelgan ME.		swelgan	svelga	
swellan ME. NE. Ws.		swellan	svella	
sweltan ME.	sweltan	swelzan	svelta	swiltan
swéorfan ME. NE. W.	swerbhan	swerban	sverfa	swaírban
swimman ME. NE.		swimman	svimma	
þrescan ME. NE. W.		drescan	þriska	þriscan
þringan ME.	þringan	dringan	þröngva	
wéorpan ME. NE. W.	werpan	werfan	verpa	waírpan
wéorđan ME. note 5	werthan	werdan	verđa	waírþan
windan ME. NE.	windan	wintan	vinda	windan
winnan ME. NE.	winnan	winnan	vinna	winnan

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	
belgan ME.	belgan	belgan	cf. ON. bolginn
bellan ME. NE. W.		bellan	
céorfan ME. + NE. W.		kerven MLG.	cf. O. FRIS. kerva
climban ME. + NE. W.		chlimban	
clingan ME. NE.		chlingan	
crimman		chrimman	
delfan ME. + NE. W.	delbhan	telban	
féohtan ME. NE.		fehtan	cf. ON. fikta W.
grimman		grimmen MHG.	
hlimman		limman	
hrimpan		rimpfan	
limpan ME.		limpfan	
melcan		melcan	
scrincan ME. NE.		schrinken MLG.	
selcan		selken MG.	
sinnan		sinnan	
stéorfan ME. NE. W.	sterbhan	sterban	
sweorcan ME.	swerkan		
swindan ME.		swintan	
swingan ME. NE.	swingan	swingan	
þrintan		drinden MG.	
wringan		ringan	

OE. only are:

béorcan ME. + NE. W.	grindan ME. NE.	swincan ME.
cinnan	hwéorran	teldan ME. W.
cringan note 6	meltan ME. NE. Ws.	tingan
cwincan	murnan ME. W. NE. W.	þindan ME.
giélpan ME. NE. W.	stregdan	þingan ME.
géorran ME.		

Doubtful are: séorđan, scéorfan (Sievers).

ME. are 60. 48 S.; 7 S. and W.; 5 W.

NE. are 42. 22 S.; 20 W. 2 are Ws. See section V. C. δ.

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Class II. OG. ablaut ei, ai, i, i.

The OE. ablaut is *ī, ā, i, i.*

1. Initial *g, sc* can change *ā* to *eā* (*geān, sceān*).

2. Following *h* is dropped between vowels and *ī* coalesces with the following vowel to *ēo;* hence arises a similarity with class III. which caused some confusion. See note 7.

3. Grammatic change of ð to *d* and *h* to *g* occurs in the preterit plural and participle of *līðan, mīðan, scrīðan, snīðan, tēon, þēon, wrēon.*

The class has 56 verbs. 35 are OG.; 11 are WG.; 10 OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
bīdan ME. NE.	bīdan	bītan	bīða	beidan
bītan ME. NE.	bītan	bīzan	bīta	beitan
blīcan ME. +	blīkan	blīchan	blīkja	
cīnan ME. +	kīnan	chīnan		keinan
clīfan ME.	klībhan	clīban	klīfa	
drīfan ME. + NE.	drībhan	trīban	drīfa	dreiban
gīnan		gīnan	gīna	
grīpan ME. + NE. W.	grīpan	grīfan	grīpa	greipan
hnīgan	hnīgan	hnīgan	hnīga	hneiwan
hnītan			hnīta	
hrīnan ME.?	hrīnan	hrīnan	hrīna	
līðan ME.	līþan	līdan	līða	leiþan
-līfan ME.	lībhan	līban		leiban
lēon	līhan	līhan	lía W.	leihvan
mīgan ME. note 7			mīga	
rīdan ME. NE.		rītan	rīða	
rīsan ME. NE.	rīsan	rīsan	rīsa	reisan
scīnan ME. NE.	skīnan	scīnan	skīna	skeinan
scītan ME. NE. W. note 8		scīzan	skīta	
scrīðan ME.	scrīdan	scrītan	skrīða	
sīgan ME.	sīgan	sīgan	sīga	
slītan ME. + NE. W.	slītan	slīzan	slīta	
snīðan ME.	snīþan	snīdan	snīða	sneiþan
spīwan ME. note 9	spīwan	spīwan	spýja Cl. V.	speiwan
stīgan ME. note 7	stīgan	stīgan	stīga	steigan
strīdan ME. NE.		strītan	strīða +	
swīcan ME.	swīcan	swīhhan	svīkja	
swīfan ME.?			svīfa	sweiban
tēon ME.?	tīhan	zīhan	tía W.	teihan
þēon ME. note 7.	þīhan	dīhan		þeihan
wīcan ME.?	wīkan	wīhhan	vīkja	
-wītan ME. + NE. W.	wītan	wīzan	vīta W.	weitan
wlītan ME.			līta	
wrīðan ME. NE. W.			rīða	
wrītan ME. NE.	wrītan	rīzan	rīta	

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The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	
flītan ME.		flīzan	
glīdan ME. NE. W.	glīdan	glītan	
gnīdan ME.	gnīdan	gnītan	
hlīdan	hlīdan		
mīđan ME.?	mīđan	mīdan	
scrīfan ME. NE. Ws.	skrībhan	scrīban	cf. Lat. scribere
sēon ME. note 7		sīhan	ON. sīa W.
slīpan ME.?		slīfan	
smītan ME. NE.		smīzan	
strīcan ME. NE.		strīhhan	
wrēon ME. note 7		rīhan	

OE. only are:

dwīnan ME.+	rīnan ME. +	snīcan ME.? note 11
grīsan ME.	rīpan note 10	slīdan ME. NE.
nīpan	sīcan ME. W.	slīfan ME.?
		þwītan

Doubtful are: cīdan, cnīdan, cwīnan, wrīdan (Sievers).

ME. are 48. 31 are S.; 8 are S. and W.; 1 is W.; 8 are present only.

NE. are 18. 11 are S.; 7 are W. 1 is Ws.; and one strong verb has a strong participial adjective differing from the participle; see section V. C. δ.

Class III. OG. ablaut **eu, au, u, u.**

The OE. ablaut is *ēo, ēa, u, o.* Some OE. verbs have *ū* in the present, and this seems to have been OG. also, at least in some cases; its origin is uncertain. Cf. Schmidt *Vocalismus*, I. 140 ff.

1. Following *h* is elided between vowels; the present remains *ēo* however, being unchanged by the contraction.

2. Grammatic change of *s* to *r*, *ð* to *d*, and *h* to *g*, occurs in the preterit plural and participle of *cēosan, drēosan, flēosan, hrēosan, lēosan, hrēoðan, lēoðan, rēoðan, sēoðan, flēon, tēon;* it would have occurred also in the questionable *swēon.*

The class contains 52 verbs. 36 are OG.; 7 are WG.; 9 are OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
bēodan ME. note 12	biodan	biotan	biođa	biudan
brēotan		briezen MHG.	briota	

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OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
būgan ME. + NE. W.		biogan	biuga	biugan
cēosan ME. + NE.	kiosan	chiosan	kiosa	kiusan
clēofan ME. + NE. W.	kliobhan	clioban	kliufa	
crēopan ME. + NE. W.		cf. criochan	kriupa	
drēogan ME. +	driogan	triogan	drȳgja W.	driugan
drēopan ME. W.	driopan	triufan	driupa	
drēosan ME.	driosan			driusan
flēogan ME. NE.		fliogan	fliuga	
flēon ME. NE. W.	fliohan	fliohan	flȳja W.	þliuhan
flēotan ME. NE. W.	fliotan	fliozan	fliota	
frēosan ME. NE.		friosan	friosa	
gēotan ME.	giotan	giozan	giota	
hlēotan ME.	hliotan	hliozan	hliota	
hrēosan ME.			hriosa	
hrūtan ME. +		rūzan	hriota	
lēodan	liodan	liotan		liudan
lēogan ME. NE. W.	liogan	liogan	liuga	liugan
lēosan ME. NE. Ws.	liosan	liosan		liusan
lūcan ME.	lūkan	lūhhan	lūka	lūkan
lūtan ME. +		lūzēn W.	lūta	
nēotan	niotan	niozan	niota	niutan
rēocan		riuhhan	riuka	
rēodan			rioða	
rēofan ME. NE. note 13			riufa	
scēotan ME. NE.	skiotan	sciozan	skiota	
scūfan ME. NE. W.		scioban		skiuban
sēoðan ME. NE. Ws.		siodan	sioða	
slēopan ME.		sliofan		sliupan
smūgan		smiegen MHG.	smiuga	
sūgan		sūgan	sūga	
sūpan ME.		sūfan	sūpa	
tēon ME.	tiohan	ziohan	tiuga	tiuhan
þrēotan		driozan	þriota	þriutan
þūtan ME. W.		diozan	þiota	

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	
brēowan ME. + NE. W.		briuwen MHG.	cf. ON. brugga W.
brūcan ME.? NE. W.	brūkan?	brūhhan W.	cf. O. FRIS. bruka S.
cēowan ME.? NE. W.		chiuwan	
grēotan	griotan		
hrēowan ME. + NE. W.	hreuuan	riuwan	cf. ON. hryggva W.
rēotan		riozan	
sprūtan ME.? NE. W.		spriezen MHG.	cf. O. FRIS. sprūta S.

OE. only are:

brēoðan ME.	grēosan	smeocan
crūdan ME. NE. W.	hēoðan	strūdan
dūfan ME.+	hrēoðan, cf. ON. part. hroðinn	sūcan ME. NE. W.

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Doubtful are: gēopan, hēofan, spēoftan, swēon (Sievers).

ME. are 37. 22 are S.; 10 are S. and W.; 2 are W.; 3 are only in the present.

NE. are 21. 5 are S.; 16 are W. 2 are Ws. See section V. C. δ.

Class IV. OG. ablaut, **a, ō, ō, a.**

The OE. ablaut is *a, ō, ō, æ,* yet the participle often follows the analogy of the present and is written *a,* which before nasals is the regular form.

1. Initial *g, sc* may change the ablaut to *ea, eō, eō, ea.*

2. Between vowels *h* is elided and the vowels coalesce to *ēa;* so *slēan,* Gothic *slahan.* Following *x* (*hs*) changes *a* to *éa* in *wéaxan;* this gives the verb the appearance of Class Va., and accordingly we find in the preterit the form *wēox* for and with the regular *wōx.*

3. When the OG. present stem was *ja* the consonant following the root-vowel was doubled and the vowel was umlauted from *a* to *e; éa* to *ie; ea* to *ié.* Examples are: *steppan, hliehhan, sciéppan.* The double consonant and the umlaut are confined to the present. See Class Ia. 5.

4. *Standan* had *n* originally only in the present, but in OE. it has made its way into the participle also.

5. Grammatic change of *h* to *g* in the preterit plural and participle occurs in *flēan, hliehhan, lēan, slēan, þwēan.* The *bb* in *hebban* becomes *f* in the other forms.

This class contains 31 verbs. 25 are OG.; 5 are WG.; 1 is OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
acan ME. + NE. W.			aka	
alan			ala	alan
dafan ME.				daban
dragan ME. NE.	dragan	tragan	draga	dragan
faran ME. NE. W.	faran	faran	fara	faran
flēan ME. NE. W.			flā	
galan ME.		galan	gala	
gnagan ME. NE. W.		gnagan	gnaga	
grafan ME. NE. Ws.	grabhan	graban	grafa	graban
hebban ME. NE.	hebbjan	hefjan	hefja	hafjan
hladan ME. NE. Ws.	hladan	hladan	hlađa	hlaþan
hliehhan ME. NE. W.	hlahhan	hlahhan	hlæja	hlahjan
sacan ME. NE.	sakan	sachan		sakan

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OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
scacan ME. NE.	skakan		skaka	
scafan ME. + NE. Ws.		scaban	skafa	skaban
sciéđđan + note 14		scadōn W.	skađa W.	skaþjan
sciéppan ME. + NE. Ws.	skapan	scaphan	skepja +	skapjan
slēan ME. NE.	slahan	slahan	slā	slahan
standan ME. NE.	standan	stantan	standa	standan
sweran ME. NE.	swerjan	swerjan	sverja	swaran
tacan ME. NE. note 15			taka	cf. tēkan
þwēan	þwahan	dwahan	þvā	þwahan
wacan ME. NE.			vaka W.	wakan
wadan ME. NE. W.		watan	vađa	
wéaxan ME. NE. W.	wahsan	wahsan	vaxa	wahsjan

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.
bacan ME. + NE. W.		bachan	baka W.
lēan ME.?	lahan	lahan	
spanan ME.	spanan	spanan	spana W.
steppan ME. + NE. W.	steppan	stepfan W.	
wascan ME. NE. W.		wascan	vaska W.

OE. only is: rafan.

ME. are 27. 19 are S.; 7 are S. and W.; 1 only present.

ME. are 23. 9 are S.; 14 are W. 4 are Ws.; see section V. C. δ.

Class V.

The verbs of this class could not develop an ablaut in OG., and formed their preterits by reduplication only. They are classified according to the vowel of the OG. present. Va. has *a* followed by two consonants; Vb. *ā;* Vc. *ō;* Vd. *ai;* Ve. *au.* The last four can in no case develop an ablaut; the *a* in Va. is hindered by the two consonants from contracting with the reduplication in OG. (cf. Ic. in section I), and so is distinguished from class IV., which has *a* followed by one consonant, or an equivalent consonant combination.

In OE. the present in Va. becomes *éa* before liquids, *a* before nasals; when *nh* follows, the *n* coalesces with the *a* to *ō*, and the *h* is elided between vowels. In Vb. the present becomes *ǣ* before consonants, *ā* in *verbis puris.* In Vc. it remains *ō* except where a *ja* stem causes an umlaut to *ē.* In Vd. it is *ā*, which after *g* may become *eā.* In Ve. it is *ēa.*

The preterit retained the reduplication in Gothic, but in the other Germanic dialects traces only remain of the older form. In OE.

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these are *dréord*, *léort*, *réord*, for and with *drēd*, *lēt*, *rēd* in Vb., and *heht*, *léolc*, for and with *hēt*, *lēc* in Vd. The regular preterit vowel is *ē* when the present has *ǣ*, *a*, or when the preterit shows traces of reduplication, but *ēo* when the present has *éa*, *ēa*, *ā*, *ō*. Occasionally we find *ēo* for *ē* by analogy. For the cases of grammatic change, see the participle.

The participle is always like the infinitive except where this has umlaut (*wēpan*) when the participle has the unumlauted form, and in *hōn*, *fōn*, where the participle retains the *n* and has grammatic change of *h* to *g* (*hangen*, *fangen*). The same occurs also in the preterit, singular and plural (*hēng*, *fēng*).

The class contains 56 verbs. 31 OG.; 10 WG.; 15 OE. only.

The OG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
Va.				
blandan ME.	blandan	blantan	blanda	blandan
féaldan ME. NE. W.		faldan	falda	falþan
féallan ME. NE.	fallan	fallan	falla	
fōn ME.	fāhan	fāhan	fā	fahan
gangan ME. note 16	gangan	gangan	gagga	gaggan W.
héaldan ME. NE.	haldan	haldan	halda	haldan
hōn ME. NE.	hāhan	hāhan	hā	hahan
stéaldan				staldan
wéaldan ME. note 17	waldan	waltan	valda	waldan
Vb.				
blǣsan ME.? note 18		blāsan	blāsa	blēsan
grǣtan ME	grātan		grāta	grētan
lǣtan ME. + NE. W.	lātan	lāzan	lāta	lētan
māwan ME. NE. Ws.		mājan +	mā	
rǣdan ME. + NE. W.	rādan	rātan	rāþa	rēdan
sāwan ME. NE. Ws.	sāhan +	sājan W.	sā	saian
slǣpan + ME. + NE. W. note 19	slāpan	slāfan		slēpan
wāwan		wājan W.		waian
Vc.				
blōtan		blōzan +	blota +	blōtan
grōwan ME. NE.		gruoan W.	grōa	
hwōpan note 20				hwōpan
rōwan ME. NE. W.			rōa	
Vd.				
hātan ME. + note 21	hētan	heizan	heita	haitan
lācan ME. W.			leika	laikan
sceādan ME. + NE. W.	skēđan	sceidan		skaidan
swāpan ME. + NE. W. note 24	swēpan	sweifan	sveipa +	

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OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.	G.
Ve.				
bēatan ME. + NE.		~~bōzan~~	banta +	
būan note 22.	buan W.	būwan +	~~bū~~a	bauan +
ēacan	ōkan	ouhhōn W.	auka	~~au~~kan
ēadan	ōdan		auđa	
hēawan ME. NE. Ws.	hauuan	houwan	höggva	
hlēapan ME. + NE. W.	hlōpan	loufan	hlaupa	hlaupan

The WG. verbs are:

OE.	OS.	OHG.	ON.
Va.			
bannan ME. + NE. W.		bannan	banna W.
spannan ME.? NE. W.		spannan	spanna W.
wéalcan ME. + NE. W.		walchan	vālka W.
wéallan ME.	wallan	wallan	cf. vella Ic., G. vulan?
Vb.			
blāwan ME. NE.		blājan +	
crāwan ME. NE.		crājan +	
drǣdan ME. + NE. W.	drādan	trātan	
þrāwan ME. NE.		drājan +	
Vc.			
hrōpan ME.?	hrōpan	ruofan +	G. hrōpjan, ON. hrōpa W.
wēpan ME. + NE. W.	wōpan	wuofan +	G. wōpjan, ON. œpa W.

OE. only are:

Vb.	hlōwan ME.? NE. W.	Ve.
cnāwan ME. + NE.	hwōsan	brēatan, note 25
Vc.	spōwan	dēagan
blōwan ME. + NE. Ws.	swōgan ME. + note 23	hēafan, note 25
cnōdan	Vd.	hnēapan, note 25
flōwan ME. + NE. W.	swāfan, note 24	sprēatan, note 25
glōwan ME. + NE. W.		

ME. are 40. 18 are S.; 17 are S. and W.; 1 is W.; 4 are only in the present.
NE. are 29. 9 are S.; 20 W.; 4 are W.s. See section V. C. δ.

NOTES.

1. *Cweδan* is weak in NE., *bequeathe;* the isolated form *quoth* is strong.

2. *Wesan* in NE. only in *was, were.* This, with *sodden* and *forlorn,* is the only case of grammatic change in NE. It is also the only case of distinction between the preterit singular and plural.

3. *þweran* Ib. is classed as OG. because of ON. *þverra* Ic.

4. *Bringan.* The usual preterit *brōhte,* and the participle *brōht,* are from a weak **brengan* which occurs in OS. In ME. *bringen* is the only relic of the strong forms.

5. *Wéorδan* occurs in NE. only in the phrase, "woe worth the day."

6. *Cringan* cannot be the source of NE. *cringe,* which would in that case be strong. It is not ME.

7. *Mīgan, stīgan, sēon, þēon, wrēon* may take forms of III. throughout, owing to the analogy of the present.

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8. *Scūtan* is OG. and ME. NE. It does not occur in OE. MSS., but was certainly OE.

9. *Spīwan.* ME. NE. are from *spēowīan* OE. W.

10. *Rīpan*, a corruption of OE. *rīepan* W. ME. has from the same source a strong verb of III. from which is derived the NE. *reap*. *Rīpan* is obsolete in ME.

11. *Snīcan* may be OG., cf. Danish *snigge* S. ON. is W. The NE. *sneak* corresponds neither in spelling nor pronunciation to this verb.

12. *Bēodan.* Many ME. and all NE. forms unite with those of *biddan*. The verb survives in *forbid*.

13. *Rēofan.* In ME (Cursor M. 7809), and in NE. *reeve*.

14. *Scié'ððan.* ME. *sca'ðen* W. is from OE. *sceððan* W.

15. *Tacan* was probably borrowed from ON. It occurs but once in OE., in Aelfric's Grammar.

16. *Gangan* has in ME. no preterit. Its place is taken by OE *ēode*.

17. *Wēaldan.* NE. *wield* is from OE. *wīeldan* W.

18. *blǣsan* is OG. and ME. It does not occur in OE. MSS., but it is found in Lye's Glossary.

19. *Slǣpan* has weak forms frequently in late OE.

20. *Hwōpan.* NE. *whoop* is of recent origin.

21. *Hātan.* NE. only in the obsolete *hight*.

22. *Būan.* The OE. preterit is W., but the participle is S.

23. *Swōgan* is not OG., for Gothic *swōgan* is W.; but it may be WG., for OS. *swōgan* occurs only in the present.

24. *Swāfan*, *swāpan* are derived from Class II. Cf. OE. *swīfan*, ON. *sveipa*, and note 25.

25. *Brēatan*, *hēafan*, *hnēapan*, *sprēatan*, are derived from Class III. Cf. OE. *brēotan*, Gothic *hiufan*, *hniupan*, OE. *sprūtan*, and note 24.

The following table groups the statistics of the preceding section: —

Class.	Whole no. of OE. verbs.	OG.	WG.	OE. only.	Whole no. of ME. verbs.	S.	S. and W.	W.	Present only.	Whole no. of NE. verbs.	S.	W.	Ws.
Ia.	27	20	4	3	21	18	2	0	1	16	11	5	0
Ib.	10	6	4	0	9	8	0	0	1	5	5	0	0
Ic.	77	39	22	16	60	48	7	5	0	42	22	20	2
II.	56	35	11	10	48	31	8	1	8	18	11	7	2
III.	52	36	7	9	37	22	10	2	3	21	6	15	2
IV.	31	25	5	1	27	19	7	0	1	23	9	14	4
V.	56	31	10	15	40	18	17	1	4	29	9	20	4
Total.	309	192	63	54	242	164	51	9	18	154	73	81	14

SECTION IV. THE DECAY OF THE ABLAUT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

To what extent and for what causes was the ablaut abandoned in ME.?

The table has shown that more than one fourth of the OE. strong verbs which remain in ME. have sometimes weak forms, though but

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nine are always weak. There were four causes which produced this result.

1. The ME. phonetic development would often make two verbs, which could be easily distinguished in OE., almost identical in sound. In this case the verbs could be most easily distinguished if one of them took weak forms. In the same way the phonetic development would make two or more ablaut vowels identical, and so make weak endings necessary to distinguish the tenses. To these considerations are due the weak forms of the following 25 verbs: —

Bannan. The *nn* caused confusion of the present and preterit.

Bèorcan, cèorfan, dèorfan. The following *r* in some ME. dialects would make present and preterit identical, hence the weak forms. The preterito-presens *dèarf* may also have affected *dèorfan.*

Bēatan, drāēdan, rāēdan, lāētan, hātan, sceādan, lost all phonetic distinction in the ablaut in ME. The final dental in the preterit also gave them the appearance of weak verbs. *Grāētan* was kept strong only to save it from confusion with *Grètan* W. *Lācan, hlēapan, slāēpan,* though without the aid of the final dental, have yielded to the same influence.

Blōwan, brèowan, hrèowan, wèalcan, through the influence of the *w*, became identical in all ablaut forms, and so were weakened. In *blōwan* this was aided by the necessity of distinguishing it from *blāwan.*

Cèorfan, see *bèorcan.*

Cīnan is rarely weak, perhaps because in the preterit it might have been confused with *cann* preterito-presens. See *wītan.*

Delfan, geldan, teldan. The *l* like *r* in *bèorcan.* Here would belong *fèaldan, fèallan,* but the weak forms of these verbs are doubtful and probably errors.

Dèorfan, see *bèorcan. Drāēdan,* see *bēatan.*

Drèopan, drepan, rare and weak, in different documents, to avoid confusion with one another.

Geldan, see *delfan. Hātan, hlēapan,* see *bēatan.*

Hrèowan, see *brèowan. Lācan, lāēcan, rāēdan,* see *bēatan.*

Sceādan, slāēpan, see *bēatan.*

Slītan, wītan, owing to the dental (cf. *bēatan*) had in the preterit plural the appearance of shortened weak forms, and these gradually asserted themselves elsewhere. *Wītan* was helped in this by the preterito-presens *wāt* (cf. *cīnan* and *cann, dèorfan* and *dèarf*).

Wèalcan, see *brèowan. Wītan,* see *slītan.*

All these words, except *bēatan,* so far as they occur, are weak in NE.

2. A weak verb of similar sound and allied meaning occasionally weakened a strong verb. Thus we have the following 5 cases: —

Felhan Ic. becomes first *felen* Ib., and then yields to the analogy of *fèlan* W.

Grīpan is confused in ME. with *grippen* W. which is derived from the OE. word.

Lesan is confused in ME. with *lēsan* W.

Rīnan is confused with OE. *rignan,* ME. *reinen* W.

Sīcan is confused with *sicettan* OE W. ME. W.

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3. When the OE. present has a peculiar vowel so that it resembles weak rather than strong verbs we may expect weak forms. Thus are explained *hlíchhan*, *sciéppan*, *steppan*, *wēþan*, owing to the umlaut; *bregdan*, *frignan*, *swōgan*, owing to the absorbed *g*, which produced a diphthong otherwise unknown among strong verbs; *būgan*, *dūfan*, *hrūtan*, *lūtan*, *þūtan*, *murnan*, *spurnan*, for *ū*, *u* is elsewhere found only in weak verbs; *sceáfan* may also be placed here, for in this verb *eá* becomes *éa*, which is without analogy among the strong verbs. In all 15 verbs.

4. Where the ON. had weak forms corresponding to an OE. strong verb, the ME. occasionally followed this dialect. There are 5 cases.

bacan ON. baka.	dwīnan ON. dvīna.	swāpan ON. sōpa.
blīcan ON. blīka.	glōwan ON. glōa.	

5. Residua. *Acan* and *flōwan* are usually W. in ME. and always in NE. I know of no other reason for their weakening than the analogy of *bacan*, *blōwan*.

There are also 8 verbs which show sporadic weak forms in ME. and are for the most part strong in NE. These weak forms have little if any grammatical importance, and are rather to be looked upon as graphical errors. The verbs are: *cēosan*, *clēofan*, *climban*, *cnāwan*, *crēopan*, *drēogan*, *drīfan*, *hebban*.

6. The verbs which occur only in the present can now be classified according to the analogy of the others. Strong were: *dwéolan*, *hrīnan*, *lēan*, *mīðan*, *slīfan*, *swīfan*, *þīcgan*; probably also *snīcan*, *wīcan*, for *strīcan*, *swīcan* were strong, though *blīcan*, *sīcan* were weak. *Tēon*, too, was strong, but with a change of class to III. See section III. note 7.

Strong and weak were: *blæsan*, *brūcan*, *cēowan*, *hlōwan*, *hrōpan*, *slīpan*, *spannan*, *sprūtan*.

7. If we contrast the ME. with the MHG., we shall find the latter far more conservative in its ablaut, and more uniform in its development. This is due to the conservative character of the HG. vocalism, and to its freedom from foreign influence. But though the ME. is less tenacious of the ablaut than the MHG. we have here no completed process, but rather the beginnings of a change which is even now not completed, a prophecy which is being fulfilled. What the NE. will be is clearly foreshadowed in the scattered weak forms which are like the drops that tell of the coming shower. Still the persistency of the ME. ablaut in the midst of the far-reaching phonetic and inflectional changes which characterized this period is a cause of surprise when we turn to the next stage in the history of the language, the NE. of to-day.

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Section V. The Ablaut in New English.

Less than one half of the OE. strong verbs remain in NE., and of these more than one half are weak. In place of 309 OE. verbs we have but 154, of which but 73 are strong; while of the OHG. 280, the NHG. has preserved the ablaut in 153. Even where the ablaut is retained it consists of but two or, at the most, three vowels, while the phonetic laws of ME. and NE. have caused wide divergence even among verbs of like class, crossing and confusing the sharply cut lines of the OE. ablaut.

In NE. the preterit singular and plural have the same vowel, except in *was*, *were;* grammatic change is abandoned, its only relics being *were* and the participial adjectives *sodden* and *forlorn*. The ablaut vowels are governed in sound by the following consonants; sometimes the vowel of the preterit is found in the participle, but more often the reverse is true.

In the following the present, preterit, and participle are treated in order, and the OE. classification retained. Where the NE. form does not correspond phonetically to the OE., notes are added. A list of strong verbs which have been added since the OE. time, and of strong participial adjectives corresponding to weak verbs, is appended.

A. The Present.

α. The present of the NE. strong verbs is from the OE. present in 71 cases.

Ia. Bid, break, eat, get, give, lie, see, sit, speak, tread, weave (11).

Ib. Bear, come, shear, steal, tear (5).

Ic. Bind, cling, drink, fight, find, begin, grind, run — note 1, shrink, sing, sink, sling, slink, spin, spring, sting, stink, swim, swing, win, wind, wring (22).

II. Bide, bite, drive, ride, rise, shine, slide, smite, strike, stride, write (11).

III. Choose — note 2, cleave, fly — note 3, freeze, reeve, shoot — note 4 (6).

IV. Draw, heave, forsake, shake, stand, swear, take, wake (8).

V. Beat, blow, crow, fall, grow, hold, know, throw (8).

β. In two cases the NE. present is from the participle; IV. *slay*, V. *hang*, are from *slægen*, *hangen*. The contracted OE. presents *slēan*, *hōn* were abandoned even in ME., and presents formed after the analogy of the other verbs of these classes from the participles.

γ. The following new strong verbs occur in NE. (11).

Ia. Spit, OE. spittan W.

Ib. Wear, OE. werian W.

Ic. Dig, OE. dīcjan W.
Ring, OE. hringan W.
Stick, OE. sticca, noun.
String, OE. streng, noun.

II. Chide, OE. cīdan W. (Sievers S.).
Hide, OE. hȳdan W.
Strive, O. FRENCH estriver.
Thrive, ON. þrīfa S.

IV. Stave, OE. noun nom. pl. stafas.

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NOTES. 1. *Run* is from ME. *runnen* = *ronnen* = *urnen* = *ornen* = OE. *éornan* (*eó* for *éo*) = *rinnan*.

2. *Choose* from *cēosan* (*ēo* = *eō*), see note 4.

3. *Fly*. OE. *flēon* and *flēogan*, to avoid confusion with one another, received — the first, a dialectic present (*fly*); the second, weak forms.

4. *Shoot*, from OE. scēotan (eō for ēo). The preterit *shot* suggests *scotjan* OE. W., but is from the participle OE. *scoten*.

B. The Preterit.

The preterit corresponds to the OE. preterit singular in 40 cases; in 14 it is from the participle aided by the preterit plural; in 13 from the participle alone; in 6 cases it is due to a change of class. The causes of these variations from the regular development will be considered after the lists have been given.

α. From the preterit singular are:

Ia. Ate, bad, gave, got, lay, sat, saw (7).
Ib. Came (1).
Ic. Drank, began, ran, sang, sank, shrank, sprang, stank, swam, won (10).
II. Abode, drove, rode, rose, shone, strode, smote, wrote (8).
IV. Shook, forsook, stood, took, woke (5).
V. Beat — note 1, blew, crew, fell, grew, held, hung — note 2, knew, threw (9).

β. From the participle and preterit plural are:

Ic. Bound, clung, fought, found, ground, slung, slunk, spun, stung, swung, wound, wrung (12).
II. Bit, slid (2).

It is to be noticed that in Ic. the tendency is to abandon the preterits in *a* and to form them in this way; so one often hears, though one seldom sees, the preterits *begun*, *drunk*, *sung*; see also V. B. ε.

γ. From the participle alone are:

Ia. Broke, spoke, trod, wove (4).
Ib. Bore, shore, stole, tore (4).
III. Chose, clove, froze, rove, shot; see V. A. note 4 (5).

The four verbs of Ia. followed in ME. the example set by OE. *tredan* (section III. Ia. 3) and, owing to the *r* and *w*, developed an *o* in the participle.

δ. The following have changed class:

Ib. *Hove*, *swore*, from OE. hōf, swōr, IV.; as in German, from the participle, as all verbs of Ib., owing to the umlaut in the present.

Ic. *Struck* from OE. *strāc* II. We find the regular *stroke* in Shakspere. The cause of the change is not clear.

V. *Flew*, *drew*, *slew*, from OE. flēah III., drōh IV., slōh IV. These verbs would have lost the ablaut entirely, see section VI., if they had not changed class.

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ε. The later additions to the strong preterits follow the analogy of α. in the following; Ia. *spat;* Ic. *rang;* II. *strove, throve.* From the analogy of β. are: Ic. *dug, strung, stuck;* II. *chid, hid. Stove* follows the analogy of *hove,* — that is, it is from the analogy of participles of Ib.

NOTES. 1. *Beat* is phonetically the equivalent of both *bēatan* and *bēot;* orthographically it corresponds to *bēatan,* but the verb is nevertheless strong owing to the participle *beaten.*

2. *Hung,* ME. *hong* = *heōng* = *hēong* = OE. hēng (*ēo* for *ē* in class V., see section III.; *ēo* = *eō* is common, see section V. A. note 2, 4).

Why did not all these verbs follow the OE. preterit singular? In Ia. the preceding *r, w,* in Ib. the following *r l,* would have acted on the OE. ablaut in such a way as to make present and preterit singular alike; to avoid this the participle is taken. In Ic. the OE. had beside the form in *a* a secondary form in *o* for the preterit singular before nasals; this was too near the *u* of the participle to resist its analogy. In II., *bit* and *slid,* owing to the dental, seemed like shortened weak preterits (cf. *chid, hid,* and section IV. 1 *slītan*) and so took the place of the regular forms. This similarity caused the dropping of the participial ending in *slid;* and in three cases *shit, slit, twit,* it got into the present also, making a wholly weak verb, see section VI. The irregularity in *struck* is not explained. In III. since OE. *ēo* and *ēa* are indistinguishable in NE., either the participle must be taken or the class changed. The shortening in *shot,* like that in *trod,* is due to the dental. In IV. the class is changed when unlaut, or absorbed *g* in the present, removed the verbs from the analogy of their associates.

C. The Participle.

The NE. past participle is regularly from the OE. form, but in 7 cases it is from the preterit, and in one case from a participial adjective; an attempt to explain these irregularities is made at the close of the section.

α. From the OE. participle are:

Ia. Bidden — note 1, broken — note 2, eaten, given, lain, spoken — note 2, trodden, woven — note 2 (8).

Ib. Borne, come, shorn, stolen, torn (5).

Ic. Bound, clung, drunk, fought, found, ground, begun, run, shrunk, slung, slunk, sprung, spun, stung, stunk, sung, sunk, swum, swung, won, wound, wrung (22.)

II. Bitten, driven, ridden, risen, slid or slidden, smitten, stridden, struck (see V. B. δ.), written (9).

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III. Chosen, cloven, flown, frozen, shot (see V. A. note 4), rove (6).

IV. Drawn, forsaken, shaken, slain, taken, waken (and hove, sworn, see V. B. δ.) (8).

V. Beaten, blown, crown, fallen, grown, known, thrown (7).

β. From the preterit singular are:

Ia. Got and gotten, sat (2).

II. Abode, shone (2).

IV. Stood (1).

V. Held — note 3, hung (2).

γ. From a participial adjective is *seen*, OE. *gesīene*. It does not correspond to any OE. verbal form.

δ. Participial adjectives have sometimes preserved strong ablaut vowels which are lost in the verbs. These correspond in their vowel always to the OE. participle. They are: *blown* (of flowers, etc.), *forlorn*, *graven*, *hewn*, *laden*, *molten*, *mown*, *shapen*, *shaven*, *shriven*, *sodden*, *sown*, *swollen*. There is also a participial adjective with a strong ending from an OE. weak verb; this is *rotten*, OE. *rotjan*, W. The OE. *strīcan*, II. has in NE. gone over to Ic. in preterit and participle, see V. B. δ., but the adjective *stricken* preserves the old ablaut vowel.

ε. The new strong participles follow the analogy of α. in Ib. *worn*; Ic. *dug*, *rung*, *stuck*, *strung*; II. *chidden*, *hidden*, *striven*, *thriven*; IV. *stove*, but with a change of class to Ib., like *hove*, V. B. δ. The analogy of β. is followed in Ia. *spat*.

NOTES. 1. *Bidden* owes its vowel to the analogy of the present.

2. *Broken*, *spoken*, *woven*, see V. B. γ.

3. *Held*. There is an obsolete *holden* and a participial adjective *beholden* from the OE. participle.

Why did not all these words follow the OE. participle? In Ia. *got*, *sat*, *spat*, owing to the dental, were taken for weak preterits, and, as such, transferred to the participle. *Seen* is not explained. In II. *abode*, had it developed regularly, would have fallen together with the participle of *bid*. *Shone* is not clear. In IV. *stood*, owing to the dental and the peculiarity of the present, is treated like a weak preterit, and so transferred to the participle. In V. *hela* shows the same dental influence that we have seen in Ia. and IV. *Hung* follows the analogy of all other strong verbs with *u* in the preterit, and transfers this form to the participle.

In general, the NE. ablaut vowels correspond to the OE.; where they do not, the special and peculiar influences are not difficult to

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see. Simplicity has been the aim of every change, practical common-sense has been the guiding power. We have now to see how far the verbs which have become weak in NE. owe the loss of the ablaut to the same causes which we have seen at work here.

SECTION VI. THE NEW ENGLISH WEAKENED VERBS.

There are 81 verbs which have become weak in NE. Here the present alone preserves an ablaut vowel, which is usually that of the OE. present, though in the following four cases the participle has been preferred: *flay*, OE. *flaegen; shit, slit, twit*, OE. *sciten, sliten, æt-witen.* See section V. A. β., and B. ad fin. In a few cases the phonetic development of the NE. present is slightly irregular, cf. for instance, *mourn* with *spurn*, but this belongs to the special history of the OE. sounds. The NE. weakened verbs are:

Ia. Knead, mete, bequeathe, weigh, wreak (5).

Ic. Bark, bell, braid, burn, burst, carve, climb, delve, help, melt, mourn, spurn, starve, swell, swerve, thrash, warp, yell, yelp, yield (20).

II. Glide, gripe, shit, shrive, slit, twit, writhe (7).

III. Bow, brew, brook, chew, creep, crowd, flee, fleet, lie, lose, rue, seethe, sprout, suck, shove (15).

IV. Ache, bake, fare, play, gnaw, grave, lade, laugh — note 1, shape, shave, step, wade, wash, wax (14).

V. Ban, blow (of flowers, etc.), dread, flow, fold, glow, hew, leap, let, low, mow, read, row, shed, sleep, sow, span, swoop, walk, weep (20).

NOTE 1. *Laugh* is not from *hlĉhhan*, but from the unumlauted *hlĉahan*, which is not uncommon in OE.

The loss of ablaut is due to the character of the vowel in the present and the nature of the following consonant. The rules may be formulated as follows:

1. The verb is strong when the vowel is followed by *n* + consonant, *s*, and *c* (except after *ū*), and when the OE. present vowel is *i, e, ie, e, éo, ī*, except as provided in 2. This accounts for 60 strong verbs out of 73. It fails to account for Ia. *lie;* III. *cleave, fly, reeve, shoot;* IV. *draw, slay;* V. *beat, blow, crow, grow, know, throw.*

2. The verb is weak when the vowel is followed by liquid + consonant (except in case of *éa*), *m* + consonant, *g, w;* and usually when the present vowel is followed by a dental; further, whenever the vowel is *ēo, éa, āē, a, ā, ō, u, ū;* except as provided above. This accounts for 72 weak verbs out of 81. It fails to account for Ia. *bequeathe, wreck;* II. *gripe, shrive, writhe;* III. *lose;* IV. *ache, bake;* V. *fold.*

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Exceptions to 1. *Lie*, Ia., is strong to distinguish it from *lie*, III.; it is often confused in speaking with *lay*, W. *Cleave*, *reeve*, have frequent weak forms, but they are still regularly strong. *Fly* has changed class, and is strong to distinguish it from *flee*. *Shoot* has the same forms that it would have were it weak. *Draw* and *slay* have changed class to preserve the ablaut. *Beat*, if it had shortened the preterit and participle, would have fallen together with these forms of *bet;* it retained, therefore, the long forms and the ending *en*. *Blow*, *crow*, *know*, *throw*, Vb., and *grow*, Vc. (by analogy of Vb.) are strong, though *mow*, *sow* in Vb. are Ws., and all other verbs in Vc. are W. Why Vb. and Vc. are treated differently in NE. is unexplained.

Exceptions to 2. *Bequeathe* owes its weak forms to its legal usage; cf. *hanged*, legal for *hung*. *Wreck* is W. because of OE. *wreccan*, NE. *wreck*. *Gripe* is unexplained. *Shrive*, owing to a consciousness of its foreign origin, and to its ecclesiastical use (cf. *bequeathe*) is Ws. A derivative with an ablaut vowel is *Shrove-tuesday*. *Writhe* is unexplained. *Lose* is W. because of OE. *losjan*, W. *Ache*, *bake*, see IV. 4, 5. *Fold* is a denominative to *féald*, and not immediately from the verb.

The influence of following consonants on the verbs is to be thus explained.

The Nasals. Single nasals do not affect the vowel, but *m* + consonant so far lowers the present of Ic. as to prevent ablaut. In IV., V. *n* + nasal is accompanied with ablaut partly on account of the analogy of Ic., but more on account of the peculiarity of the verbs (*stand*, *hang*. See V. A. β., B. note 2, C. ad fin.).

The Liquids. Single liquids do not affect the ablaut, but liquid + consonant always prevents ablaut in Ic., and tends to preserve it in Va., for it lowers the vowel of the present, and so destroys the distinction between the ablaut vowels in Ic., while it magnifies it in Va. Note the exception, *fold*.

The dentals, traces of whose influence we have already seen in section V. B. C., often produce weak verbs, but by no means regularly. To their influence, aided at times by the analogy of like-sounding weak verbs, we owe the weakening of Ia. *knead*, *mete;* II. *glide*, *shit*, *slit*, *twit*.

G and *g* + consonant unite in ME. with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong, which places these verbs out of the analogy of their class. Most of these become weak, a few change class, V. B. δ.; one only, *lie*, Ia., retains strong forms.

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W, by coalescing with the preceding vowel, usually destroyed the ablaut. The peculiar exceptions are noted at the close of "Exceptions to 1."

S favors strong forms in III., except for *lose;* the cause is not clear.

C in IV. (NE. *k*) preserves the ablaut, and gives the OE. *ō* a short sound. I do not know the cause of either the shortening or the weakening.

Of the 81 NE. weakened verbs 41 only were always strong in ME.; 32 have strong and weak forms, 3 have only weak forms, and 5 are only in the present. Plainly, then, we have here only a continuation, or fulfilment of the ME. processes. There is nothing new here; no new elements, such as have affected the vocalism, have been at work; the old laws have only become more universal in their application. The desire for clearness and simplicity, the practical sense which surmounts every difficulty with sureness and readiness, has become more clearly marked, and so the English ablaut in its changing fortunes is a reflection of the mental characteristics of the race.

VI. — *General Considerations on the Indo-European Case-System.*

By W. D. WHITNEY,

PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.

THAT the whole system of declension in Indo-European language is, as compared with the system of verb-inflection, a matter of great and unsolved difficulty, will be generally admitted. No one of the three departments of expression involved in it — gender, number, case — has had even its main historical outlines laid down to the general satisfaction of scholars. The time, it would seem, has not yet come for dealing successfully with the subject. What is wanting, in order to put us in condition to do this, is (apart from the general improvement of linguistic philosophy), on the one hand, a better comprehension of the more modern and secondary declensional elements which have been produced here and there among the languages of our family; and, on the other

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hand, a thorough study of the analogous but less systematic and shapely forms of expression in languages of lower structure. It is from the latter source, indeed, that important improvements in the theories of Indo-European form-history in all its parts are especially to be expected. But it is also, if I am not mistaken, possible to help the movement in some measure by a general review of the ground, and criticism of the methods and results of recent investigators: and that is what will be attempted, and for the case-system only, in the present paper.

A few points respecting the original value of the cases appear to be pretty well established; general opinion is fairly settled in regard to them, and they look as if likely to stand the test of further examination — which is, of course, in the present state of our knowledge, the most that can be claimed for anything in primitive language-history.

Thus, in the first place, the exceptional character of the genitive, as an adnominal or adjective case. The verbal constructions of the genitive appear to be secondary only; there is no difficulty about the satisfactory explanation of them as such. The formation of this case, then, falls into the general department of the derivation from noun-stems of secondary stems, signifying 'relating to or concerned with' what is expressed by the primitive — this being the fundamental sense of all secondary adjective-formations. The predominance of the sense 'belonging to,' which finally makes of the case an almost exclusively "possessive" one, is a matter of gradual development, analogous with that which has made the conspicuous body of possessive suffixes, and the class of possessive compounds, in Sanskrit. As to the affiliation of the earliest Indo-European genitive-endings with adjective-making suffixes actually in use as such, it has been, as is well known, repeatedly attempted, and with a degree of success; but the results reached are not regarded as certain. Frequent instances however occur, in the later history of the languages of our family, of interchange between genitive case-forms and derivative adjective-stems: familiar examples, among the pronouns, are the Sanskrit *asmāka* 'our' and *yuṣmāka* 'your,'

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the Latin *noster* and *vester*, and the Germanic *mine* and *thine*, and so on. Opinion differs somewhat as to the direction of derivation here; and we perhaps even oftener see it stated that the adjectives are made from the case-forms; but this appears to me a false and indefensible view: we have in reality in such cases a repetition of the process by which the primitive genitives were made, by stereotyping a no longer inflected adjective-form into a case-form. This is as much in accordance with all the usual processes of derivation in our languages as the taking of a case-form and inflecting it adjectively would be opposed to them.

Again, in the second place, certain other of the cases appear clearly to have had originally the office of indicating local relations. These cases are three. The ablative indicates the relation of removal, or is the *from*-case. The instrumental indicates the relation of concomitance or adjacency, passing over into that of means or instrument: it is the *with*- or *by*-case, in the various senses of those prepositions. The locative indicates the relation of place where: it is the *at*- or *in*-case. These views, too, are so widely held that they may be said to have the general assent of linguistic scholars. There are, to be sure, those who oppose them. Thus, for example, Penka, in his monograph on the case-system,[1] holds that the partial use of the locative in Sanskrit as indicating the goal of motion and action, as a sort of *to*-case, is not less original than the other; and he even lays this assumed fact at the basis of his whole case-theory, claiming that if the locative includes two such irreconcilably diverse meanings as 'at' and 'to,' we must infer that no case-form was created to fill any single definable office: whence follows — and so on. Whereas, in truth, there is nothing in this Sanskrit use of the locative to cast any doubt upon its primitive unitary character; it is a thing evidently of secondary origin, entirely analogous with the transfer of English usage which has made it customary

[1] *Nominalflexion* etc., Vienna, 1878. It contains a convenient report and review of all the theories of explanation brought out up to that time, accompanied with a destructive criticism which one can mostly approve and enjoy; but the author's own theory, when he finally produces it, is at least as unacceptable as any of the rest.

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for us to say "go there" and "come here" instead of "go thither" and "come hither," or with the transfer of Sanskrit usage which has made the genitive also to no small extent express the goal of action (as in 'give it his' instead of 'to him'). Again, Schleicher, finding traces of more than one form of the instrumental in earliest Indo-European speech, suggests that the one form may have been created to signify concomitance, and the other instrumentality. A most unfortunate and valueless intimation this; since the expression of instrumentality can only have been a development out of the expression of concomitancy, or of something kindred and equally external or physical: such a development as is seen in the prepositions *by* and *with* themselves, our present indicators of the means and instrument, though both of them not long ago were particles of adjacency only, and one (*by*) still retains in part that value.

This point is one of the highest importance in the theory of the case-system and its origin. It may be laid down as a universal truth that all designation, of the relations of objects as well as of objects themselves and their activities, begins with what is most physical, most directly apprehensible by the senses. The whole body of intellectual, moral, ideal, relational expression comes by processes of gradual adaptation from the expression of sensible acts and qualities and relations; such adaptation is all the time going on in the present history of the languages we use, and their past history is in great measure an exhibition of the same movement — the grandest and most pervasive movement which is to be seen in them. We have not succeeded in demonstrating the origin of any bit of expression until we have traced it up to its physical value; if we have to stop short of that, we must not fail to see and acknowledge that our quest has not reached its goal. Now among the relations of objects, those of place are obviously the most physical and sensible; and our languages are filled with results of the transfers of designation from local to more ideal relations. The whole class of pronouns, with all that has come by derivation from them, is founded on conceptions of relative place; the adverb-prepo-

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sitions of locality and direction, whose origin goes back to a very early period of the development of our ancestral speech, have been ever since, and are still, the fertile source of expression for the most various conceptions: we have only to look into the history of present and past uses of words like *of*, *from*, *for*, *in*, *out*, in order to find abundant illustration. From particles of place come by a next transfer those of time; and those of manner, degree, and modality in general are at no difficult distance. Our general knowledge of language shows nothing more primitive and fundamental, as underlying the expression of place-relations; and we are therefore entitled to rest satisfied with the explanation found for the instrumental, ablative, and locative cases, and to regard their local values as the original ones, serving as basis to the whole variety of their other uses.

As regards, however, the other three cases, the matter is much less clear. There is, in the first place, the dative: however much, in later time, it may wear the aspect of a *to*-case, the students of early Indo-European speech do not feel authorized to assign it that office. Thus Delbrück, who had earlier (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xviii.) suggested as its fundamental meaning a "physical inclination towards something," at present, in his latest publication (*Synt. Forsch.*, iv. 53), assents to the view expressed by Hübschmann (*Zur Casuslehre*), that it is to be regarded rather as "a purely grammatical case," as designating "that which the predication concerns" (*welchem die Aussage gilt*). This is most unsatisfactory and unacceptable. To say that the origin of the dative is still involved in obscurity for us, and that we do not succeed in tracing its office back of the point at which it stands as secondary object of a verb, is to take intelligible and defensible ground; but to explain the case as *per se* the indicator of a grammatical relation, namely that of something affected by the predication, appears to me like a virtual confession of ignorance, made under cover of a claim of positive knowledge. There is no such thing in language as an originally grammatical case or form of any kind; this can only be the outcome of a series of adapting changes, passed upon something that

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had once a sensible and definable value. One might as well explain the subjunctive as a purely grammatical mode, indicating contingency of action; or the passive as a voice created to signify recipience of action; or *of* as the sign of the grammatically adjective relation of one noun to another. Moreover, the form of statement of the dative meaning, as given by Delbrück, seems open to serious objection. There is no member of the sentence that is not truly concerned in the predication, and that is not sometimes, or in some languages, taken in, distinctly or impliedly, into the very structure of the verb, the essential predicating word. If the whole sentence is not to be called the predication, then this name and quality must be limited to the verb alone; and the first and most indispensable member "which the predication concerns" is the subject, from which the action proceeds; the next, in immediateness and frequency, is the object, to which it most directly addresses itself; then follow the other circumstances, of remoter object, means, place, and so on, in their various degrees of nearness and indispensability. For all these, our language, in the course of its gradual development of the membered sentence out of the original holophrastic word-sentence or root, has provided various distinct means of expression; among the rest the dative case, which has its own special degree and mode of concernment to designate, like all the others. And the question is in respect to all of them the same: namely, from what starting-point, and through what intermediate steps, the expression of that particular kind of concernment was arrived at. A dative relation (along with an accusative one) seems to be wrought into the structure of the Indo-European verb itself in the inflection of the middle voice; and the South-African languages have a special conjugation-form meaning 'to do for some one' (e. g. *bonela*, 'see for,' from *bona*, 'see'). In like manner, we may say, the English verb *kick* involves in itself the instrumental concernment, which in German has to be expressed by an instrumental phrase (*mit dem Fusse stossen*, 'thrust with the foot').

The circumstance pleaded by Delbrück, that "the genuine

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dative is not construed with prepositions," cannot be allowed any considerable measure of force as against the primitive local value of the case, in view of the original absence of prepositional character in these simple words of direction, and their gradual change of office, accompanying the transformation and specialization of the cases. The capacity of acquiring prepositional construction might as easily be lost by an originally local dative, as gained by an originally adjectival genitive (or, according to Delbrück's view, by an originally "purely grammatical" accusative).

It seems better, then, to regard the primitive office of the dative as a matter thus far obscure, and to look for its elucidation hereafter, along with the general clearing-up of the subject of case-formation. The theory of an originally "grammatical" value is not one on which we have reason to repose even provisionally.

But the same claim, of an originally grammatical value, is made by Hübschmann and Delbrück for the accusative also. The latter scholar, indeed, appears clearly in connection with this case to violate his own fundamental rules for dealing with questions of origin. In his Introduction to the work already quoted, he expresses himself as follows, in opposition to the old method of arriving at the "fundamental idea" (*Grundbegriff*) of a form: "As fundamental ideas, have been hitherto often set up such general ideas as seemed to their authors best calculated to bind together in one comprehensive scheme the manifold uses of a form (so, for example, 'possibility' in the case of the subjunctive mode). In recent time, such attempts have been with good reason abandoned, because it was evident that they could lead to nothing that had historical value." In coming, now, to deal with the accusative, Delbrück first reports Hübschmann's general scheme of classification of its uses into "necessary" and "independent;" and then he recognizes as the only fundamental idea that can bind the two classes together into one comprehensive scheme the following: "The accusative denotes a complement or nearer definition of the verbal idea"! A more vague and shadowy generality than this, by way of substitute for a real primitive value, out of

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which the other values should have historically developed, can hardly be conceived. Under it can, to be sure, be grouped without difficulty all the accusative uses; but also, unfortunately, and with equal facility, the uses of all the other four adverbial cases. "Complement or nearer definition of the verbal idea" is a definition that impartially fits accusative, dative, instrumental, locative, and ablative — one might say, like a mitten, but that a mitten does at least keep the thumb apart from the other four fingers. The accusative certainly has its own set of uses, separate from those of the other cases; and our quest should be after the use which lies historically at the basis of the rest; how we are furthered by the setting-up of a fundamental idea which includes the whole body of cases save the nominative, and does not really exclude even that (since to specify the actor is strictly to limit or define the otherwise indefiniteness of the action), it is not easy to see. Far better were it to make a frank confession of ignorance, saying that it is thus far possible only to state and classify the varieties of accusative use, since the starting-point of their development is not yet determined or determinable.

It may be questioned, however, whether we are reduced to the necessity of such a confession; whether it may not be found practicable to rank the accusative with the three cases treated of above, as also one of originally local value — namely, as the *to*-case, or that which denotes the immediate goal of motion or action. This seems to me so much more probable than any other of the explanations given of the case, that I am ready to adopt it, provisionally, or until some sound reason shall be brought against it, or some other theory placed upon a yet better foundation. We cannot, of course, in such a matter expect anything like a demonstration, excluding all possibility of an alternative theory; it is only a question of greater or less plausibility, on the one side and on the other. The evidences that make in favor of the proposed explanation are briefly these: first, the improbability that, in any scheme of designation of local relations, this simplest and most fundamental relation would be passed over; and this improbability is so strong that, if not here, we should seem called upon to

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look for the expression of a *to*-relation in the dative. Then, second, and especially, the peculiar fitness of such an office to pass over into what has confessedly been, from the earliest traceable period of Indo-European speech, the leading office of the accusative: that of designating the direct object of the verb, the person or thing to or unto or upon which the action expressed by the verb directs or expends itself — for that is all that is really implied in the grammatical relation of direct object. The expression of this grammatical relation is thus with entire ease derivable from one of local relation; and, so far as I can perceive, in no other way. With those who appreciate the necessity of finding an underlying physical basis for all "purely grammatical" items in language, the argument here given will go a great way; and as the philosophy of language-history comes to be better understood, that necessity will be more clearly seen. In the third place, there are abundant indications in early Indo-European speech, especially in Sanskrit, of the actual use of the accusative as goal of motion after verbs; and this construction with prepositions endures down even to the latest times: the former as well as the latter is most acceptably viewed as the relic of an earlier more widely spread condition of things. We have no reason whatever to assume that the accusative was at the beginning any more restricted to use with verbs than were the other cases now called by us "adverbial" because of their predominantly adverbial constructions; each was employed wherever the local relation which it expressed was called for. Infinitives and participles are nouns and adjectives which, because of the inferior concretion in them, by usage, of the meaning of action, have retained the original capacity of "verbal" constructions shared by them with the proper verbal forms; and the Sanskrit shows how uncertain is the line of division between them and ordinary nouns, and how easily even a secondary and comparatively modern adjective derivative can pass over into the class of participles, or take on all the functions of such.

It is a matter of course that no mere study and classification of the uses of the accusative will ever bring us to a per-

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emptory theory of their origin and mutual connections. The shifts and transfers, the extensions and restrictions, gradually brought about by usage, are too manifold and baffling for that. We might as well hope to draw out a unitary scheme of the Greek genitive uses, or the Latin ablative uses, without the help of historical study, which shows us of what diverse elements each of those cases is made up. What we have to do is to inquire of comparative grammar, and, if that fails us or renders an uncertain answer, of sound and sober linguistic theory, for a solution of the problem of origin, and then to let that govern our understanding and presentation of the particulars of usage. The variety of constructions of our infinitive with *to*, which is a rude analogue to the assumed original *to*-accusative, is wholly puzzling to one who does not hold fast to the historical clue. And the case is yet worse with the infinitives of Greek and Latin. Tell a classical grammarian of a couple of generations back that his much-studied infinitives were only derivative nouns in an oblique case, and he would have held you in derision. So with many at present, as regards the primary physical and local *to*-value of the accusative; but the question of its acceptance depends, after all, only upon whether, among the various not demonstrably impossible explanations of the case, this is the one that has most in its favor. Another theory worthy of mention and attention will be noticed a little further on.

There remains for discussion the nominative, which is also a case of much difficulty and difference of opinion. Not, indeed, as regards its office; this, so far as we can see, has been from the beginning that of designating the performer of the verbal action; but as regards how it came by its characteristic sign or signs: since we might naturally expect to find it the bare unaltered stem, and only in that way distinguished from the other cases, whose definable speciality of office entitled them to special modes of designation. The probability is decidedly greater here than anywhere else in the case-system that the ending is a mere repetitional demonstrative element, grown on to the stem, to which it was appended without definable office. Such appendages are frequent

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enough in a variety of languages; and even in our own modern tongues a repetitional pronoun is often vulgarly added after the proper subject (*this fellow* HE *says*, and the like). But we also ought not to leave out of view the possibility of a *quasi*-ablative origin for the nominative (suggested, I believe, by an English investigator): "from this, such and such action, to that," is not, in the inchoate period of sentence-development, an inconceivable first model for a simple three-membered clause, of subject, verb, and object.

If a repetitional demonstrative should come finally to be recognized as the most acceptable origin of the nominative-ending, the question would of course arise, whether the accusative-ending might not best be explained as of the same character. This would then involve a theory of the order of case-making like that of Curtius, who holds (in his *Chronologie*) that the accusative was for a period the only oblique case, until certain parts of its wide office were taken possession of by the three (or four) other cases, created to signify certain local relations. It would not at all necessarily imply any distinction of 'here' and 'there' between the nominative and accusative signs; since, except in forms of the first person, the actor is no nearer to the speaker than is the object; there would rather be a gradual separation in usage of two appended elements originally equivalent and interchangeable, with assignment to different offices. It would be like the distinction of secondary derivatives, originally signifying general appurtenance, into possessives, patronymics, gerundives, and so on.

As regards the genesis of the case-endings themselves, from what elements they come, and what the process of their reduction to their present form, little or nothing of importance has yet been made out. It is obviously useless to pick out a member or two from an extensive system, and claim to give a satisfactory explanation of them, while the other members remain obscure. Nothing can be called truly satisfactory that does not include a considerable part of the system. The recognition of pronominal stems in the *s* and *m* of the nominative and accusative singular is the item most confidently asserted and most widely accepted; but even this is beset

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with too many doubts and difficulties to be taken for anything better than a plausible conjecture, to which future investigations may perhaps give a more substantial character. The same thing must be said of the speculations of A. Bergaigne (in the *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, ii. 358 ff.), who, with an excess of ingenuity, strives to demonstrate in the forms of cases (minus their most important elements, the final *s*, *m*, and *d*) a combination of various derivative suffixes, sometimes as many as three or four, with the stem. In the present condition of the general question, such work is of no assignable value; one and another item in it may finally be proved right, but it casts no light in the meantime upon the origin of cases; it deals only with the analysis of derivative suffixes. As has already been shown, a real connection appears to exist between general noun-derivation and genitive-formation; but, on the other hand, the connection of the other local or adverbial cases is with adverb-formation. This is a point of high importance, and its recognition seems to be an essential step of progress toward a true account of the cases. The relations, of form and function, between the cases and adverbs are so obvious as never to have escaped notice; and as we see interchanges between adjectives and genitives through the whole history of Indo-European speech, so we see the same between the other oblique cases and adverbs — from the *φι* or *φιν* of the Greek, and the Prākrit ablative in *do* (=the Sanskrit adverb in *tas*), down to such modern instances as the French *en* and *y*, and the Italian *vi* and *ci*. The truth here involved is apt to be put in the form of statement that an adverb is a stereotyped case-form; but that, though in part correct, is one-sided and incomplete: it does not include the numerous and distinct classes of adverbs made by special adverbial suffixes, separate from case-endings; and, especially, it does not apply to the earliest period of form-making. More accurately, there is no ultimate historical distinction between adverbs and case-forms — just as there is none between substantives and adjectives, and, still further back in our language-history, even between nouns and verbs. A case is ultimately an adverb, made alike from all noun-stems, and with varieties

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(on what basis formed we do not yet know) adapted and appertaining to the various number-forms of each stem. Case-making, then (apart from the genitive), is one division of the wider department of adverb-making, and to be solved as such; and no theories of origin of the case-system and of case-endings will be likely to be successful, except as they take due account of this relation of the two subjects. We have, to be sure, to make with all probability the theoretical assumption of a yet earlier period in language-growth, when adjective-making and adverb-making were as yet undifferentiated processes; but the origin of the case-system lies hitherward from, or at least forms a part of, their differentiation.

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APPENDIX.

I. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Session, Cambridge, 1882.

II. Treasurer's Report.

III. List of Officers and Members.

IV. Constitution of the Association.

V. Publications of the Association.

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

(From the Autograph Registry Slips.)

Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William F. Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Cecil F. P. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
Charles E. Bennett, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles J. Buckingham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Lucius H. Buckingham, English High School, Boston, Mass.
Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, N. Y.
William C. Cattell, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
William W. Eaton, Andover, Mass.
Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Frank M. Gilley, Chelsea, Mass.
William Greenwood, Cambridge, Mass.
Isaac H. Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Milton W. Humphreys, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Hans C. G. Jagemann, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John Norton Johnson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Robert P. Keep, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass.
Thaddeus D. Kenneson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Jules Luquiens, Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Philippe B. Marcou, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Augustus C. Merriam, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
C. K. Nelson, Brookeville Academy, Brookeville, Md.
W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Charles W. Park, Bombay, India.
Tracy Peck, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
William T. Peck, High School, Providence, R. I.
B. Perrin, Western Reserve College, Cleveland, Ohio.
Edward D. Perry, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Samuel Porter, National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.
Henry Preble, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles P. G. Scott, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
J. B. Sewall, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.
Thomas D. Seymour, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Frank Webster Smith, Lincoln, Mass.
William A. Stevens, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.
Frank B. Tarbell, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred Centre, N. Y.
Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
James C. Van Benschoten, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Henry C. Warren, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John H. Wheeler, University of Virginia.
John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Joseph Colver Wightman, Taunton, Mass.
John Henry Wright, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [Total, 52.]

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Tuesday, July 11, 1882.

THE Fourteenth Annual Session was called to order at 3 P. M., in the Assembly Room of the Faculty of Harvard College (University Hall), by the President, Professor Frederic D. Allen of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

The Treasurer, Mr. Charles J. Buckingham of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., presented his report. The summary of the year's income and expenses is as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, July 13, 1881		$418.46
Fees, assessments, and arrears paid in	$540.00	
Sales of Transactions	399.50	
Interest on deposits	17.25	
Total receipts for the year		956.75
		$1,375.21

EXPENDITURES.

Balance due on Printing for 1880 (vol. xi.)	365.40	
Plates for Proceedings for 1881 (vol. xii.)[1]	115.83	
600 copies of Proceedings for 1881, separate	29.30	
Plates for Transactions for 1881 (vol. xii.)[1]	222.22	
600 copies of vol. xii. (Tr. *and* Pr. together)[1]	103.50	
Reprints of separate articles for authors	37.00	
Postages	65.85	
Mailing, shipping, and expressages	35.05	
Job-printing	39.10	
Copying	2.60	
Sundries	14.23	
Total expenditures for the year[2]		1,030.08
Balance[3] on hand, July 10, 1882		345.13
		$1,375.21

[1] The sum of items 2, 4, and 5 gives the cost of composition, corrections, electrotyping, press-work, paper, binding, etc., for vol. xii., viz., $441.55.

[2] This sum really includes, besides the expenses of the last fiscal year, the great bulk of the expenses of the preceding.

[3] An oversight (involving an error against himself) was made by the Treasurer, in omitting to enter the *sum* of a bill for $65, the *items* of which he had already entered. A true voucher for this sum of $65 is in the Treasurer's hands. The reported balance of $410.13 is therefore here corrected.

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The bond of the Connecticut Western Railroad Company, numbered 960, for $500, with 13 semi-annual and unpaid coupons of $17.50 each attached thereto, being the same lately held by the American Philological Association, was exchanged by its Treasurer, July 10, 1882, at Hartford, Ct., for certificate, No. 781, of three shares, of One Hundred dollars each, of the Hartford and Connecticut Western Railroad Company, made payable to C. J. Buckingham, Treasurer of the American Philological Association.

On motion, the Chair appointed Professor J. C. Van Benschoten and Professor Henry F. Burton a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

The Secretary, Professor Charles R. Lanman of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., presented the following report of the Executive Committee:

a. The Committee had elected as members of the Association;

Rufus B. Richardson, Ph. D., Professor of Latin, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

John H. Wright, Professor of Greek, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

William H. Hawkes, M. D., Washington, D. C.

John Norton Johnson, A. M., Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Charles Darwin, Librarian of the Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

W. S. Scarborough, Professor of Ancient Languages, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.

James C. Mackenzie, Ph. D., Principal of Classical School, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

Ralph L. Goodrich, Clerk of U. S. Courts, Little Rock, Ark.

Henry Johnson, Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

Clement L. Smith, Professor of Latin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

James A. Harrison, Professor of English, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

Philippe B. Marcou, Instructor in French, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

William G. Hale, Professor of Latin, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Jules Luquiens, Professor of Modern Languages, Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.

Edward Delavan Perry, Tutor in Greek and Sanskrit, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.

John H. Wheeler, Professor of Greek, University of Virginia.

George M. Lane, Professor of Latin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Frank M. Gilley, Teacher of Classics, High School of Chelsea, Mass.

John Avery, Professor of Greek, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

William H. Treadwell, Instructor in Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Frank Webster Smith, Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

S. E. D. Currier, Roxbury, Mass.

b. The Proceedings of the session of July, 1881, had been published November 17, 1881. The Transactions for the same year had been published February 13, 1882.

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c. By advice and with consent of the Executive Committee the Secretary had distributed thirty-five complete sets of the Transactions among the principal foreign libraries and learned societies. They had been forwarded free from Washington to their several destinations by the Smithsonian Institution. The list is given on pages lviii, lix. The Secretary had also sent copies of the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the Transactions to fifty of the principal libraries of the United States, *gratis*, with a circular, offering to complete the set for twelve dollars (half the old price). As a result of these and other efforts, since about the beginning of 1881, he had sold publications of the Association to the amount of $530.50. The advantages of these sales were twofold: one of the fundamental objects of the Association, "the diffusion of philological knowledge," was thereby furthered, and the condition of the treasury was bettered. The libraries which thus become subscribers to the publications of the Association are given on pages lvii, lviii.

d. The bills against the Association, especially the printers' bills, had been paid early and promptly, and the balance of $345 in the treasury was therefore much more significant than usual, inasmuch as heretofore the bills for printing had often run over from one fiscal year to another. The Association had no debts save a few small current dues.

e. The Executive Committee had voted to continue the reduction in the price of *complete sets* of the Transactions. A complete set, accordingly, now costs $12, and will, upon the appearance of the thirteenth volume, cost $13. The price of volumes not sold in complete sets will be $1.50 apiece, to members and non-members alike; and no reduction will be made on this price, except, of course, that for orders for nine, ten, or eleven volumes not more than the price of a complete set will be charged.

f. The Committee gave their approval to the advertising of the publications of the Association in "The Publishers' Trade-List Annual," and directed the Secretary to continue the same.

g. The Committee recommended the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution which had been proposed in due form (see *Proceedings for* 1881, p. 15) at the previous meeting, and by which the annual assessment would be reduced from five dollars to three dollars.

The Committee proposed the following arrangement for the hours of the sessions: for Tuesday evening, from 8 o'clock until the close of the President's address; for Wednesday, from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., and from 2 to 4; for Thursday, from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., and from 2.15 to 6 if an afternoon session should be necessary. The arrangement was accepted without objection.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution was adopted.

The Secretary presented an invitation from Colonel Theodore Lyman, extending to the members of the Association the hospitalities of his home in Brookline. It was accepted with thanks.

Communications were then presented as follows:

1. The Written Alphabet of our Colonial Fathers, by Mr. J. B. Sewall, of Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.

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The earliest records of the town of Braintree, Mass., bear the date of 1643. The most interesting of its early documents is the original deed of Wampatuck, Sagamore, dated August 5, 1665, conveying the territory of the original town to its first inhabitants. This document is written in some degree ornamentally, but, for the most part, in a plain, careful hand. The letters of the alphabet differ very considerably from those of to-day. (Enlarged copies of the forms used in the deed were here exhibited.)

In the records, the Anglo-Saxon form of *e* occurs, and also the German form of *r*, and a form for *th*, which, curiously, does not occur in the deed, viz., the character *y*. Most striking is the general resemblance to the German written alphabet. Letters having the same or nearly the same form with the German are: capitals, *B, C, D, H, M, N, P, S, V, W, Y;* small, *a, c, d, f, h, i, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, u, v, y, z*. The similarity of capitals to the form of Old English printed capitals is also noticeable. In the diary of the Rev. Samuel Niles (the first pastor of the present First Church of Braintree), commencing November, 1697, the Anglo-Saxon form of *e* is frequent in the earlier part, but not in the later. A form for *c*, resembling a small written *t*, is frequent, but not invariable, as in *Massachusetts*. The question is suggested whether this fact has anything to do with the spelling *Massathusetts*, which is sometimes to be met with. For the letter *h*, besides the present form, there is a form resembling our capital *E* dropped one half or more below the line. In the Wampatuck deed this form is only final; in the Plymouth records its position does not seem to be limited.

The form for *th*, except in the deed, and in the Niles diary after 1721, is *y*. In the diary it appears in *y*ᵉ and *y*ᵉ; in the records, in *y*ᵉ and *y*ⁿ, and in the proper name *Bethiah*. In other documents, I have found also *y*ᵉ (there), *y*ʳ (their), *y*ᵉ*of*, *y*ᵉ*by*, and *y*ᵉ*abouts*. This character, as Mr. Earle has shown in his *Philology of the English Tongue*, is a relic of the rune þ (*thorn*), which may be readily seen by reference to Anglo-Saxon facsimiles, *e. g.* in the Early English Text Society's volumes. There it is still clearly distinct in form from the letter *y*. The letter *y* was at last written in place of the rune, but always retained, of course, the phonetic value of *thorn*, except indeed now-a-days, when it is often pronounced as *y* (in the article *y*ᵉ, for example) by persons ignorant of the history of the matter when reading mock-antique or archaistic newspaper paragraphs. After the ambiguity in the value of the character *y* arose, and the true *thorn* had been given up, the sound of *thorn* came to be written with the digraph *th*. It is interesting to find so many relics of the Anglo-Saxon written alphabet at so late a date.

Professor John Williams White of Harvard University, as Chairman of the Committee appointed (see *Proceedings for* 1881, pp. 15, 16) to confer with the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the subject of granting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*, reported as follows: —

The Committee, consisting originally of Professors White, Manatt, and Lanman, was subsequently enlarged to five by the addition of Professors Whitney and Gildersleeve. The Resolutions adopted by the American Philological Association at Cleveland, July, 1881 (see *Proceedings for* 1881, p. 4), were presented by the Chairman of the Committee to the American Association for the Ad-

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vancement of Science, at Cincinnati, in August, 1881 (see *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, vol. xxx. pp. 373–377), and action was taken thereon as is shown by the following extract from the volume last cited: —

"The following resolutions were reported to the Standing Committee by a sub-committee, with the recommendation that they be brought before the Association for action:

"'*Whereas*, Many colleges in the United States have in recent years conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, not by examination, but *honoris causa:*

"'*Resolved*, 1. That this Association concurs with the American Philological Association in deprecating the removal of this degree from the class to which it belongs (viz.: B. D., LL. B., M. D., and Ph. D., degrees conferred after examination), and its transfer to the class of honorary degrees.

"'2. That a committee of six, including the President of the Association, be appointed by the Chair to co-operate with the Committee of the American Philological Association in addressing a memorial to the Boards of Trustees of all colleges in the United States empowered to confer degrees, stating the objections to conferring the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*, and praying them to discontinue the practice, if it exists in the colleges under their control.'

"The resolutions having been accepted by the Standing Committee, and the degree of Doctor of Science included in the recommendation, the report was submitted to the Association. The resolutions were thereupon, after discussion, unanimously adopted."

In May, 1882, the joint committee of the two associations sent the following Memorial to the Boards of Control of 430 colleges in the United States. The answers to this communication, with a single exception, heartily concurred with the views expressed in the Memorial.

To the Board of Control of

Gentlemen, — The undersigned, a joint Committee of the American Philological Association and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, respectfully present for your consideration the resolutions appended to this communication; and in obedience to their instructions they ask your attention to the following facts.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been adopted by American colleges from the universities of Germany. The faculties in nearly all German universities are four in number, — theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The last embraces the humanities and the mathematical and natural sciences. In all respects the degree conferred in the faculty of philosophy is of equal dignity with the degrees conferred in the other faculties. In order to obtain it the candidate — if a native — must first have pursued successfully the studies of the gymnasium or *real*-school; must have been in residence at a university for three years; must present a thesis, which at many universities is printed; and must pass an examination. In Germany, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is as much a professional degree as that in Theology, Law, or Medicine.

When this degree was first transferred to this country, the conditions under which it was conferred abroad were rigidly maintained here. These conditions still exist in full force in the eight or ten universities which since that time have

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provided courses of study in philosophy for Bachelors of Arts. But meanwhile the practice has been established of giving the degree *honoris causa;* and this practice has rapidly increased. The Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education at Washington for the years 1872–1879 inclusive prove that it has been transferred from the class of degrees given on examination to the class of honorary degrees. In these eight years the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was given *honoris causa* 170 times. The Commissioner's list includes 415 colleges, sixty-eight of which gave the degree *honoris causa.* The greatest number of times the degree was thus given by any one college is twelve; the smallest, one. It is a striking fact that in 75 per cent of these 170 cases the degree was given by colleges which had never conferred it by examination; whereas there are many distinguished colleges on the general list, which, having no provision for conferring the degree by examination, have abstained from giving it as a mere honor.

On the other hand, during these eight years the degree was conferred after examination 175 times, by twenty-four colleges. Thirteen of these at the same time gave it also *honoris causa.* Three of this number, however, gave it *honoris causa* each but once, and thereafter conferred it only by examination, the first nine, the second ten, and the third seventeen times. If we except these three colleges, the degree was conferred only seventeen times after examination by colleges which gave it also *honoris causa.* Eleven of the twenty-four colleges abstained altogether from giving the degree as a mere honor, and these eleven conferred it in all 122 times. This is about 70 per cent of the total number of 175 cases in which it was conferred after examination.

These statistics show that the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been established in the United States as a professional degree; that at the same time it has been largely given as a purely honorary degree; but that in the great majority of instances this has been done by colleges which have not provided graduate courses of study in philosophy and have never conferred the degree after examination.

An inspection of the list of persons upon whom this degree has been conferred *honoris causa* by colleges in the United States leads the Committee to believe that a widespread misapprehension concerning its true intent and significance exists among Boards which possess the power of conferring academic honors. It has been regarded as a compliment to be bestowed on persons perhaps worthy of honorable distinction, but possessing no technical training in philosophy, and seems to have been considered an honor intermediate between the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws. It has been conferred upon masters of high schools and principals of academies, whose capacity to manage such institutions, however conspicuous, is nevertheless not evidence of those professional acquirements which the degree of Doctor of Philosophy ought always to signify.

To confer the degree in this manner is to misuse it and ultimately to destroy its value; but all colleges are interested in maintaining it in its integrity. It is in a pre-eminent sense the appropriate degree for teachers, a large and growing class of persons in this country. Three colleges in the United States have within the last twenty years conferred this degree after examination upon 119 different persons, of whom 75 per cent have adopted the profession of teaching. It is reasonable to suppose that the number of colleges in the United States which within the next fifty years will establish graduate schools in philosophy will be

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large. The degree which these schools will then confer will be that of Doctor of Philosophy, and it is for the interest of all alike that its significance should not be obscured. Looking at the degree in the light of its past and future significance, the impropriety of conferring it otherwise than by examination is obvious. There are no sufficient reasons for conferring this degree differently from the three other professional degrees, for example, from that of Doctor of Medicine, which is only rarely given *honoris causa* and which confers on its recipient peculiar professional privileges. Only six of the sixty-eight colleges mentioned above gave the degree of Doctor of Medicine *honoris causa* during the eight years covered by the Commissioner's reports. They so gave it eight times in all; but during the same time conferred it after examination 1546 times. Only one of these six institutions during the eight years conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy after examination.

The objections to conferring the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa* apply equally to the degree of Doctor of Science. This degree is set apart for candidates in the general subject of philosophy who make special studies in the natural sciences; and the American Association for the Advancement of Science was led to include it in its resolutions from the fact that, although it is a degree which has only recently been conferred in the United States, it also has already been given *honoris causa*.

The Committee believe that a clear understanding of the facts on the part of the governing boards of colleges and universities will stay the evil so earnestly deprecated by the two Associations which they have the honor to represent. They believe also that it will be possible to maintain the significance of the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Science only by a universal agreement on the part of colleges in the United States to abstain wholly from conferring them *honoris causa*. As the representatives, therefore, of their respective Associations, they pray you, if the practice of giving these degrees *honoris causa* has arisen in the college under your control, that it shall by your authority from this time be discontinued.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (*Chairman*), Harvard University; WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, Yale College; BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University; IRVING J. MANATT, Marietta College; CHARLES R. LANMAN, Harvard University.

For the American Philological Association.

GEORGE J. BRUSH (*Chairman*), Yale College; WILLIAM B. ROGERS, Mass. Institute of Technology; H. CARRINGTON BOLTON, Trinity College; F. A. P. BARNARD, Columbia College; J. P. LESLEY, University of Pennsylvania; F. W. CLARKE, University of Cincinnati.

For the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

MAY 10, 1882.

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TABLE

Showing the manner of granting the Degree of Ph.D. by Seventy-nine Colleges during the years 1872–1879.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred	In 1872		1873		1874		1875		1876		1877		1878		1879		Total.	
	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*	ex.	*hon.*
By colleges (11 in number) conferring it only after examination;	12	...	17	...	11	...	9	...	13	...	21	...	21	...	18	...	122	...
By colleges (55 in number) giving it only *honoris causa*;	...	5	...	13	...	12	...	13	...	20	...	17	...	20	...	28	...	128
By colleges (13 in number) conferring it both after examination and *honoris causa*	2	...	8	...	...	...	3	...	5	...	8	...	11	...	16	...	53	...
	...	2	...	4	...	3	...	6	...	6	...	2	...	12	...	7	...	42
Total.																		
After examination	14		25		11		12		18		29		32		34		175	
Honoris Causa	...	7	...	17	..	15	...	19	...	26	...	19	..	32	...	35	...	170

For the conduct of further possible correspondence in regard to the subject of the above Memorial, the Committee was continued another year.

The reading of papers was resumed.

2. The Semitic Personal Pronouns, by Professor C. H. Toy of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The origin of most relational roots is unknown; that is, we are not able to say whether they came into existence in an independent way, or were derived from other parts of speech. Various attempts at such derivation have been made: it has been supposed, for example, that certain of the Semitic pronouns and prepositions could be traced to verbs; but nothing has come of these attempts, for which, indeed, there are now no sufficient data. We may, however, hope from an examination of the existing stems to reach the simplest primitive Semitic roots, a knowledge of which is in any case indispensable to inquiries into origin. On account of the original simple demonstrative character of all pronouns, it is better to treat them all together; but for convenience's sake this paper will be confined to the personal pronouns. There seems to be no reason why the suffixes should be regarded as abbreviations of the separate pronouns, and I shall accordingly treat them as independent stems. The third person, as the clearest in form and probably the earliest, may properly be considered first.

Third person. First, the suffix-forms. In masc. sing. we have *hu* (Arab.), *hū* (Heb., Eth., Sab.), *sū* (Ass., Min.), *hī* (Aram.), *h* (Aram., Heb.), *ū* (Heb.), *hum* (Sab.) (?), *m* (Phen.); from which it appears that the ground-forms are *hu* or *su*, and *hi*, the *ū* and *ī* being mere euphonic lengthenings of *u* and *i*, and not the result of composition with or absorption of another letter. Vowel or consonant may be dropped, leaving *h* or *u*; the latter, uniting with the final *a* of the noun-stem, produces *ō*. The demonstrative *m* (commonly appropriated to the plural) is sometimes added, and then, the *hu* being thrown away, remains as sing masc.

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sign. The *s*-stem probably preceded the *h*-stem. In the fem. sing. we need note only the forms *ha*, *hā*, *h*, *sa*, *sī*, and observe that while *i* occurs in both genders, *u* has here been assigned to masc., and *a* to fem.; but we shall see that *a* was also masc. The plural and dual are made by the addition of *m* and *n* to the sing.: plu. masc., *hum*, *hōmū*, *hūn*, *hēm*; fem., *hun.na*, *hōn*, *hēn*; dual, *humā*. The original plural ending is *mu* or *nu* for masc., and *nu* for fem.; to which was sometimes added a demonstrative *ma* or *na* for emphasis; in the dual appears *ma* instead of *mu*. Heb. and Aram. have *ō* for original *u*. There was no original difference of gender between *m* and *n*, nor were these at first signs of number. There is no distinction of cases, except in Ethiopic, in what appears to be a later formation.

The separate or isolated forms are manifestly built up from the suffix forms. In masc. sing. we find *hu.wa* (Arab.), with which are identical *hū'* (Heb.) and *hū* (Aram.); further, *hau* (Aram.) = *ha.wa*; then *sū* (Ass.) = *su.wa*, and *we'etū* (Eth.) out of *tu* and *wa* to which is added *'a*. The feminine has the parallel forms *hi.ya*, *hī'*, *hī*, *hai* = *ha.ya*, *sī* = *si.ya*, *ye'etī* = *ya'.a.ti*. In addition to the *s*- and *h*-stems we find here forms in *t*, which may be regarded as the earliest, though it seems likely that the three once existed side by side. The *ha* also is seen to be masc. as well as fem.; there is no original distinction of gender between the vowels. The *wa* and *ya* are demonstratives, occurring in other combinations not infrequently; from which also it appears that there is no inherent distinction of gender between them. The plural forms are mostly identical with the suffixes. Aram. adds an *n*: masc., *hēnūn* = *hu.nu.n* for *hu.nu.na*; fem., *hēnēn*, from the same. Eth. has a double set of plurals: *'emūntū*, *'emāntū*, where well-known demonstratives are prefixed to the *tu*, and *we'etōmū*, *we'etōn*, where the *tu* is inflected like *hu* above.

Second person. Object-suffix (added to nouns and verbs): sing. masc., *ka*, *kā*, *k*; fem., *ki*, *kī*, *k*; plu. masc., *kum*, *kemū*, *kūn*, *kem*; fem., *kunna*, *ken*, *kēn*; dual, *kumā*. The stem is *ka*, *ki*, or *ku*, the three being originally equivalent; *m* and *n* as above.

Subject-suffix (added to verbs): sing. masc., *ta*, *tā*, *t*, *ka*; fem., *ti*, *t*, *kī*; plu. masc., *tum* (for *tu.mu*), *tūn* (for *tu.nu*), *tem* (for *tu.mu*), *kemū* (for *ku.mu*); fem., *tunna*, *tēn*, *ten*, *ken*; dual, *tumā*. The stem is prevailingly *t*, which acts like the *k* above. Ethiopic has *k* here as well as in object-suffix. There is no interchange here between *t* and *k*—they are originally distinct and independent stems; nor need we look for some compound form, as *ta.ka*, out of which both may have come. But why one language has chosen one, and others the other, does not appear.

Separate forms: made by prefixing *an* to the *t*-forms. The inflections are the same as those above described. The *an* is a common demonstrative.

First person. Object-suffix: sing., to nouns, *ya*, *ī*, *i*, where *ya* is the original, and the others probably come from its junction with the genitive case of the noun, as *malkī* from *malki.ya* (and the *i* is abbreviated from *ī*); to verbs, *nī*, *ni*, *n*, which seems to have no connection with *ya*; this latter is identical with the same stem in the third person; plural, *na*, *nā*, *nū*, *ni*, *n*, the vowels being mutually equivalent. This *n*-stem is found in the other persons, and abundantly elsewhere.

Subject-suffix: sing., *tu*, *tī*, *t*, *ku*, where the relation between *t* and *k* is the same as in the second person; plu., *na*, *nā*, *nū*, *n*, *nan*, where *i* does not appear (though it was probably once in use), and in one form (*nan*) the stem is doubled for emphasis.

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Separate forms: sing., *ana*, *anā*, *anī*, *ānī*, *ēnō*, *anaku*, *ānōkī;* plu., *anū*, *ānū*, *naḥna*, *naḥnu*, *anaḥnu*, *anaḥni*, *ḥenan*. The base in the singular is *na*, *ni;* in the plural, *na*, *nu;* all three vowels were probably once in use for both numbers. In the singular this simple base has been strengthened sometimes by a prefix, and sometimes by a prefix and a postfix; the prefix is the demonstrative *a* (found elsewhere), which is lengthened into *ā*, and diphthongized into *ē* (in two cases the stem-vowel *ā* passes into *ō*, a change common in Hebrew and Aramaic); the postfix is *ku*, *ki*, identical with the suffix-form. The plural sometimes contents itself with the prefix *a*, using *nu* as stem; usually it adds the *k*, in the form of *ḥ*, and then further strengthens by addition of *na*, *ni*, or *nu*. Several dialects in this case omit the prefix, and Aramaic, further omitting the stem *na*, makes compensation by doubling the added *na*, thus: *ḥenan* = *ḥenana*, for *na.ḥe.na*.

The personal pronouns are thus common demonstrative stems, employed in simple form for suffixes, and combined in various ways for the separate forms. These latter are built up on the suffixes, and seem, therefore, to have followed them historically. Inasmuch as the simple forms do not appear as separate or isolated pronouns, it is possible that the personal pronoun first appeared as a suffix; that is, existing demonstratives, meaning 'this,' 'that,' were attached to nouns and verbs, acquired a personal sense, and then, on being isolated, were formally strengthened. This, however, would amount to no more than saying that the pronominal forms were strengthened as the pronominal idea acquired greater consistency. The same thing seems to have happened with the ordinary demonstratives and relatives.

Originally there was no difference of gender, number, or case between the different stems; usage gradually established certain distinctions. The distinction of person also was of gradual growth. The *s*- and *h*-stems were appropriated to the third person as the one nearest to the general demonstrative. The second person as object (and in one dialect as subject) was expressed by the *k*-stems, as subject and isolated by the *t*-forms (which last survived in one dialect in the third also). To the first person were assigned the *n*- and *y*-stems as object, the *t*-forms (in one dialect the *k*) as subject, and the strengthened *n* as isolated. We can hardly hazard a guess as to the reasons which determined this distribution of stems. Nor can we infer, from the fact that these stems are all found in Indo-European, the original identity of this family and the Semitic.

3. Further Words as to Surds and Sonants, and the Law of Economy as a Phonetic Force, by Professor W. D. Whitney of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Professor Whitney reminded the Association that he had read papers on these two subjects at the meeting of 1877, which were printed in the Transactions for that year (issued in 1878); and he asked permission to add at the present time a few remarks upon certain later discussions of them. Though the subjects may seem quite separate and diverse, they will yet be found to have a near practical connection with one another.

First, as to the distinction of surd and sonant alphabetic sounds: a well-worn theme, of which many perhaps are weary, but which cannot well be let alone until false views are thoroughly eradicated. These, to be sure, are dying out, and may be expected to disappear in another generation; but they die hard.

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Founded, as they seem in the main to be, upon the peculiar usages of a part of Germany, they are especially current in that country, though by no means restricted to it. In their grossest form they are statable thus: "a *b* (for example) differs from a *p* simply by being a weaker utterance;" and this definition is even yet widely current. Then again, "a *b* is especially a weaker utterance than a *p*; but it is also, at least sometimes, characterized by sonancy." Once more, "the usual and normal *b* is sonant, but it is also a weaker utterance, being related to *p* as a *lenis* to a *fortis;* and the characteristic of sonancy not infrequently disappears, leaving behind only a difference of force." This last is a rough statement of Sievers's latest view, as laid down in his *Grundzüge der Phonetik* (Leipzig, 1881; the work is an altered and extended second edition of his *Lautphysiologie*): it is proposed to be here examined and criticised.

Our speaking involves a great variety in the force of utterance applied, under varying conditions. There is the difference, in innumerable degrees, of louder from softer delivery; the difference, less unrestricted, of the more emphatic from the less emphatic parts of one and the same sentence; and the difference, yet more restricted but still noteworthy, between the accented and unaccented parts of one and the same word, and even of one and the same syllable. These differences depend upon voluntary changes in the energy of expiration, of that muscular action by which a current of air is driven through the larynx and mouth. To the degree of energy of expiration, in each particular case, the action of the interfering and shaping organs of utterance adapts itself; they assume just that amount of stiffness and resistant force which the force of expulsion demands, in order to the production of the right sound. If one blows very hard, one compresses the lips accordingly, to make a *p* or *b*; violent compression without a corresponding pressure from behind would be artificial, a useless affectation.

Here is a real and primary distinction in regard to force of utterance, affecting all the constituents of speech; in virtue of it, our *p*'s and our *b*'s alike, along with every other element of our utterance, are now *fortis* and now *lenis*. Our natural continuous speaking involves a constantly alternating *crescendo* and *diminuendo* of force. An emphatic word is strengthened in every part; an accented syllable has more stress than an unaccented. The added force is mainly perceptible in the vowels of the word or syllable; but it also extends to the consonant surroundings of an emphasized or accented vowel, just as it extends to both vowels and consonants in louder general utterance. Thus, for example, the accented *b* of *biped* is stronger than its unaccented *p*, especially if a heavy accent be laid on the word. So also the consonant following a short accented vowel shares in the increased force of the latter, while one following a long accented vowel has the weaker quality of the unaccented syllable, since (as first pointed out by Mr. Sweet) a long vowel is a *diminuendo* utterance; and hence the *b* of *pebble* is stronger than the second *p* of *people;* and the initial *d* of such words as *doubt*, *dight*, *date*, *dote* is stronger than their final *t*.

But there is also another kind of difference of force which Sievers, to the detriment of his whole exposition of the subject, mixes up with this. To illustrate it, he has devised and describes (pp. 18–19) an ingenious bit of apparatus: a glass tube, namely, bent into the form of a U and partly filled with water, and having at one extremity a short rubber tube, the end of which is introduced into the mouth as far as behind the point of closure or approximation of the mouth-

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organs by which any given pair of sounds, surd and sonant, is produced. If one utters upon this instrument a *p* and *b*, for example, one sees clearly that, with a given general force of expiration, the *p* depresses the column of water in the hither arm of the glass tube much more notably than the *b*. From this experiment Sievers teaches us to draw the conclusion that a *b* is in itself a weaker sound than a *p* — that a *b* is a *lenis* and a *p* a *fortis*.

It is, however, upon the least reflection evident that the difference here is only a secondary one, a mere result of the sonancy of the *b*. In uttering a sonant, one drives the air through a closed slit, formed by the stretched and approximated vocal chords; while in surd utterance no obstacle is interposed between the lung-bellows and the column of water in the tube. Just so, if one were to blow directly into a tube in the ordinary way, first with the orifice open, and then with an india-rubber membrane stretched tightly across it and slitted, he would find much more effort necessary to produce a given effect in the latter case than in the former. The result of the experiment, accurately reported, is then this: we see clearly that sonancy imparted to the current of breath so checks it or narrows it at one point that it has less pressure to exert at another; the muscular force is divided, a part going to produce the vibration of the vocal chords, and a part acting upon the organs of mute closure, and evoking from them a corresponding effort of resistance. There is nothing in it tending to show that a *b* is produced by a weaker effort than a *p*, or that, under circumstances, when both are contiguous to the same vowel, as in *biped* (or the *d* and *t* of *date*), the sonant may not be a stronger utterance than the *p* — and that, not only primarily, in virtue of the muscular effort involved, but even secondarily, as measured by the effect on the column of water.

It appears evident, therefore, that we have no right to give the name of *lenis* to a sonant, which is producible with any degree of effort, and may be made stronger than the corresponding surd in the same syllable without in the least altering or obscuring the distinctive character and relative value of the two, unless we carefully define the term *lenis* as having nothing to do with a less expenditure of effort in utterance, and apply to the latter some different name. The two kinds of *lenitas*, primary and secondary, have very different parts to play in the history of speech. As involving, by reason of its sonancy, a less degree of pressure at the lips, a *b* may break into a spirant more easily than a *p*, and this may be plausibly alleged as the reason why a sonant is in general less stable, when once generated, than a surd; but it does not in the least follow that a *b* is itself the product of a weakening action, or a *p* of a strengthening action; as between these, it is simply a question of adding or withdrawing the vibration of the vocal chords. In the German word *hieb*, for example, the final sonant is pronounced surd, because to the German organs (as to those of the ancient Sanskrit-speakers) it seems easier to stop the sonant vibration with the vowel, instead of prolonging it after the lip-closure; and the circumstances that the vowel is here long, and the following mute therefore (primarily) a *lenis*, and that the end of a word is the point above all others where in general a weakening action appears, do not in the least stand in the way of the effect. If we are to apply *fortis* and *lenis* to the secondary results of surdness and sonancy, we must call also the *h* of *ha* a *fortis*, and its *a* a *lenis*.

Further on in his work (p. 56), Sievers himself distinctly acknowledges that the *lenitas* of a *b* is solely a secondary consequence of its sonancy; but he labors

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to belittle the importance of this difference, and involves himself, it appears to me, in certain unclearnesses and inconsistencies. The point of most consequence concerns the real character of those non-sonant sounds which in South German dialects have become substituted for the older Germanic *mediæ*. In the present edition of his work, Sievers for the first time fully admits that the original and proper characteristic of both Indo-European and Germanic *mediæ* is their sonancy, and that their surd utterance is a local corruption; but he finds no difficulty in supposing that, having been formerly sonant *lenes*, they have dropped the element of sonancy, and become *lenes* pure and simple. This however appears to be, on the contrary, an assumption of extreme difficulty. That the ordinary laws of *crescendo* and *diminuendo* effort, depending on emphasis and accent, should undergo momentary suspensions or violations from point to point in order that a single consonant sound may be distinguished by inferiority of force — that, for example, the accented *b* of *biped* should be weakened by a voluntary relaxation of effort below the degree of the unaccented *p*, and the *b* of *pebble* below the second *p* of *people* — has a most artificial and implausible aspect. Infinitely easier would it be to suppose that the original weakening action in the glottis had been in some way modified, so as to lose its sonantizing, without altogether losing its weakening, effect. Just this is the view of Brücke, who declares the South German weak *b* etc. to be whispered sounds — that is to say, sounds in whose utterance the vocal chords are not brought to full vibrating tension and closure, but, by being narrowed to the position of rustling, so obstruct still the stream of breath as to leave a chance to distinguish *b* from *p*, in that imperfect way in which it is distinguished in whispering. Sievers (p. 96) refers to the view, but bluntly pronounces it "false," and accuses those who hold it of "thoughtlessly copying" it from Brücke. It is, however, far from deserving such contemptuous treatment, and Sievers's attempts to refute it will hardly be pronounced satisfactory until he shall appear to appreciate more fully the general bearings of the case, and the great difficulties in the way of accepting his own opposing explanation. If the *b* of the South Germans were a mere weakened *p*, if the glottis were not involved in its utterance in some way that rendered sonancy impracticable, there would seem to be no reason why the despairing efforts one sometimes sees them make to utter an ordinary sonant *b* should so fail of success.

Sievers finally intimates (p. 96) that an unnecessary amount of zeal has been expended upon the discussion of this subject, and claims that it is a matter of indifference whether one speaks of surd *fortes* and *lenes*, or of strong and weak surds. He does not, however, consider that the contest began, and still in great part continues, against those who held and hold that "weakness" is *the* distinction of a *b* from a *p*; that he himself has only in this latest publication (in part, presumably, under pressure of criticism upon his former views) come so near to setting the matter upon its true basis; and that even his present view (besides the objections to which it has been shown above to be liable) is calculated to give aid and comfort to the holders of the old grossly erroneous opinions. It has been truly claimed that a false apprehension of the interchanges of surds and sonants as results of weakening and strengthening has worked more mischief in theoretic phonetics than any other single error. And its maleficent influence is not yet at an end, even in the mind of Sievers himself, as the second part of this paper will endeavor to show.

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The conclusions arrived at in the former discussion of the law of economy as causing the phonetic changes of language were briefly these: 1. that the tendency to economy or convenience fully explained the great majority of such changes; 2. that no other law or tendency had been successfully shown to have anything to do with the matter; 3. that a true view of the forces concerned in the life of language and of their way of working appeared to suggest the possibility of no other; whence it was inferred; 4. that the residue of exceptional cases, not yet brought under the law, would in all probability, with the progress of phonetic science, be found to be also only results of its working. We have now to see whether any of these conclusions have been refuted by more recent investigation.

The subject of the causes of phonetic change it does not lie in Sievers's way to discuss with fulness; but he passes rapidly over it, intimating his opinions with sufficient clearness. After noticing (p. 196) the general reference of change to the law of economy, he directs attention to the numerous apparent exceptions — numerous enough when reviewed in detail, though extremely few when compared with the plain examples of the working of the law. And among them he includes the conversion of sonants to surds in the Germanic rotation of mutes! — a sufficient evidence, as intimated above, that too much stress has not yet been laid upon the fact that a sonant does not involve a weaker effort of utterance than a surd. Here, now, is the most important, or certainly the most often urged, apparent violation of the law, found to depend, after all, on an erroneous valuation of sounds: how many of the rest are to disappear in the same way we shall know better by and by. In view of such exceptions, Sievers pronounces the dogma that all phonetic change depends on the tendency to ease "decidedly false:" which is just about as far wrong on the one side as the dogma itself, *quâ* dogma, would be on the other. No one has the right to say that the tendency in question has explained everything; nor, again, that it will not some time explain everything: the question is still an undetermined one. Sievers also does not attempt to set up any other and rival principle. He points out that all sounds to which one is used are about equally easy, and only unaccustomed ones hard; he might have gone further, and said that the "strong" sounds are, if anything, easiest in isolation or in simplest combinations. He apparently fails to see that it is only the necessity of rapid transition from one position of utterance to another in continuous speaking which calls for a facilitation that issues in phonetic change — and that, in his processes of "spontaneous" change as well as the rest. He points out, justly enough, that all the initiatory essays of alteration are sporadic, individual, various; but he does not add that the only demonstrated (if not the only conceivable) general direction in which they should occur — and, yet more, in which they should secure imitation and general acceptance — is that of facilitation. To make a comparison of a kind now popular: these individual attempts at change are like the infinite slight variations of form and function among animals; while natural selection, by survival of the fittest, is shown in the ratification and adoption of those which make for convenience — a convenience which (as Sievers also sees) is of very relative character, varying everywhere with the habits of speech of different communities, and having intricacies which we are far from fully comprehending.

The same subject is treated by Delbrück, in his *Einleitung in das Sprachstudium* (p. 118 ff.), but after a fashion that calls for but brief notice from us, since

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he does not take the trouble to discuss with seriousness any of the points involved. After stating in a general way what is claimed for the law of economy,[1] he brings against it, in the first place, the question whether, after all, we are authorized to assume that the tendency to ease plays such an exclusively dominating part in human society. This, however, no one has ever had any thought of assuming: the true question is whether, considering what we know of language as the instrumentality of communication and thought, and what we know of its mode of use, we can trace, or ought to be able to trace, in a certain department of its changes, the operation of any other tendency than that to ease. He goes on to suggest that, "on the contrary," the general endeavor would naturally be, when learning to speak, to imitate as closely as possible what one hears. But in this suggestion appears to be involved a curious misapprehension of the whole general question, which really involves as a premise what he here urges as an objection. What we are asking, namely, is this: when each generation learns to speak from its predecessors, and like them, having no intention to deviate from their speech, and no consciousness of doing so, how does it happen that the phonetic form of language is nevertheless all the time and everywhere changing? Then he further inquires (giving Benfey the credit of the hint) whether what is pleasing, quite as much as what is easy, might not be striven after (*erstrebt*). Certainly, if there were any "striving" at all in the case; but there is not; the whole is done in utter unconsciousness; no speaker is aware that his new way is easier, or even that it is a new way; he adopts it because it is easier, without knowing it. The tendency to ease is, as was said before, a hidden and insidious force, like gravitation, always pulling at what is above the surface, and drawing it down unless it be held up — the holding-up force in language being the imitation and retention of former modes of speech. To admit a tendency to what is pleasing would imply that the unreflective users of a language are aware of points in their utterance which they disapprove, and would fain amend — which, of course, is absurd. It would also imply a reversion to the old times of darkness, when "euphony" in language-history was supposed to lie in what pleased the ear, rather than in what is convenient to the organs of utterance. Delbrück thinks, then, that this tendency, along with others that might be conceived of (what they should be he does not go so far as to intimate), may perhaps work efficiently against the tendency to economy. Finally, he urges that the history of language shows numerous phenomena of change which are opposed to the assumed law, cases of strengthening instead of weakening. That is to say, he, like many others, is prepared already to pronounce all apparent exceptions forever irreconcilable with the law. But if ninety-nine hundredths, or even only nine tenths, of the phenomena fall plainly under it, while the remainder is diminishing with the improvement of phonetic science, and if no other concurrent law has been found, our true attitude at present would seem to be one of expectancy.

Delbrück's contribution to the discussion of the subject must be held, accordingly, to mark no advance in its comprehension, but rather in part a falling-back to points of view which might have been regarded as already left behind.

A few words, finally, as to a peculiar theory brought forward by Osthoff, at

[1] In part, in the words of the present writer; going back, however, to the latter's "Lectures" of 1867, while overlooking the later statements of his "Life and Growth of Language" of 1875, and his special and greatly expanded exposition of the subject, of 1878.

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the Gera meeting, in 1878, of the German philologists and schoolmen.[1] This scholar, after maintaining that the laws of phonetic change work absolutely and without real exceptions (a dogma which is at least premature, and may perhaps be finally found undemonstrable), went on to determine the reason somewhat thus: the German rotation of mutes shows conversion of sonants to surds — that is (once more!), of weaker to stronger elements — as well as the contrary; hence, it is impossible to ascribe phonetic changes to economy; and we must assume that they are owing to physical alterations in the organs of utterance. That is to say, the old Germans said *that*, and the high Germans say *das*, instead of the original *tad*, because the muscular apparatus in their throats and mouths has in such a way grown different that the exertion which once made the one now makes one of the others! It is not well possible to conceive of anything more unfortunate, more at variance with the plainest truths of the science of language, than this. It ignores the fact that we all *learn* our modes of utterance, and that the infant, whether his ancestors have spoken French, English, or German, acquires with precisely the same ease either of those languages. It is the most striking recent exemplification of the fact that one may be an able and distinguished comparative philologist without being saved from falling into the most palpable errors in matters that concern the life and growth of language.

It may safely be claimed, then, that the discussion as to the law of economy remains where it was left by us five years ago: no one has succeeded in establishing any new law to stand by the side of this one; nor has any one, it is believed, changed essentially the aspect of any of the obstacles which were in the way of its universal acceptance. But the most formidable of these in effect is still, as formerly, the deeply-rooted error which regards the conversion of a surd to a sonant as the result of a weakening process.

The Association then adjourned until 8 P. M.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Tuesday, July 11, 1882.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association was called to order in Sever Hall at a few minutes after 8 P. M. by the Vice-President, Professor M. W. Humphreys of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

The Annual Address was delivered by the President, Professor Frederic D. Allen of Harvard University.

4. The University of Leyden in its relation to Classical Studies.

After speaking of the year just past, and the deaths of Professor Lyman Coleman, a member of the Association, Theodore Bergk, H. L. Ahrens, John Muir, and others, the President said that in the whole course of classical studies since Erasmus's time there might be easily discerned three turning-points, each marked

[1] The writer quotes from memory, having been present at that meeting; he has not had access to the complete publication of Osthoff's paper (as one of the *Wissenschaftliche Vorträge* series); and in the brief abstract of the Gera report this part of it is omitted.

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by the appearance of a single man of pre-eminent genius; and that thus four periods might be distinguished. These men were Scaliger, Bentley, and Wolf. During two of these four periods, philological study centred in Leyden; hence the importance of this university for our studies.

It was especially fortunate for classical study, at the end of the sixteenth century, that the Dutch were able to take it up. The studies of the French, closely connected with the Huguenot movement, were coming to an end; there had been Budé, Turnèbe, Lambin, and later, Scaliger and Casaubon; but after them there was an immediate decline, as the influence of the Jesuits in the state prevailed. And in Germany and England the civil turmoils of the seventeenth century were necessarily unfavorable to all serious research. But classical studies found a refuge in Holland during the era of her material and intellectual greatness. The favorable conditions for philological study in Holland were pointed out — among them the absence of a national literature.

The foundation of the Leyden University, immediately after the memorable siege of 1574, was next described, and reasons given for its extraordinary prosperity. Leyden had the advantages which a fresh start, without hampering traditions, gave, at a time when the struggle between the new and the old educations — the classical and the scholastic, the "poets" and the "artists" — was not yet entirely ended. The number of foreign students was from the outset very large. The outer and inner appointments of the Academy were not in the least magnificent. There were eight professors at the beginning: throughout the next century the customary number was about twenty. The buildings were disused convents, most of the lectures being held, from 1581 on, in the old White-Nun Cloister, which was burned in 1614, and rebuilt without much change, and is now still in use.

There have usually been two chairs of instruction in classical literature at Leyden, called respectively those of "Greek" and "History," — the latter meaning practically Latin literature; but a good deal of *Lehrfreiheit* prevailed. The Greek chair has often been occupied by a Latinist who took but a perfunctory interest in his department.

After mention of Tiara and Vulcanius, the first professors of Greek, Justus Lipsius was named as the first Leyden teacher (1579–1591) of far-reaching reputation and influence, and as representing admirably the main features of the philology of the coming century. These characteristics, which were dwelt on at some length, were given as follows: (1) Latin literature was almost exclusively cultivated; Greek was looked on as a far-off language, somewhat as Sanskrit now is, and was more neglected in the seventeenth century than it had been in the sixteenth; (2) text-criticism was altogether a matter of individual acumen and divinatory power; the importance of manuscript investigation was not realized; (3) the main strength of this age of scholarship lay in interpretation, especially in *material* interpretation — explanation of the things spoken of, the matters treated of; and in this field wonders were accomplished; (4) these were the first attempts at supplying systematic treatises on history, geography, antiquities, literature, etc., — crude beginnings, taking the form of monographs, mainly important as collections of passages. The speaker mentioned Lipsius's work in each of these departments, with especial praise of his editions of Tacitus, Velleius, and the two Senecas.

Scaliger's connection with Leyden was a superficial one, as he held only a sort

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of honorary professorship without teaching duties (1593–1609), and he spent only the last years of his life at Leyden; nevertheless he was an important factor of Leyden's greatness. Two chief characteristics of Scaliger's scholarship were pointed out, his unexampled skill in conjectural criticism, and the breadth and catholicity of his learning: as examples of these two respectively were described his edition of Festus, and his work on Chronology.

The chief lights during the next half-century were Daniel Heinsius, who taught uninterruptedly for fifty years, and with him successively Meursius, Vossius, and Salmasius, Salmasius's professorship being, like Scaliger's, a sinecure. These men were briefly described, and other lesser scholars named. Heinsius owed his great popularity to his talent at verse-making, and his eloquence and enthusiasm as a teacher. The speaker gave examples of the shallowness and puerility of his critical procedure. Meursius, the Greek antiquarian, had great diligence and some constructive power, and his monographs laid a good foundation for subsequent work. Vossius was much more than a philologist and only a part of his voluminous writings concern us. Specimens from his "Etymologicum" of the Latin language are *damnum* from δαπάνη, *aqua* from ἀ-χοά, 'pouring together,' *quatuor* from χάτερον, 'and another,' etc. Salmasius, the last of the eminent French scholars, had little direct effect on Leyden philology, though his importance for science is considerable.

The time from 1655 (Heinsius's death) to 1741 comprises three generations: the first marked by J. F. Gronow, who ranks along with Lipsius as one of the two coryphaei of the Netherland Latinists. Gronow was a German by birth, a man of little brilliancy, and not in the least many-sided, but of solid learning and judgment, and one who exerted a steady influence in the direction of sound method. He did not a little work in the collation of manuscripts, though with nothing like the thoroughness which we now demand; yet one sees in him the beginnings of method in the diplomatic part of text-criticism. Other work of the same kind was done by his contemporary, Nicholas Heinsius, Daniel's son. But their example was not generally followed, and much of their knowledge died with them.

The next generation found at Leyden Jacob Gronow, son of the foregoing, and Jacob Voorbroek (Perizonius), who were succeeded in turn by Peter Burman the elder and Sigebert Havercamp. This era is remarkable for what we may call the cyclopaedic tendency, — a general striving to collect and mass together in big books the accumulated results of predecessors' labors, as if men had a feeling that there was to be a sort of winding up, and that philological activity was to be diverted into new channels. This found expression in two ways: first, in the vast collections of monographs, the chief of which are the "Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum," edited by Graevius at Utrecht, and the "Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum" of Jacob Gronow at Leyden, and secondly, the numberless "variorum" editions, with the collected commentaries of foregoing editors, the two Burmans and Havercamp being the great representatives of this compilatory kind of learning. Oudendorp, who was contemporary with Hemsterhuis, was the last of this series of Latinists.

The year 1741 marked a turning-point, and the advent of Hemsterhuis signalized at Leyden the *Greek revival*, which had already begun elsewhere. The speaker traced this new movement back to somewhat obscure beginnings in Germany and England, without being able to state definitely its causes. Hem-

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sterhuis was at any rate the first to bring Greek studies conspicuously into notice again, and may be called the restorer of Greek. The new Greek philology had these features in marked contrast with former studies in Greek: it concerned itself first of all with the writings of the older "classical" period, and very much with the distinguishing of Attic from non-Attic usage; and in general, minute linguistic criticism was its chosen field. So the Greek grammarians were zealously studied, as auxiliaries in this research. Hemsterhuis's immense influence was exerted mainly by word of mouth; his printed works are few in number; but in fifty years of oral teaching he founded a school of Hellenists that has lasted in unbroken continuity till the present day. The speaker mentioned also the theory of the Greek language which was taught in Holland in the last century, and the derivation, by "analogy," of all its words from root-verbs, ΕΠΩ, ΛΑΒΩ, and the like. This system is known to have originated with Hemsterhuis, though he never put it into print himself.

Hemsterhuis's most distinguished pupils were, in the first generation, Valckenaer and Ruhnken, and in the second Wyttenbach. All these worked on in the same spirit. Ruhnken's interesting personal career was touched on, and the scholarship and labors of Ruhnken and Valckenaer compared. The years during which these Hellenists were together at Leyden (1766–1785) were the last years of the European importance of Leyden for philology. As early as the death of Valckenaer the prestige of Holland in these studies was impaired. Other countries were awakening; in particular, Heyne at Göttingen had given a fresh impulse and brought philological study to the front in Germany, and Wolf was just beginning his career at Halle. So the leadership quietly slipped away from Leyden and from Holland. The foreign students rapidly fell away, and Leyden, from a European university, became what she is now, simply a Dutch university.

The succession of teachers during the present century was noticed, and the connection traced between the school of Hemsterhuis and the present circle of Dutch philologists, of which Cobet is the head. In conclusion a comparison was drawn between the German philology of the present day and the Dutch philology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and besides other deficiencies of the latter, was noted the little sense for what the Germans call "higher criticism," — the detection of interpolations and spurious writings.

The Association adjourned to 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Wednesday, July 12, 1882.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association came to order at 9.30 A. M. The Secretary read the minutes of Tuesday's sessions, and they were approved. The reading of communications was then resumed.

5. The World of Beowulf, by Professor F. A. March of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The world of Beowulf is a strange world. Its characters ar strange; the action goes on in the midst of a strange nature. Some explanation of its strange-

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ness was attempted by examining the manner in which its effects on the different senses ar presented. The words wer collected which show the effect of objects on the sight, then those which represent sounds, smel, taste, etc. The use of descriptivs of sight is very abundant. It is the habit to giv the color of objects. But upon collecting the words they ar found to describe degrees of light and shade, rather than different qualities of color. Objects ar described as bright, white, grey (beorht, blâc, blonden, brûn, scîr, torht, hâr, græg), or as dark, murky, swart, wan (deorc, myrce, sweart, wan), or the like. Of red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet, yellow is the only one that figures in this erly world. Yellow is common. The ocean, the roads, the horses ar yellow. It is the great expanse of a white and dark world in the far north, a monochromatic sketch of a world not yet tinted. Into the midst of this nature, however, man brings some specks of color. These ar carefully described as fâh, variegated, — peculiarly colord. Furniture and arms wrought with gold ar golde-fâh, or with jewels, sinc-fâh; and we hav bân-fâh, brûn-fâh, stân-fâh — the roads ar stân-fâh — but oftenest of all ar objects blōd-fâh, dreor-fâh, swât-fâh, wael-fâh. The blithesome raven is black of course; and horses of the chiefs ar glistening, *blanc;* in one splendid gift which Beowulf makes to his lord there ar four horses of apple-yellow (æppel-fealuwe). In this pale land is found no breth of fragrance. There is but one mention of smel. A dragon is said to smel or follow the scent of his enemy's footprints. Nor ar the flavors of taste distinguisht. There ar great feasts celebrated, but no solid food is mentiond. Beer, ale, wine, mead, *lith* and *wered* flow freely, but their taste is not described. Water is abundant, but it starts no suggestion of drinking. Cold and hot, hard and soft, occur.

But, perhaps, the most impressiv fact relates to the descriptivs of sound. So far as objects of nature ar concernd, there ar no such descriptivs. The inanimate world utters no sounds. Men talk, laugh, two or three times; they weep, roar with pain or grief, sing, play the harp, sound the trumpet, rattle their armor, make a din. Three or four times objects associated with men ar raisd to animation and utterance. A wepon sings, the ship and the funeral pile of Beowulf roar, the black raven, blithe of heart, announces the rising of the sun. But the great world surrounding man is silent, — a soundless as wel as a colorless world. In this world men, a few weak beings, liv their life, standing by each other, and fighting monsters. No man harms any other man in this story. Beowulf risks his life over and over to help others, and this is his simple nature; not a religion, not a duty even, — a simple matter of course. He has no ambition; does n't want to be a king, does n't seek adventures. He was neglected and overslaughd in his youth because he was not enterprising. He is good-natured thru and thru, and serenely wise; loyal above all to the king and his children, and to Hygd, the young queen. The later romances would hav been sure to make this Lancelot in love with this Guinevere. But Beowulf is not of that kind. He forms no ties. He is more like the lion of the romances who gards the Lady Una, and livs for nothing more than a tuch of her hand. This type of caracter that likes to lie in the sun, but rises to any emergency, is a favorit with all mankind. He is not, however, presented with any elaboration of caracter. The poet seems only interested in the story he is telling, not in the development of the caracter of his hero.

There ar some things in the poem which, in spite of its general rudeness and obscurity, suggest that the author had a cultured and even artificial love of the

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picturesk. The opening of the poem is one of the most picturesk incidents to be found among the tales of erly man. The obsequies of the hero Scyld, by embarking him in his boat with his tresures and trofies, and his flag flying above him, and sending him out to sea to return whence he had come an infant, the story of Hiawatha, of the Kalewala, of Arthur and the rest, is the same in its picturesk effect as that of Tennyson's Ulysses.

> No one can say who receivd the load,

says the Beowulf.

> It may be that he reacht the happy isles,
> And saw the great Achilles.

This beginning, so striking in itself, has a certain artificial aspect, because it is not a part of the following story, but relates to the ancestor of the heroes of it. The conclusion is also in the same picturesk manner. A monument is wrought over Beowulf with striking ceremonies, on a hill high and broad, and seen afar by seafaring men. Ten days they built it, the best of funeral piles, that far-seeing men might find it most honorable and becoming. The same manner is shown in many particular descriptions, as in that of the region in which Grendel had his lair. Striking details ar here givn simply for picturesk effect. The author knew something of the Bible. He mentions God, the devil, hevn, and hel, very much as men do now. He puts the Bible monsters on the same footing as those of his own mythology, just as Milton does. But there is no Christ or any special Christian thought in the book. Several passages suggest an acquaintance with Homer or Virgil. But if the author had taste to decorate parts of his poem, he had not sustaind vigor of imagination to bring the whole of his material into an epic unity.

6. A Bibliographico-critical Sketch of the Greek New Testaments published in America; by Dr. Isaac H. Hall of Philadelphia, Pa.

Reasons exist, aside from mere curiosity, for an inquiry into the history and character of the Greek New Testament as published in America. These reasons mainly centre themselves in the varieties thus disclosed of the various representatives of the *textus receptus*, so called, and the habits of editors who have professed to issue it. The inquiry also discloses a generally unsuspected industry and enthusiasm of the early American editors. The whole ground, moreover, is new; O'Callaghan's *American Bibles* enumerates only sixteen editions of the Greek Testament, a mere fraction of those issued previous to 1860.

After a short sketch of the early supply, accessible before the Greek New Testament was printed in America, the author discussed the American editions in families, taking them in the order of appearance of the first representative of each respectively, and noting the character of the text as compared with its archetype.

The first Greek book printed in America was (probably) the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, with a Latin translation, published at Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1792.

The first Greek Testament issued in America belonged to the Mill family, and was published by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1800. The

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differences of text from those of Mill were such as to disclose an independent editorship, with Beza or a late Elzevir as the source of the variations, though the title states that the book is an accurate reprint of Mill. Its immediate pattern, as to form and sundry minor details, was probably a Bowyer edition (1794) that has escaped the bibliographers. Other editions of the Mill family are: one by Thomas, Boston, 1814; the American Polymicrian (edited by Joseph P. Engles), a reprint of Bagster's Greenfield's Polymicrian, with sundry corrections; Spencer's, New York, Harpers, 1847, etc.; and the American Bible Union's first series, 1854, etc.

The next family were the Leusdens, a branch of the Elzevir family. These included the two printed by Bradford, Philadelphia, 1806, and one by George Long, New York, 1821. Strong's *Harmony*, New York, 1854, etc., also presents an Elzevir text. These four books are the only American representatives of the *textus receptus*, and not perfect at that.

Next followed the Griesbach editions. First of these was the reprint of Griesbach's *Manual*, and most elaborate text, issued at Cambridge by the University Press (Wells and Hilliard), in 1809. Other editions are the Gospels of the same, Boston, 1825; Moses Stuart's edition of Newcome's *Harmony*, Andover, 1814; Kneeland's Greek and Greek-English, Philadelphia, 1822, 1823; and the notorious *Emphatic Diaglott*, edited by Benjamin Wilson, 1863–1864, etc.

Next to appear were the Stephanic editions. The first of these was that of Peter Wilson, Hartford, Cooke, 1822 (not 1808, as stated in Reuss's *Bibliotheca*), and often since by various publishers. This is professedly a reprint of the edition of Robert Stephanus; but an examination shows abundant marks of independent editorship. This was followed by a Greek-Latin edition, the Greek from the same stereotype plates, patched here and there to accommodate the Latin, and the whole furnished with Leusden's title-page; published by Collins and Hannay, New York, 1824. Though a stupendous sham, and not Leusden's at all, but belonging to an altogether different family, this edition has had the largest circulation of any Greek Testament ever published in America, and is still in print from the same plates, being now issued by a firm in Philadelphia. Another — and the best — representative of the Stephanic family is the reprint of Scrivener's *Manual*, by Holt, New York, 1879.

Next follow the Knapp editions, first represented by Robinson's edition of Newcome's *Harmony*, Andover, 1834, and then by Patton's *The Student's New Testament*, New York, 1835, etc.

Of other families are the Bloomfields, starting in Boston in 1837, and running through at least fourteen editions; the Hahns, beginning with Robinson's, 1842, etc.; Tischendorf, in Gardiner's *Harmony*, 1871, etc.; Scholz, in reprints or in imported sheets of Bagster's publications; and the various reprints of Ellicott's Epistles.

In treating of the several families an account was given, as far as necessary, of the foreign sources of each, in addition to the descriptive and critical information which formed the bulk of the paper.

After a few comments on the foreign supply, the paper closed with a chronological list of the Greek Testaments published in America, including Harmonies of the Gospels and other portions of the text. The number was about eighty editions of the entire New Testament, and about fifty which contained only a part thereof.

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7. Alien Intrusion between Article and Noun in Greek, by Professor A. C. Merriam of Columbia College, New York.

In most languages only attributive words or phrases are admitted between the article and its noun, and so strictly does this obtain that it may be regarded as a law founded in the very nature of simple and unaffected language, while any violation is either poetic or due to poetic influence in a highly rhetorical and elevated style. It appears to be in obedience to its early moulding under poetic influence that ancient Greek admits alien words and clauses of all kinds, especially the verb, between article and noun, but under the strict application of a law which had not been heretofore formulated, to the knowledge of the writer, except for the genitive of the personal pronouns, the demonstratives, and τὶς.

The Law: The alien element is admitted only when an attributive also stands after the article, and this must normally precede the alien element; as, ἷξε δ' ὅθ' ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς, Υ 320.

Rare, outside of the Epos, and poetic is the order of M 462, cited by an anonymous rhetorician (Spengel, iii. p. 136), under ὑπερβατὸν καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν:

ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔκθορε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.

Prevalence: Homer; idiom in various stages of advancement; cf. Φ 518, Λ 75, γ 363, ζ 176, π 133, Η 403, μ 113, 428, κ 436, β 403, Ε 321, Ψ 585, τ 483, π 334, λ 452, Λ 608, δ 71. — Hesiod, Theog. 872 (?).

Gnomic and Lyric fragments (Anthologia Lyrica, Bergk, Teubner text): Tyrtaeus, one instance; Archil., 3; Simon. Am., 1; Solon, 2; Sappho, 2; Erinna, 2; Anacr., 4; Simon. Ceos, 8; Theognis, 11.

Pindar: 182 pp. (the page of the Teubner texts is the standard throughout), 52 cases, or 1 in 3½ pp. The adjunct regularly adheres to the article, but the inserted phrase may amount even to ten words, a characteristic feature.

Aeschylus: 257 pp., 84 cases, or 1 to 3 pp. The Prom. alone has 37 to 34 pp. Noticed and explained, Sept. 632, Prom. 289.

Sophocles: 347 pp., 237 cases, or 1 to 1½ pp. Noticeable is the prominence of the possessive as adjunct; 97 times, adj. 90.

Euripides: 763 pp., 436 cases, or 1 to 1¾ pp. Possessive, as in Soph. Separation of noun from adjunct generally limited to four or five words, as in Aesch. and Soph.

Aristophanes: Clouds and Frogs, 115 pp., 23 cases, or 1 to 5 pp. In many particulars nearer the prose of this period.

Herodotus: 720 pp., 109 cases, or 1 in 6⅔ pp.

Hippocrates: De Aere, one case.

Thucydides: First Bk., 97 pp., 11 cases, or 1 in 9 pp.; verb only 4 times.

Xenophon: Anab. first 4 Bks., 138 pp., 9 cases, or 1 in 15 pp.; verb thrice. Mem. 141 pp., 7 cases, or 1 in 20; verb 4 times.

Plato: Apol., Crito, Prot., Phaedr., Rep. first 3 Bks., 281 pp., 50 cases, 1 in 5⅔ pp.; verb 31 times.

Gorgias: Helen, none; Palamedes, 17 pp., 2 cases.

Alcidamas: Sophistes, 11 pp., 4 cases; all verbs.

Antiphon: 87 pp., 8 cases, 1 in 11 pp.; verb 5 times.

Andocides: 63 pp., 4 cases, 1 in 16 pp.; verb thrice.

Lysias: the first 11 genuine orations, 89 pp., 5 cases, 1 in 18 pp.; 3 verbs.

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Isocrates: Paneg., Dem., Euag., 76 pp., 6 cases, 1 in 12⅔ pp.; all verbs.

Isaeus: first 3 orations, 48 pp., 4 cases, 1 in 12 pp.; verb once.

Demosthenes: Three Olynth., First Phil., De Cor., 117 pp., 49 cases, 1 in 2½ pp.; verb 32 times.

Aeschines: Adv. Ctes., 78 pp., 30 cases, or 1 in 2⅗ pp.; verb 20 times.

Lycurgus: Leocrates, 41 pp., 6 cases, 1 in 7 pp.; verb 5 times.

Aristotle: Rhet., first 20 pp., 5 cases, 1 in 4 pp.; 4 verbs.

Polybius: first 30 pp., 15 cases, 1 in 2 pp.; all verbs.

Apollodorus: 30 pp., 9 cases, 1 in 3⅓ pp.; all verbs.

Dion. Hal.: De Comp., 20 pp., 14 cases, 1 in 1⅔ pp.; 13 verbs.

Longinus: 46 pp., 39 cases, 1 in 1⅓ pp.; 31 verbs.

Plutarch: Lycurg., 39 pp., 19 cases, 1 in 2 pp.; 16 verbs.

Lucian: first 190 pp., 45 cases, 1 in 4⅔ pp.; verbs 8, *οὗτος* 19, *ἐκεῖνος* 10 times; verb but once in the five best pieces, a return to early Attic simplicity.

Arrian: Anab., first Bk., 2 cases; neither a verb.

New Testament: Epist. to Heb., *τὶς* once, verb twice; 1 Cor., none; Matth., *σοῦ* twice; John, none.

Exceptions to the Law: (1) the well known particles *μέν*, etc.; to the most of these this position belonged by right of immemorial occupation; the rest have gained it by enlisting under the same standard; even *ἄν*, Eur. Phoen. (Paley) 511, Hdt. iv. 130. (2) in Ionic Greek, the enclitic pronouns inserted without attributive; as, B 217, Archil. 29, 97, Sappho 2, Erinna 6, Hippon. 62, Anacr. 81, Theognis 575, 813, 861, Hdt. *οἱ* 7 times, *μοί* twice, *σφί* thrice; cf. iii. 153, 74, i. 159, 166, vii. 160, i. 115, v. 46, Aesch. Prom. 289, Eur. Hip. 10; imitated sporadically in Attic; Plat. Phaedr. 236 D, Sympos. 177 A, Luc. Nigr. 2. With Hdt. iii. 65 (*ὑμῖν*), cf. Plat. Apol. 39 C. Similarly, the enclitic *τὶς*, 23 times in Hdt.; or if adjunct occurs, *τὶς* adheres to the article; as, i. 124, 187, 189, iii. 63. These Ionicisms are due to the strong gravitation of these pronouns towards the head of the clause in Hm. and Hdt., so as usually to assume the second or third position, especially after a conjunction.

The intrusion of the partitive genitive is almost entirely confined to cases where the participle or adjective is used without expressed subject, or the genitive forms a complex with an attributive word. In Hdt. i. 143, *αὐτῶν* is probably semi-reflexive.

Only apparent exceptions are the instances where an alien word or phrase appears within, but actually belonging to an extruded participle, adjective, or noun with which it forms a compound attributive; as, Thuc. iii. 56, Soph. O. C. 1514, Hdt. vii. 124.

If the verb is interposed between article and participle used without its noun, it must stand after one or more adjuncts of the participle; as, Hdt. i. 18, 103, vi. 75, vii. 111, 115, Aeschines iii. 31, 77. Similarly, if intruded between article and infinitive, it follows some adjunct of the latter; as, Soph. O. C. 769, Plato, Rep. 332 A, 339 C, 405 C; exception, Dem. Ol. ii. 3.

From the foregoing evidence the idiom is seen to originate in poetry and receive there its highest development, especially in the tragedians; Aristophanes, as in so much else, tends towards prose. Herodotus, dominated by the poets, almost meets Aristophanes; but the other early prose writers, both historians and orators, employ this hyperbaton charily, as becomes their simpler style. Demosthenes, in his earlier speeches, while still under the influence of the frugal

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Isaeus, imitates his master's frugality; but in the full flow of his perfected rhetoric, in the Olynthiacs, Philippics, and De Corona, he surpasses even Pindar and Aeschylus in the richness of his usage, and in this he is rivaled by his opponent Aeschines, and even exceeded by Dionysius, by Longinus, by Plutarch, nay, by Polybius himself. In fact, for this later period, it had become a favorite artifice of language for all who made any pretence to rhetorical diction; when, however, we come close to the plain and natural language of the people, as in the Gospels and the Septuagint, we find the idiom has scarcely an existence, and the case is nearly the same in modern Greek.

8. The Eleventh Chapter of the First Book of Thucydides, by Professor Milton W. Humphreys of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

In this paper[1] were discussed, first, the expression *μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν* in § 1, and, secondly, the repetition of *εἷλον* in §§ 2–3.

I. It was proposed to read *ἐκρατήθησαν* for *ἐκράτησαν*.

(*a.*) If we retain *ἐκράτησαν*, the following difficulties present themselves:

1. Unless a reason for an event is cogent, a mere intimation of the reason is not allowable; whereas, in the present instance, the reason is not only not cogent, but is absolutely paradoxical.

2. As a fortification is needed more by a defeated army than a victorious one, the Greeks would have fortified before fighting, if they were going to fortify in case of victory. In this connection was discussed B 701–2.

3. The construction of entrenchments was merely incidental to their remaining in the country: if they could remain a single night, they could fortify. Why then should Thucydides single out this one evidence that the Greeks — *remained?*

4. The statement implies that a defeated army could not halt in the vicinity of the battle-field long enough to entrench itself; whereas Thucydides himself records instances of the contrary. Cf. v. 73, etc.

5. The emphatic *οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα*, 'not even under these circumstances,' just after mention of the supposed victory, implies that a victory would *naturally* have induced them to concentrate their forces, which is ridiculous.

6. As it was a war against a small city (B 122 ff.) and the object and confident expectation was the immediate conquest or destruction of Troy, it is absurd to suppose that the Greeks, after a victory, would halt to construct fortifications rather than press on to the city.

(*b.*) If on the other hand, we read *ἐκρατήθησαν*, all difficulties vanish.

1. The reason assigned for the conclusion that the Greeks were defeated is natural and satisfactory just as it stands, and is supported by H 337 ff., 436 ff.

2. The emphasis of *οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα* becomes quite appropriate.

3. The expression (*μάχῃ*) *κρατηθῆναι* is often used by Thucydides of a mere temporary defeat. Cf. vii. 49, 1; vii. 55, 2; vii. 60, 4, etc.

4. Krüger's objection that *μάχῃ κρατοῦντες* in § 2 refers to *μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν* in § 1 is strangely erroneous, as is shown below.

II. (*a.*) The difficulty which some commentators find with the repetition of *εἷλον* in §§ 1–2 is due to their overlooking the fact that two distinct modes of

[1] Published in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. iii., no. 12.

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capture are meant: first, by storm after a victory; secondly, by a siege, in case the Trojans declined a battle with the *entire* Greek army. It would be difficult to omit εἷλον in either place, without rendering the passage hopelessly obscure. Here Classen's explanation was criticised.

(*b.*) That μάχῃ κρατοῦντες does not refer to μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν in § 1, is shown by the following considerations:

1. The clause οἵ γε καὶ οὐχ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρατυχόντι ἀντεῖχον would be wholly superfluous.

2. The aor. part. κρατήσαντες would have been used (as in viii. 1, 3; vii. 11, 1) of so remote an event.

3. If we take μάχῃ κρατοῦντες in close connection with εἷλον, all is in order. The pres. part. is often employed to describe means, manner, or immediate circumstances, even of a specific occurrence; and especially common is this use of κρατῶν. Cf. i. 116, 2; ii. 91, 1 (impf. = aor.), etc. For a striking illustration, compare § 6 with § 7 of Paus. i. 13.

III. The paper closed with a paraphrase of the chapter, incorporating these views.

9. The Form and Force of the Aorist Tense in Greek, by the Rev. J. Colver Wightman of Taunton, Mass.

The object of this paper was to ascertain the original significance of the first aorist tense by a study of its genesis and by a comparison of its formal characteristics—its sibilant tense-sign and the augment in its indicative—with similar elements in Ancient Egyptian.

The Association adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Wednesday, July 12, 1882.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor Allen, at 2.20 P. M.

On motion, the Chair appointed a committee, consisting of Professors C. H. Toy, B. Perrin, and M. Warren, to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

On motion, Professors Van Benschoten, Tracy Peck, and Merriam were appointed a committee to recommend a suitable time and place for the next meeting, and the reading of papers was then resumed.

10. Notes on Latin Quantity, by Professor Tracy Peck of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The object of the paper was to consider the frequent assertion that in the time of utterance of long and short vowels in Latin a strict ratio of two to one was observed. While it was admitted that this exact system is at the basis of

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the poetry of the classical period, and that as an ideal it was sometimes striven for in rhythmical prose, it was maintained that there is no evidence that such a system was practically realized in the ordinary uses of the language.

An examination of the best verse showed that, at the end and in the body of all kinds of words, long vowels were often treated as short, and short vowels as long, and that by apocope or syncope such vowels frequently disappeared altogether. The habit of ascribing this free treatment to the effect of the metrical ictus or to poetic license was characterized as indolent and unsatisfactory. Statements in the best authorities show that hiatus was avoided in conversation as well as in poetry. Cases of synizesis, of the resolution of a diphthong into its elements, of the vocalization of consonants and the consonantization of vowels, were adduced in support of the doctrine of the paper. Reference was made to the fact that in words borrowed from the Greek, the Greek quantities were not always preserved in Latin. The fact that the Romans regarded short vowels in certain positions as either long or short, and the absence of separate characters for long and short vowels, must have affected the utterance of vowels not standing before a mute and a liquid. It was suggested that the music of much Latin verse must have been impaired if vowels naturally long, but followed by more than one consonant, were uttered differently from short vowels. Passages in the best ancient authorities on Latin usage caution against an over-fastidious counting off of syllables in pronunciation; and other passages, which allude to discussions among the educated Romans as to the proper length of many vowels, show that great latitude and inconsistency must have prevailed among the people themselves.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professor Humphreys.

11. The Influence of the Latin Syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, by Professor W. B. Owen of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The Anglo-Saxon Gospels wer translated from the old Vulgate. The version is notable for its fidelity and care, and illustrates, even more than other translations in Anglo-Saxon literature, the influence of the Latin idiom upon the syntax of that language. The paper discust and illustrated several points in which the conformity to the Latin is most plainly seen.

First, in the use of participles: noting these under heds suggested by the forms in the Authorized Version, we find participle used for co-ordinate clause, relativ, temporal, conditional clauses, for relativ clause plus its antecedent, for the infinitiv, as a noun, as an adjectiv, used objectively, used to make the progressiv form. Nearly half the instances of the absolute construction found in Matthew and Mark ar copied in the Anglo-Saxon. There is a considerable interval in these respects between the Gospels and contemporary prose not imitativ.

The same interval may be seen too in the frequent use of synthetic forms. The dativ object, the dativ instrumental, the dativ of manner, of time, of the possessor, of likenes, after comparativs, after verbs meaning *please*, *serve*, *command*, *believe*, etc., ar a few of the constructions in which the influence of the Latin may be seen.

Prohibitions ar exprest by a perifrastic imperativ — 'nillan' with the infinitiv, in imitation of Latin *noli*, *nolite*. Conformity was also traced in the use of the infinitiv with subject accusativ, the use of the infinitiv to expres the purpos

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of motion,—the usual form being the gerund,—in making intransitiv verbs transitiv, and in various omissions and repetitions.

Several verbal turns wer also referd to, resulting from the attempt to giv an exact translation, such as 'and' translating *et* in its stronger meanings—'also, even;' 'wurpon' for *injecerunt* in the passage, *illi manus injecerunt in eum*, where we might hav expected 'legdon'; 'onwurpadh' for *objiciuntur*, a literal turn of the word but not a characteristic expression of the idea. So often with *mittere*, a word of wider ranges of meaning than 'sendan,' its literal equivalent, etc., etc.

With reference to the introduction of Latin words, it has often been noted that whereas other versions adopt terms from the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, it is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon to use nativ words, and, where words ar wanting, to form home-made compounds. It is in the arrangement of words, the syntactical forms, and idiomatic frases, that the influence of the Latin is mainly seen.

12. The Locutions "Two first" and "First two," by Professor F. A. March of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

When several attributiv adjectivs precede a substantiv, each prior adjectiv commonly describes or defines the complex notion exprest by the substantiv and intervening adjectivs. Descriptiv adjectivs denoting qualities residing in the object ar more closely related to it than definitivs, which giv the number, quantity, position, or other relations of the object. Descriptivs ar placed nearer the substantiv than definitivs. We say "two yellow flowers," not "yellow two flowers." The common order of thought is to combine the quality yellow with the flowers, then *two* enumerates the complex objects, *yellow flowers*. When two descriptivs or two definitivs ar used, the same principl generally determins their order. A class is made by combining one of the attributivs with the substantiv, and this class is further distinguisht or defined by prefixing the other attributiv.

We often make classes upon a cardinal number. We divide objects into *twos* or *threes*. If we enumerate these pairs or triplets, the ordinal is put first. We say "the first two, the second two, etc.," þâ forman twâ monna cynnes, the first pair of mankind, Caed. 12, 31; on þæm ôðrum þrîm dagum, in the second three days, Orosius, 1, 1, 13; first six, Spenser, Shep. Cal. August, first of a succession of sixes; the last hundred years, Trench, Eng. P. and P., 55. So we say "the first twenty-four hours," i. e. the first day. We speak of "the first ones," "the three first ones," but not the "first three ones."

We sometimes make classes characterized by an ordinal number. Books may be classified as first volumes, second volumes, and the like. Each college class has its first man. In parliament a class of speeches ar calld first speeches. "The best first speech that ever yet was made," Byron, D. Juan, 13, 90. In enumerating objects so classified the cardinal must precede the ordinal. "Send me two first volumes of Maetzner" must be writn, if one wants two copies of that volume.

We may also make a class of first objects from a single series; *first*, besides its definit denotation in counting, also has an indefinit denotation like other superlativs. We call a number of objects *first*, which ar at and near the beginning of a series. We say "four of the first years of a man's life" as we do "four of the ablest men." And so, including the whole of such a class, we say "the four first years," "the four ablest men," not "the ablest four men."

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But often classes may be made either way. A preacher may divide his hymn into first verses and last verses, and say "sing two of the first verses," or "the two first verses;" or he may classify them by twos, and say "sing the first two and the last two verses." Nothing calls for one classification more than the other. In such cases is there any idiomatic habit which, in the absence of preference and reflection, leads to the use of one order rather than another?

I. The most far-reaching influence of this kind is the grammatical form of *first* and *last*. They ar superlativs, and superlativs ar prevailingly descriptivs and attach themselves closely to their nouns. This leads to a prevailing use of *two first*, *two last*, and the like. Thus in our lighter literature may be found: forty last years of his life, Addison, Works, 2, 283; two first, two last, same on Milton, 13, 14; the three first Dutch governors, Irving, Knick. N. York, 36, and Life, 1, 204, 138; two last nights, Fielding, Tom Jones, 277; two last speeches, Goldsmith, Vicar of Wakefield, 14, ch. v.; two first, Thackeray, Lect. 313; five last, same, 281; two last centuries, A. Trollope, B. Towers, ch. 22; two first, Hughes, Tom Brown at Oxford, 1, 139; two first cantos, H. Lytton Bulwer, Life of Byron, xix; three first, Clelia, 2, 59; two first, Sterne, Sent. Journ., 9; two last hours, Richardson, Clarissa, 1250; two first dances, Miss Austen, Pride and Prej., 1, 96; two first volumes, Gil Blas, Trans., 320; two eldest, Miss Evans, Mill on the Floss, 53; Don Quixote, Trans., 210.

From poets also, Thomas Phaer in 1558 publisht a book entitled The Seven First Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill, and in 1562, The Nyne First Bookes. Shakespeare has two latter, Pericles, 5, 3; Milton, the two last years of Honorius, Prose Works, 2, 247; Cowper, the three or four first years, Southey's Life, 1, 17; Byron, the four first rhymes, D. Juan, 1, 222; the two last, Life, xv; D. Juan, 1, 217, and to Murray on D. Juan, Cant. II.; so J. G. Percival, Life, 487; Warton on Pope, 1, 132, 272, 359, 414. And from historians, Sir John Mandeville, if he may pass for a historian, has "the two best cities," 258; Hume, the two last books, Hist. Eng., 3, 348; Lingard, the six first centuries, Ang. Sax. Church, 1, 379; Macaulay, six first kings, Hist. Eng. 1, 14; 5, 107; Prescott, two last, Phil. II., 2, 352; Motley, two first, D. R. 1, 240; Tacitus, two former, Trans. Hist., 5, 12; Froude, two first, Hist. Eng., 7, 43; 3, 193; few last years, 1, 193; two last, 2, 97; three last, 4, 110; Bancroft, Hist. U. S., 6, preface; Carlyle, T., Fred. II., 2, 382.

The following ar references to essayists: Cotton, Translation of Montaigne, 57; Todd's Life of Milton; Burke, Works, 2, 2; 4, 56; 2, 58; 3, 210; Teignmouth, Life of Sir Wm. Jones, 2, 189; Halliwell, Fairy Myth, 229; Nursery R. 181; Wright, Thos., Lyrics Temp. Ed. I., V.; Masson, Milton, 2, 539; Craik, three last great sunbursts, Eng. Lit., 2, 453; Blair's Rhet., 38; Spedding's Bacon, eight last books, 2, 555, and often; Collins, Aristophanes; Morley, English writers, 1, 173; Schlegel, Dram. Lit., Trans., 82; Mandeville, Fable of Bees, Craik, 2, 256; E. Everett, on Byron, in Allibone; Carlyle, J. A., Dante, 15; J. Warton, in Todd's Milton, 3, 370; Warton's Pope, 2, 289; Walton's Lives, 157.

Here ar some references to filosofers: D. Stewart, works, 2, 269; 2, 286; 3, 360, and often; Wm. Hamilton, Lect., 450; Bacon, 1, 77; Berkeley, Principles of H. K., Introduction; three last, Hartley, on Man, 18; Tucker, Light of N., 1, 136; Morell, 447; Chalybaus, Trans., 334; Butler's Analogy, 1, 5; Whately Rhet., 270; Herbert Spencer, Psy., 261; Whewell, Phil. Ind. Sc., 2, 73; Aristotle, Organon, Trans., 1, 191.

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II. This general analogy is often overcome by a large cardinal. Thus Burke, who has "two first," has "last forty," 3, 112; and Dugald Stewart changes to "first nine," "first seven," 2, 27; 358.

III. It is also overweighd by the habit of making frequent groups on particular cardinals. Our system of numbers makes frequent groups of tens, hundreds, and the like. So sevens hav always bin frequent groups. "The first ten," "the first seven," ar therefore prevailing expressions.

IV. In extemporaneous speech the order of words is often determind by the order of thought. A preacher, giving out a hymn, may hav determind to giv out some first verses, but not determind how many. He wil then say: "sing the first [after making up his mind] two verses."

V. Personal habits as to precision and other matters easily overweigh the grammatical analogy. Mathematicians and logicians and other very precise men prefer idioms in which the most precise meanings ar used; they do not like to speak of more than one first or last object. Some of them do, however. Day's Algebra, 183, and often, speaks of the *two first couplets;* so Davies's Analyt. Geom., 322; 341; and Sir W. R. Hamilton's Quaternions, 75 and elsewhere. Wedgewood, also known as a filologist, entitles one of his books "The Geometry of the Three First Books of Euclid." So in Mansell, Prol. Logica, 95; and old Pecock (Marsh, E. L., 476), "of the whiche thre proposiciouns the two first ben clepid premissis."

The scientists ar next in this kind of precision, but "two first," "two last," ar frequent in Darwin, Species, 222; Domest., 1, 327, 328, 329; on Man, 1, 170; so Agassiz, Classification, 107; 127; two first fingers, Wallace, Malay Archipel. 144.

The lawyers: the order "two first" is found in Bacon, 1, 77; 4, 15, v.; Blackstone, 1, 240; Wheaton, Laws of N., 496; Elliott's Debates, Va., 6; Th. Jefferson, Elliott's Deb., Va., 3, 4.

The filologists might be expected to be very precise, but their familiarity with grammatical analogies inclines them strongly to "two first," "two last." We find these in Bopp, Comp. Gram., Trans., 1, 202; two last vulgarisms, Bartlett, Americanisms, under *ought;* Bullions, Eng. Gram., 59; Crosby, Gk. Gram., 429; Ellis, Early Eng. Pronunciation, often; Evans, on Versification, 135 and often; Gibbs, Teutonic Etym., 3; 79; 80; Guest, Eng. Rhythms, 1, 14, 15; 354; Head, Shall and Will, 14; 69; Hodgson, in Bunsen, 1, 136; Knapp, Eng. Roots, 109; Mitford, Harmony of Lang., 10; Max Müller, Sc. of Lang., 179; 237 and elsewhere; Pickbourne, Eng. Verb, 18; Rask, Thorpe's Trans., 27; Skeat, Etym. Dict., under *andiron;* Thorpe, Caedm., iv.; Vernon, Ang. Sax. Guide, 27; two latter, Verstegan, Restitution, 172; Wilkins, Nat. Gram., 308 and often; Wilson, Mahabh. v; Sansk. Gram., 388; Hind. Theater, 1, lix; Whitney, Language and Study, 92; 133; 191.

Proof-readers incline to the definit form. They easily apprehend that there can be but one first.

Preachers exert the greatest influence on this idiom, because they use it so often before imitativ audiences in giving out hymns, and the like. As this is a definit numerical announcement it naturally inclines them to the definit idiom. But those who choose to say "two first verses" may support themselvs by the authority of Isaac Watts and many other good men, as well as our English Bible.

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"I have not confined myself here to the sense of the Psalmist, but have taken occasion, from the *three first* verses, to write a short hymn on the Government of the Tongue." I. Watts, note to Psalm 39; "One thing needful, or serious meditations upon the *four last* things," Bunyan, title of a poem; Alford's Testament, 3 First Gospels, title; Thornwell, on Truth, 199, 200; Moses Stuart, on Romans, 347; Bishop Hall, in Warton's Spenser, 1, 187; Conybeare and Howson, Life of St. Paul, 83; Ælfric's Homilies, 1, 270, þâ *þreô forman* gebêdu, the *three first* prayers; *seven last* (plagues), English Bible, Rev. xx. 1, xxi. 9.

And finally there is one great authority for the Queen's English, the Queen herself. She says, in her Life in the Highlands, 46, "I read to Albert the *three first* cantos of the Lay of the Last Minstrel."

13. On Surds and Sonants, by Professor March.

If a sonant is emfasized, magnified for examination, we hear a voice murmur with it, or in whispering, a whisper rustl, *ᵘbá, ábᵘ, abᵘba*.

If a surd is treated in the same way we hear an *h* with it, *p-hâ*.

English-speaking men use much murmur breth, and our fonetists incline to emfasize it and judge all consonants by its presence or absence.

Germans, on the contrary, use littl sonant breth and much aspirate. This is a most important peculiarity, the race trait which givs rise to the peculiar changes in Grimm's law. (See *American Philological Association Transactions*, vol. for 1873, pp. 101 ff.) The aspirate sounds ar with them the most prominent, and they study their positiv qualities and incline to judge all consonants by the presence or absence of aspiration.

Aspiration being understood to mean the peculiar sounds of breth blown thru open vowel cords, the German and English judgments amount to the same thing in clear and distinct articulations, but some obscure and weak sounds the English might call surds because no murmur can be herd with them, and the Germans call weak, i. e. sonant, because no aspiration is herd with them.

It is to be wisht that we coud clearly set forth the vibrations of air which strike the ear and produce sounds, that we had some fonograf to study them by.

Take *p* and *b*. They hav different vibrations produced at the vocal cords. But these vibrations in the breth at the vocal cords ar combined at the ear with new vibrations produced in its passing thru the mouth, and the distinctiv caracter of *b* resides in vibrations causd at the lips. It may be givn to common vowel sound as wel as to murmur. Ar the added vibrations from mouth and lips the same for *b* and *p*?

The closed vocal cords for *b* make a different sound from open cords, not only by vibrating, but also by changing the quantity and direction of the currents of breth, and so changing the rustls made in the mouth. The upper organs adjust themselvs to this difference of currents by slight changes in their form and tension, which sensibly affect their vibrations. Whether these differences ar of any practical importance in the classification and description of consonants is a question. They ar interesting to experimenters in fonology.

In making experiments it is desirabl to use the familiar fact that the sound made in closing to a mute is different from that made in opening from one, e. g. not to identify the sonancy of closing *b* in *ab* with the opening to a following murmur. The organs often cloze sonant and open surd, as in some German final sonants, and in dissimilated gemination, where the opening from a sonant is

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made surd by assimilation with a following letter, as where the opening from *m* is changed to *p* by a following *t*, A. Sax. *emtig* becoming *empty*, *Northamton*, *Northampton*; cf. also *simper*, *imp*, *into*, *sent*, and Sanskrit *bh*, *dh*, etc. (See *American Philological Association Transactions*, vol. for 1877, p. 151.)

Experiments on surds and sonants with inspired breth ar interesting, and with whisper. Explain, for exampl, the sonancy of inspired whisper *bâ*, *dâ*, *gâ*.

The hour of four having arrived, about forty members of the Association, and several of their friends, proceeded in open carriages to the residence of Colonel Theodore Lyman in Brookline. The route was from the College Yard across the Brighton Bridge over the Charles to Allston, Longwood, and Brookline Centre, by High street over the hill to Jamaica Pond, and then through Rockwood and Warren streets to Mr. Lyman's home. Here the party was most kindly received and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Lyman. The company took leave a little before dusk. Returning by way of Heath street, Chestnut Hill Reservoir, and Brighton Market, over the Charles by the Abattoir, and then between Mt. Auburn and the river, they reached the College at dark.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Thursday, July 13, 1882.

MORNING SESSION.

The Vice-President, Professor Humphreys, called the Associatioı to order at 9.15 A. M.

The minutes of Wednesday's sessions were read and accepted.

Remarks upon Professor March's paper (no. 13) were made by Professor Samuel Porter of the National Deaf-Mute College, Washington, D. C.

The reading of communications was resumed.

14. The Ablaut in English, by Dr. B. W. Wells, Friends' School, Providence, R. I.; read, in the author's absence, by Professor W. B. Owen.

The paper showed the origin and structure of the old Germanic ablaut and its development in Old English. Then, taking the Old English for a foundation, it traced the gradual decay of the ablaut in Middle and New English, and showed how the remnants of the ablaut manifested themselves, and under what conditions.

There were four classes of strong verbs in Old Germanic, the ablaut in each being as follows:

I.	e,	a, schwa (or vanishing);	
II.	ei,	ai,	i;
III.	eu,	au,	u;
IV.	a,	ō,	a.

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In New English a fifth class was added, consisting of verbs which formed the preterit by reduplication in Old Germanic. The nature of the root-vowel fixed absolutely the class of ablaut.

In Old English the same laws that modified the vowels in other cases acted on the ablaut and so produced some variety, while the general lines were strictly adhered to. The ablaut here was:

I. *a.*	e,	ae,	āē,	e;
I. *b.*	e,	ae,	āē,	o;
I. *c.*	e,	éa,	u,	o; or, before nasals,
	i,	a,	u,	u;
II.	ī,	ā,	i;	
III.	ēo,	ēa,	u;	
IV.	a,	ō,	æ;	
V.	Various vowels in the present and the past formed with *ē* or *ēo*, with some relics of reduplication.			

Excluding class V., there were in Old English 255 strong verbs, of which 167 were Old Germanic, 49 West Germanic, and 39 found only in Old English. These data were compared with those for Old High German, which has 237 strong verbs, of which 150 are Old Germanic and 52 West Germanic, while 35 are peculiar to the Old High German. In Gothic there are 138 strong verbs, of which 107 are Old Germanic, 2 East Germanic, and 19 peculiar to the Gothic. Old Norse has about 200 strong verbs.

In Middle English the influence of the Old Norse through the Danish invasion led to giving up the ablaut, wholly or partially, in many cases. Many verbs also became obsolete in this time; but Middle English shows only the beginning of a process which at the present time is nearly completed; for in New English there remain of the Old English 311 strong verbs (including class V.) only 153; and of these 80 are weak.

The weak verbs are those which in Old English had *r* + consonant, *l* + consonant, *m* + consonant, *g*, or *w* after the root-vowel. While after *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *n* + consonant, *s* and *c*, we have usually strong forms. Further, verbs which had *i*, *ie*, *éo*, *ī*, in the Old English present, are strong in New English, unless disturbed by the consonants mentioned above; while those which had *a*, *ā*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, *ēo*, or *āē*, are weak, unless followed by the consonants last mentioned.

When the ablaut is retained each member is phonetically derived from the corresponding Old English form, unless there be some good ground for deviation, in order to avoid confusion. Owing to the variety in the ablaut which the Old English phonetic laws produced, and the still greater variety produced by the New English laws acting on these already diversified forms, no classification in New English can have more than an historic value.

15. On οὐ μή with the Future in Prohibitions, by Professor C. D. Morris of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; read, in the author's absence, by Professor Minton Warren.

It was assumed in this paper that the two οὐ μή constructions need not be explained in the same manner. The ordinary account of the use of the double negative in denials, that there is an ellipsis of some expression of *fear* between

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the two, was accepted as sufficiently probable from the fact that such word of *fear* is not seldom actually found, and found even in cases where the notion of *fear* can be used only ironically; i. e. where it might be said that the notion not of *fear* but of *hope* was the one required by the context. Cf. Plat. Apol. 28 b: ἃ δὴ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ᾔρηκεν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αἱρήσειν· οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ στῇ, 'the rule is in no danger of breaking down in my case.'

But it is a serious error to attempt, as Kühner does, to explain οὐ μή in prohibitions in this manner. His confusion is so great that he actually quotes Eur. Hipp. 606 οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα μηδ' ἅψει πέπλων as an example both of denial and of prohibition. Nor again is it consistent with a belief in the original difference of the two negatives to adopt Elmsley's explanation, e. g., of οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις, as if it were equivalent to 'will you not not-talk;' and the same consideration forbids us to suppose, with Professor Goodwin, that the μή merely reinforces the οὐ so that the two have the weight of a strong single negative in both constructions.

We get a hint at a more satisfactory explanation of the construction in question by considering such a line as Soph. Ai. 75 (Dind.) οὐ σῖγ' ἀνέξει μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρεῖ; The effect of this is: 'hold thy peace, and do not exhibit cowardice.' We have here two commands, the first positive, the second negative. The positive command is conveyed by the use of οὐ with the future taken interrogatively; and in this part of the line there can be no question about the interrogative character of it; for otherwise, instead of being a command to do something, it would assert that the thing desired will not come to pass. It is a recognized use of the 2nd person of the future to convey a command to do a thing, whether stated affirmatively, as in Ar. Nub. 1352 πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις, or stated interrogatively with οὐ, as οὐ τοῦτο δράσεις; In the latter case the negative οὐ has its regular force in asking questions; i. e., like the Latin *nonne*, anticipating an affirmative answer.

As then the former half of our line is explained perfectly by the regular use of οὐ with the 2nd person of the future taken interrogatively, why may not the second part also be explained in a corresponding manner? As οὐ in questions expects an affirmative reply, so μή expects a negative one. Aesch. P. V. 962: μή τι σοὶ δοκῶ ταρβεῖν; Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 10, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρχιτέκτων βούλει γενέσθαι; where the expected answer is given, οὔκουν ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Interpreting the second half of the line on this principle, μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρεῖ; will be 'and *will* you exhibit cowardice?' the prohibition being contained in the circumstance that the speaker asks a question about a fact, the existence or continuance of which she deprecates, in a form which shows that she expects an answer declaring that the state of things objected to shall cease or not exist.

It is true that such expressions as μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρεῖ, following a question with οὐ, are usually treated as if their explanation depended on the supposed previous existence of such phrases as οὐ μὴ λήρήσεις. The force of the οὐ, for example, before σῖγ' ἀνέξει is assumed in some way to hold over, so that after it has served to give to the former clause its indispensable negative, it has still some negative force left to supply an imagined want in the latter half of the line. But why, if this force of the negative οὐ is needed in the second member of such lines, is the negative itself never repeated, the prohibition being always introduced with καὶ μή or μηδέ? And yet the repetition of οὐ would, in many at least of the instances, have been quite easy. Why, in this case for example, might not Sophocles

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have written οὐδὲ μὴ δειλὸς φανεῖ? So in O. T. 637 Sophocles might have written κοὐ μή as well as καὶ μή, and would, one may suppose, have done so, if he had felt that οὐ had anything to do with the prohibition.

It being shown that the notion of a prohibitive command may have connected itself naturally with μή and the future, and that the presence of an οὐ accompanying this μή is not essential to the prohibitive force of it, what is to be said about those cases where οὐ μή are used together with the future in a sense substantially the same? For example: Ar. Nub. 367: ποῖος Ζεύς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις· οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεύς. τί λέγεις σύ; Leaving out of view for the moment the question of punctuation, in regard to which Dindorf exhibits great inconsistency, and which is of comparatively slight importance,—as the matter now discussed is only the origin of the expression and not the way in which it affected the consciousness of those who used or heard it,—what are we to say about the presence of the οὐ? It has been shown that μὴ ληρήσεις ought to be able, on the recognized principles of the interrogative sentence, to convey the notion of a prohibition, and it appears in sentences like that quoted from the Aias to have this meaning. May not the οὐ be regarded in this construction as what Professor Gildersleeve has called it in another connection, a 'free' negative, i. e. one which, like our 'nay,' merely indicates that the attitude of the speaker's mind in regard to what has been said or proposed is one of negation.[1] The assumption of a 'free' οὐκ, with the implication suggested, is in accordance with the actual usage of the combination in question. For though the books are silent as to any limitation in the use of οὐ μή with the future as a form of prohibition, an examination of the passages where it occurs will show that it is employed only where the command is to break off and discontinue an action already begun or at least threatened; and the οὐ, which precedes the really prohibitive phrase, seems intended to deny the fitness under the circumstances of an existing state of things, as if it were οὐ πρέπει τοῦτο, οὐ χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Two or three instances will elucidate this. In Ar. Nub. 297 (Dind.) οὐ μὴ σκώψει μηδὲ ποιήσεις ἅπερ οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες οὗτοι comes in with great propriety to stop the buffoonery of Strepsiades, who had just described his feelings in a way that threatened results which would interfere sadly with the decorum of the school. So in l. 367 of the same play οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις comes in just in time to cut short the simple confession of the old faith which Strepsiades had begun. In Ran. 200 Charon gives explicit directions to Dionysus where he is to sit, how he is to use his arms, etc.; but the god is evidently a wilful bungler, and accordingly Charon says to him οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων. In Soph. Trach. 971 Hyllus enters and sees his father lying apparently dead, and begins to make loud lamentations. The old servant says: σίγα, τέκνον, μὴ κινήσῃς ἀγρίαν ὀδύνην πατρὸς ὠμόφρονος. And when Hyllus begins again to speak the servant interrupts him with: οὐ μὴ 'ξεγερεῖς τὸν ὕπνῳ κάτοχον. There is one passage in which οὐ μή with the future appears not to have the required force. In Eur. El. 383 we find οὐ μὴ φρονήσεθ' οἱ κενῶν δοξασμάτων πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε. It occurs in a speech of Orestes in which he protests against the popular criteria of a man's merit—wealth, birth, military prowess, etc. It is

[1] Since the reading of this paper Professor Gildersleeve pointed out to the writer a note in his edition of Justin Martyr to this effect: "Perhaps it may be best to consider οὐ as 'nay,' and μή as an interrogative expecting a negative answer." This is of course a complete anticipation of the present theory.

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translated in the Latin version of Fix 'nunquamne sapietis,' which would of course have been expressed by οὐ φρονήσετε; Paley felt the difficulty and introduced his own conjecture ἀφρονήσετε. But though this will give the required sense, it is not necessary if we interpret φρονήσετε in the sense 'adopt such wisdom as this' which has just been denounced. In this case also οὐ may be taken as summing up the several denials which Orestes has just uttered.

But if this is the origin of the combination οὐ μή in prohibitions, and it is essentially interrogative in character, there can be no doubt that it was felt and used as appropriate in particular circumstances without there being necessarily present any conscious memory or apprehension of its history. And accordingly there is no need for us to be continually reminding ourselves of it by punctuating with an interrogation point. Indeed there are some instances where it is combined with other imperative forms so closely that inconvenience would be felt if the attempt were made to separate them by punctuation or intonation. This fact is not indeed decisive, as is sometimes said, against the interrogative origin here attributed to the οὐ μή form of prohibition. Granting that it was felt as a simple prohibitive imperative there is no reason why it should not be combined directly with other imperative expressions. So in Eur. Bacch. 343 we have first the interrupting command (οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα), stopping Kadmus, who is approaching to put a bacchic wreath on the head of Pentheus; then a positive command expressed by the future (βακχεύσεις δ' ἰών), and then a further prohibition with μηδέ (μηδ' ἐξομόρξει μωρίαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί): and so the example from Ar. Nub. 296 quoted above is followed immediately by the imperative ἀλλ' εὐφήμει.

It seems to be a weighty objection to the theory that in both the οὐ μή constructions the combination οὐ μή has the force of a strong single negative (Goodwin, *M. T.* § 89), that, if that were true, whatever οὐ σωφρονήσεις taken interrogatively may mean, οὐ μὴ σωφρονήσεις, also taken interrogatively, ought to express the same meaning, only with added strength. But in fact the latter has just the opposite meaning to the former.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professor Gildersleeve.

16. Report of the Committee on the Reform of English Spelling, by the Chairman, Professor F. A. March of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The Philological Society of England has past a resolution requesting H. Sweet, Esq., to communicate with us in order to ascertain whether it is practicabl to effect a complete agreement with the American Philological Association, so that "a joint scheme miht be put forth under the authority of the two chief filological bodies of the English-speaking world."

Mr. Sweet has communicated with your Committee. This agreement on a joint scheme has been before this Association since 1875, and it is presumed that the Association wil stil regard it as desirabl. As to the manner of preparing the joint list of amended words, the Committee recommend that the work be intrusted to a committee of the Association, and since the meetings of the Association ar only annual, and successiv ratifications and amendments might delay the final agreement very long, that power to act be granted to the Committee within the limits of former accepted reports, and in accordance with such other instructions as may be givn at this meeting.

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An open letter has been addrest to the Committee by T. R. Vickroy, Ph. D., of St. Louis, urging it to recommend to this Association a number of new types. The Committee does not see the way clear to any additional recommendations on the subject of new types.

On motion, the report was approved. The Committee was continued another year, and the names of Professor W. F. Allen of the University of Wisconsin, and of Professor Thomas R. Price of Columbia College, New York, were added, so that the Committee now consists of Messrs. March (Chairman), Allen, Child, Lounsbury, Price, Trumbull, and Whitney. The Committee was empowered to act within the limits imposed by their report as accepted by the American Philological Association.

The Secretary announced the election of the following new members:

Frank B. Tarbell, Professor of Greek, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Thaddeus D. Kenneson, Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Hans C. G. Jagemann, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Henry Preble, Tutor in Latin, Harvard Univeristy, Cambridge, Mass.
William Wells Eaton, Andover, Mass.
Charles E. Bennett, Graduate Student, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Maurice Bloomfield, Professor of Sanskrit, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
E. M. Tomlinson, Professor of Greek, Alfred University, Alfred Centre, N. Y.

On behalf of the Auditing Committee, Professor Henry F. Burton reported that the accounts of the Treasurer had been examined and compared with the vouchers and found correct. The report was accepted.

Professor Toy, on behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1882–83, reported as follows:

For *President* — Professor Milton W. Humphreys, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
For *Vice-Presidents* — Professor M. L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Professor Thomas D. Seymour, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
For *Secretary and Curator* — Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
For *Treasurer* — Charles J. Buckingham, Esq., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

For additional members of the *Executive Committee* —

Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Professor Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Professor Thomas R. Price, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.
Professor William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

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On motion, the report was accepted, and the persons therein named were declared elected to the offices to which they were respectively nominated.

Professor Van Benschoten reported for the committee on time and place of meeting. It was recommended that the next session be held at Middletown, Conn. On motion, this part of the report was accepted. After considerable discussion, the determination of the precise time of the beginning of the meeting was left to the Executive Committee.

The reading of papers was resumed.

17. Emendation to Euripides's Cyclops, v. 507, by Professor T. D. Seymour of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

In the second episode of the Cyclops of Euripides, Odysseus comes forth from the cave and tells the chorus of satyrs what had taken place within. Polyphemus had kindled his fire and milked his cows, and when the water boiled and the coals were ready, he killed two of the Greeks and roasted the rump and boiled their limbs. Then, sated with his feast, the monster reclined upon the ground. The Ithacan, according to a divine suggestion, then bore to the Cyclops a bowl of Maron's wine, with which he was pleased and of which he demanded another and another draught. Then he turned to song and (Odysseus tells the satyrs), delighted with this draught of Bacchus, desired to go for a revel to his brothers, (445) *ἐπὶ κῶμον ἕρπειν πρὸς κασιγνήτους θέλει* | *Κύκλωπας ἡσθεὶς τῷδε Βακχίου ποτῷ*. About sixty lines after this story of Odysseus, after the hero had made known his plan for revenge, the Cyclops appears on the scene with the following words: (503) *παπαπαῖ, πλέως μὲν οἴνου,* | *γάνυμαι δὲ δαιτὸς ἥβῃ,* | *σκάφος ὁλκὰς ὡς γεμισθεὶς* | *ποτὶ σέλμα γαστρὸς ἄκρας.* | (507) *ὑπάγει μ' ὁ χόρτος εὔφρων* | *ἐπὶ κῶμον ἦρος ὥραις,* | *ἐπὶ Κύκλωπας ἀδελφούς.* | *φέρε μοι, ξεῖνε, φέρ', ἀσκὸν ἔνδος μοι.*

It certainly is quite unexpected by us here that Polyphemus should speak of the grass, the herbage, as inviting him to go to his brothers. *ὁ χόρτος ἦρος ὥραις* cannot be a poetical expression for "the charming weather of spring." It cannot mean "the grass invites me to sit down here and drink," for v. 541 comes as a fresh and attractive thought, *καὶ μὴν λαχνῶδές γ' ὀδδας ἀνθηρᾷ χλόῃ*. There for the first time he thinks of lying down and drinking before his own cave. That *ἐπὶ Κύκλωπας ἀδελφούς* is in apposition with and explanatory of *ἐπὶ κῶμον*, is shown by the other uses of *κῶμος* within a few lines; as v. 451, *κώμου μὲν αὐτὸν τοῦδ' ἀπαλλάξω*, where the emphasis is not upon *τοῦδε*, but it is taken for granted that if he has a *κῶμος* he will go to his brothers. So v. 534, *πυγμὰς ὁ κῶμος λοίδορόν τ' ἔριν φιλεῖ*, where *κῶμος* as usual implies companions in drinking, and is contrasted distinctly with remaining and drinking at home. We must remember also that in vs. 507 fg. we expect only the statement by the Cyclops of the wish which was reported by Odysseus in vs. 445 fg.

If we are dissatisfied with the present text we need have the less scruple in changing it, since the tradition of this play has been notoriously corrupt. Bernhardy calls attention to v. 397, *δίδου μαγείρῳ* carelessly written for *Ἅιδου μαγείρῳ*, v. 247, *ἱμεροσκόου* for *εἰμ' ὀρεσκόου*, v. 571, *σιγῶντα* for *σπῶντα*, v. 677, *κατέκλυσε*

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for κατέκαυσε. If, then, we consider ourselves at liberty to change the text, I would propose to read v. 507 ὑπάγει μ' ὁ φόρτος κτλ. "I am full of wine and delight in the youthful beauty of the feast, laden to the top of my stomach like a merchant vessel with her hull filled to the deck. My *lading* leads me on to a revel in the time of spring, to go to my brothers, the Cyclopes. Come, stranger, give me the bottle." He is heavily laden, but is excited, not burdened, by the load.

18. On the Smile of Aphrodite, Theoc. I. 95, 96, by Professor T. D. Seymour.

Theocritus in general is surprisingly free from that affectation of curious learning which we are accustomed to call Alexandrian, from the antiquarian spirit of Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes. The scenes and characters of his idyls are pictured most distinctly in an apparently unconscious manner, which conceals all its art. But in the song of Thyrsis, in the first idyl, the fates have been sadly unpropitious to the MSS. and to us, or the poet took much less than his usual care to make the situation clear and present a picture with firmly drawn lines. Daphnis pines away contending against the might of love. For whom he pines we know not. Hermes comes from the mountain to comfort him, and asks him of whom he is so much enamored, but no reply is vouchsafed. The herdsmen come, Priapus comes; to these, too, Daphnis makes no reply. Then comes Aphrodite, sweet and smiling. But she upbraids and taunts Daphnis, who in turn mocks at her. Then he bids farewell to the rivers, trees, and beasts of Sicily, and dies. The story of Daphnis, more than anything else in Theocritus, has been the subject of discussion and conjecture. It seems to be pretty well agreed now that the Daphnis of the first idyl is to be treated alone, that his story can receive little light from the Daphnis of Stesichorus or from the Daphnis of the other idyls. We must acquiesce in our ignorance of the story. Upon one point, however, i. e., the attitude of Aphrodite toward Daphnis, perhaps more light may be thrown by the consideration of vs. 95, 96, ἦνθέ γε μὰν ἁδεῖα καὶ ἁ Κύπρις γελάοισα, | λάθρια μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα. In the second of these verses the MSS. are agreed in giving λάθρια or some collateral form, λάθρα or λάθρη. The phrase "secretly smiling," however, was thought to be offensive. It could hardly mean "laughing in her sleeve," for the tone of the goddess in addressing Daphnis is much rather that of open taunt and exultation. So it could hardly mean a "quiet laugh." Hence ἁδέα has been adopted by Hermann and Fritzsche, although it is easy to see how ἁδέα might have been written carelessly from the ἁδεῖα above; but it is impossible to believe that λάθρια should have displaced ἁδέα in all MSS. Ahrens proposed to read λάδρα μὲν ἐκγελάωσα, "scornfully laughing out at him." Wordsworth proposed ἀθρῆν (for ἀθρεῖν) from ἀθρέω, as accusative of specification, "laughing at the sight." These emendations are uncertain if not improbable, and also seem unnecessary. We notice the meaning of γελάω in v. 36 of this very idyl, ἀλλ' ὁκὰ μὲν τῆνον ποτιδέρκεται ἄνδρα γελᾶσα | ἄλλοκα δ' αὖ ποτὶ τὸν ῥιπτεῖ νόον. "This maiden now *bestows her smiles* on one lover and again lends an attentive ear to the other." Compare also VII. 156, ἃς ἐπὶ σωρῷ | αὔτις ἐγὼ πάξαιμι μέγα πτύον· ἁ δὲ γελάσσαι | δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέραισιν ἔχοντες. "May I again be present at such a harvest-home, may I fix the great winnowing shovel in the heap of grain, and may the goddess of the grain *smile* upon me with

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sheaves and poppies in her arms." In these smiles is nothing of scorn, nor contempt, nor mockery, nor amusement, nor simply pleasure and satisfaction; the principal element is good-will, favor. This meaning seems probable for v. 96, and this view is strengthened by vs. 138 fg. *χώ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο· τὸν δ' Ἀφροδίτα | ἤθελ' ἀνορθῶσαι.* "As he said this he sank back and died, but *Aphrodite strove to raise him up.*" The goddess, then, does not come to insult and mock Daphnis, but with the hope that he at last will yield to her authority and be saved. She comes with the same good-will which filled the hearts of Hermes and the others who came before her. But her authority had been slighted and she pretends anger.

The signification of *βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα* demands more careful consideration. *βαρύν* seems to mean savage, cruel, angry, as four lines below we find *Κύπρι βαρεῖα*; II. 3, *ὡς τὸν ἐμοὶ βαρὺν εὖντα φίλον καταδήσομαι ἄνδρα.* In III. 15 Eros is *βαρὺς θεός.* *ἀνέχοισα* is more troublesome, but it is used literally of holding up a torch, and figuratively as in Eur. Cyclops, 203, *ἄνεχε, πάρεχε,* "show here, let 's see."

The whole passage thus considered gives us: "Next came Aphrodite sweet and smiling with favor; *secretly* smiling upon him, but pretending to be angry." This furnishes the contrast required by *λάθρια μέν.* It is nearly Milton's "Vaunting with rage but racked with deep despair." It receives the best possible illustration from a probable imitation by Nonnus, Dion. XXXIV. 303, *εἶχε νόον γελόωντα, χόλον δ' ἀνέφηνε προσώπῳ,* which Meineke quotes, but with the remark that Nonnus reversed the situation.

With this interpretation the reading of the MSS. can stand, and is to be preferred to any conjecture yet proposed.

So far as I know, Zetsche of Altenburg, in a program of 1865, was the first to call due attention to the fact that Aphrodite was not an enemy of Daphnis. He, however, thought the passage corrupt, and intended to propose a remedy in a program which I think has not yet appeared. After writing this I find some similar views in an inaugural dissertation by Krumbholz, Rostock, 1873. He, however, reads *ἁμά* for *ἀνά*, an emendation which seems not only unnecessary but inadmissible.

19. General Considerations on the Indo-European Case-system, by Professor W. D. Whitney of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Professor Whitney called attention to the great and hitherto unsolved difficulty of the Indo-European declension, in all its items, of number, gender, and case. The numerous attempts at explaining the case-system are conveniently reviewed and destructively criticised by Penka (Wien, 1878), whose own theory, however, is not less untenable than any of the rest; and the most recent investigations seem to be open to serious exception, in method or in results. It was intended in this paper simply to clear the ground a little, and mainly in a negative way.

A few things in regard to the formation and use of the cases are fairly well established. Thus, in the first place, the exceptional character of the genitive, as an adnominal case; the analogies of its use are with the adjectives, its more recent new forms are of adjective kindred, and the explanation of its origin constitutes a part of the general subject of secondary adjective-formation. In the second place, of the remaining cases, all adverbial in value, at least three are clearly

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recognizable as made primarily to express local relations: the ablative is the *from*-case; the locative is the *in*- or *at*-case; the instrumental is the *by*- or *with*-case. There is no reason, in the present condition of our knowledge of language, why we should question this, or look for anything more ultimate. All sign-making, whether in the way of words or of forms, begins with the designation of what is most apprehensible by the senses, most physical; and no relations have more this character than relations of place; from their expressions, as is abundantly seen in the history of adverbs, come by figurative transfer expressions of time, of manner, of cause, and so on.

As regards now further the dative case, its primary value is hitherto disputed and questionable. To say, as one or two have lately done, that the dative expresses originally a grammatical relation (that of remoter object), and not a local one, is simply to make a confession of ignorance while trying to give it the aspect of positive knowledge. There is no such thing in language as a form originally expressive of a grammatical relation; this must always be the final outcome of something at first grosser and more physical. Nothing is gained by giving such an account of the case, and its explanation may be adjourned to a time of better knowledge.

The same objection applies to any alleged "explanation" of the accusative case as that denoting the grammatical relation of object of a verb (or, yet worse, denoting relation to a verb — as if all the other cases, except the genitive, had not that value). This, again, is only equivalent to saying that we are unable as yet to discover what lies behind the objective use of the accusative. But we are perhaps not reduced so far. There is nothing substantial in the way of our paralleling the accusative with the ablative etc., as a case of local relation, the *to*-case. In favor of this may be alleged the extreme improbability that in a scheme of designation of local relations the *to*-relation would be left out (if not here, we should be driven to seek it in the dative); and further, especially, the perfectly natural and easy way in which a *to*-case would be convertible to the case of the direct object. There are abundant signs in early Indo-European language of the use of the accusative also as goal of motion. We are not to expect a demonstration of this origin, or a classification of accusative uses which forces us back to the *to*-relation as the only possible fundamental one; things do not go that way in language. But the more the necessity is realized of seeking a physical relation underneath or behind a so-called grammatical one, the more, it is believed, will the explanation of the accusative as primarily the *to*-case commend itself to general acceptance.

The nominative remains, as a point of special difficulty, because we should naturally expect in it the bare stem. The probability is much greater here than anywhere else in the system of a mere repetitional demonstrative, grown on to the stem; although there are other possibilities; and the suggested quasi-ablative value is by no means to be discarded as absurd — "from this, action, to that" is a conceivable first model for a simple clause, with subject and object.

Notwithstanding the labor and ingenuity expended upon the matter, it can hardly be claimed that a successful beginning has been made of tracing the case-endings to the elements, pronominal or other, out of which they should have arisen. An isolated explanation, of more or less plausibility, for one or two elements out of a considerable system, while all the other elements remain obscure, is of no appreciable value. But a point of primary and fundamental importance

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appears to be this: as the subject of formation of the genitive case is a part of the more general subject of secondary adjective-formation, so that of the other or adverbial cases belongs with adverb-formation, and must be solved along with that. There is no original historical distinction between an adverb and a case-form. Not that every adverb is primarily a case-form, any more than every case-form is primarily an adverb; the two formations simply run together in the past, like adjective and noun, or, later, adverb and preposition; and in the more recent history of our languages, down to modern time, adverbs and cases (other than genitives) exchange offices, as do adjectives and genitives. Doubtless there lies a stage yet further back, where adjective-formation and adverb-formation are as yet undifferentiated; but case-making lies hitherward from, or at least forms a part of, their differentiation.

20. On initial P in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, by Charles P. G. Scott, Ph. D., of Columbia College, New York.

The paper was a contribution tu the atempt tu determin the extent of the apearance of initial *þ* in Teutonic. All the words in Gothic and Anglosaxon having initial *þ* wer colected, and each word was traced, as far as it cud be done with certainty, tu its original tung. Eliminating the words proved tu be of foren origin, and those due tu editorial errors, a few of the remaining words apeard tu be Teutonic, leaving a considerabl number which giv no satisfactory acount of themselves.

The etymologies wer traced out in ful detail. Only results can here be givn.

Marks: *s.* strong, *w.* weak, *m.*, *f.*, *n.* gender, *v.* verb, etc., † hápax-legómenon, ? doutful, referring to the word or mark *imediately* preceding. Variant forms in parenthesis; only 'regular' variants ar givn. Regular nativ derivativs and compounds ar not counted in the numbering, and ar generally omitted in the Anglosaxon list. Proper names ar reservd for special treatment.

GOTHIC.

A. WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN.

I. DIRECTLY FROM LATIN:

1. † pund *sn.*

II. FROM LATIN THRU GREEK:

2. praitōria (praitauria) *sf.*
2*a.* praitōriaun *n.*

B. WORDS OF GREEK ORIGIN.

I. DIRECTLY FROM GREEK:

1. † paintekustē *wf.*
2. paraklētus *sm.*
3. paraskaiwē *wf.*
4. paurpura (paurpaura) *f.*
4*a.* paurpurōn *wv.*
5. † pistikeins *adj.*
6. praizbytairei (praizbyterei) *wf.*
6*a.* † praizbytairi *sn.*
7. praufētēs *sm.*
7*a.* praufētus *sm.*
7*b.* praufēteis *sf.*
7*c.* praufēti *sn.*
7*d.* praufētja *wm.*
7*e.* praufētjan *wv.*
8. psalma *sf.*
8*a.* † psalmō *wf.*

II. FROM GREEK THRU LATIN:

9. papa *wm.* (*perhaps directly from Greek*).

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C. WORDS OF EASTERN ORIGIN.

FROM HEBREW:

1. paska (pasxa) *wm.*

D. WORDS OF SLAVIC ORIGIN.

1. plinsjan *wv.* (*and perhaps* plats: *see* **F.** 3).

E. WORDS OF TEUTONIC ORIGIN.

1. paida *sf.*
1*a*. ga-paidōn *wv.*
2. † ana-praggan *red. v.*
3. † puggs *sm.* (*or* pugg? *sn.*)

F. WORDS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

1. † peīka (-bagms *sm.*)
2. † plapja *sf.* (Greek?)
3. plats *sm.* (Slavic? Teut.?)

AngloSaxon.

The names following certain words indicate that the word is found first or only in the authority cited: *Som.*, Somner; *Ben.*, Benson; *Bosw.*, Bosworth; *Ettm.*, Ettmüller; Lye; Leo; Earle; Skeat.

For the sake of brevity, definitions ar omitted in most cases; but they ar partly supplied by the direct Eng. derivativs of the Anglosaxon, which ar in small capitals.

A. WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN.

I. DIRECTLY FROM LATIN, WITH ANGLOSAXON INFLECTION:

α. Ecclesiastical terms.

1. pāganisc *adj.* PAGANISH
2. pæll (pell) *sm.* PALL
3. predician *wv.*
4. prīm *sf.* PRIME
5. † pūr *adj.*

β. Botanical terms.

6. palm *sf.* PALM
7. papig (popig) *sn.?* POPPY
8. peru (pere) *sf.* (pera *wm.*) PEAR
9. peruince *sf.?* PERIWINKLE
10. pic *sm.?* PITCH
11. pirige (pyrige) *wm.*
12. pisa *wm.* (pise *wf.*) PEASE
13. pīn *sf.* (pinn?) PINE
14. plante *wf.* (plant? *sf.*) PLANT
15. † polenta *wm.* (polente? *wf.*)
16. polleion (polleian) *sn.*
17. porr *sn.?*
18. portlāca *wm.?*

γ. Miscellaneous words.

19. palant (palent) *sn.?*
20. paled *adj.*
21. pann (pan, pon) *sm.?*
22. papol (popol, papel) *sm.?* PEBBLE
23. papelan *wv.* (*Leo*)
24. pipligend (pipelgend, pypylgend, etc.) *pres. part.*
25. pāl *sm.* POLE
26. pærl (pearl) *sf.?* PEARL
27. penig (pending, etc.) *sm.* PENNY
28. † pihtin *sn.?* (*Leo*)
29. pinn *sf. pen, style,* PIN (*Som.*)
30. pen *sn.? inclosure,* PEN (*Leo*)
30*a*. on-pennan *wv.* UNPEN

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31. pinsian *wv.*
32. pīl *smf.?* PILE, *stake*, etc.
33. pīl *smn.?* (pīla *wm.*) *mortar* (*Hence* pīlan *wv. pound*)
34. pīn *smf.?* (PINE *v.*)
35. plūm (-feđer *sm.*)
36. port *sm.* PORT, *haven*
37. port *sf.* (porte *wf?*) PORT, *gate*
38. portic *sm.*
39. posling *sm.*
40. post *smf.?* POST
41. prāfost *sm.*
42. profian *wv.* PROVE
43. pumic (-stān *sm.*) PUMICE
44. pund *sn.* POUND (weight, money)
45. punt *sn.?* PUNT
46. pylce (pilce) *wf.* PILCH
47. pyle *sn.?* PILLOW
48. *pyltan *wv.* PELT (*Skeat*)
49. pyngan *wv.* PING
50. pytt (pitt) *sm.* PIT

II. FROM LATIN UNCHANGED:

51. Pater-noster *smn.* PATER-NOSTER
52. † prīmus *adj.*
53. † priores *pl.* (*Lye*)
54. † proletarii (*Orosius*)

III. FROM LATIN THRU OLD FRENCH:

55. † pais *sub.* PEACE (*Chron.* 1135)
56. prisun *sub.* PRISON (*Chron.* 1112, 1137)
57. † priuilegie *sub.* PRIVILEGE (*Chron.* 1137)
58. pouerte *sub.* POVERTY (*Lye*)
59. poure *adj.* POOR (*Lye*)
60. poute? [piete?] *sub.* PIETY (*Lye*)
61. pynt *sub.* PINT (*Som.*, *Ben.*, *Lye*, *Bosw.*)

These ar not Anglosaxon, but Erly Middle English. There ar no references except as givn.

IV. FROM LATIN THRU CELTIC:

62. panne *wf.* PAN, *vessel* (Lat. *patina*)

B. WORDS OF GREEK ORIGIN.

I. FROM GREEK THRU LATIN, WITH ANGLOSAXON INFLEXION:

α. *Ecclesiastical terms.*

1. pāpa *wm.* POPE
2. pentecoste *wf.?* (pentecosten *sn.*) PENTECOST
3. pistol *sm.* PISTLE, *letter*
4. preōst *sm.* PRIEST
5. psalm (sealm, salm) *sm.* PSALM
6. psaltere (psalter?) *sn.?* PSALTER

β. *Botanical terms.*

7. peterselige (petersilie, -sylige, silige, -silium) *wf.?*
8. peonia *wm.?* (peonie *wf.*) PEONY
9. plūme *wf.?* PLUM
10. prutene *sn.?*

γ. *Miscellaneous words.*

11. † palistas *smpl.* (*Orosius*)
12. † pellican *sm.?* PELICAN
13. † philosoph *sm.*
14. plaster *sn.* PLASTER
15. platum *sn.*
16. purpur *sm.?* (purpura *wm.*, -e? *wf.*) PURPLE

II. FROM LATIN-GREEK UNCHANGED:

17. † pandher (*sic*: *Grein*) *sub.* PANTHER
18. paralysis *sub.* PARALYSIS
19. † prologus *sub.*
20. psalterium *sub.*
21. pepones *sub.*, *pl.* (*Bot.*)
22. polion *sub.* POLY (*Bot.*)

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III. From Latin-Greek thru Old French:

23. per, pere *sub.* PIER, *Som.* (Gr. πέτρα)
Not Anglosaxon, but Erly Mid. Eng.

IV. From Latin-Greek thru Celtic:

24. prætt (præt) *sm.* (Gr. πρακτικ-ό-ς)
Hence prættig *adj.* = Eng. PRETTY.

24*a*. pæt *sm.?*
Hence pætig *adj.* — Same as preceding, with loss of *r*; cf. sprecan, specan.

C. WORDS OF EASTERN ORIGIN.

All thru Greek and Latin:

I. From Old Persian:

1. paradīse *sn.?* PARADISE
2. pard *sm.* PARD
3. pāwa (peā) *wm.* PEA-*cock*
4. persoc (persuc) *sm.* (*Bot.*)

II. From Sanskrit:

5. pipor, pepor *sn.?* PEPPER (*Bot.*)

III. From Hebrew:

6. pascha *sn.* PASCH
7. pharisee (farisee) *sm.* PHARISEE

D. WORDS OF CELTIC ORIGIN.

I. Directly from Celtic:

1. peac *sn.?* PEAK
2. pīc *sf.* PIKE
3. poc (pocc) *sm.?* POCK
4. poha (pohha) *wm. purse*
5. geposu *sf.* POSE
6. pot *sn.?* POT (*Leo*)
7. potian *wv.* PUT
8. pōl (pul?) *sm.* POOL
9. pund *sn.?* POUND, *fold, pen*

II. From Celtic thru Scandinavian:

10. ploh *sm.?* PLOUGH

E. WORDS OF TEUTONIC ORIGIN.

I. From Scandinavian:

1. pad *sn.?* padde *wf.?* PADD-*ock*
2. pæran *wv.*
3. piga (pige?) *wf.*
4. posa, pusa *wm.* (pose, puse? *wf.*)

II. Nativ Anglosaxon:

5. pād *sf.*
6. pæð *sm.* PATH.
7. pearroc *sm.* PARK
8. peorð *sn.?* (Runic *p*)
9. pleōn *sv.* (*Hence* pleoh *sn.*, pliht *sf.*, plihtan *wv.*)
10. pluccian *wv.* PLUCK
11. pricu *sf.* (prica *wm.*) PRICK
12. princ *sn.?*
13. pullian *wv.* PULL
14. pung *sm.?*
15. pīpe *wf.* PIPE (imitativ)

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F. WORDS DUE TU MISTAKES.

I. Mistakes in translation:

1. † "Pernex, a swift, martin," *Bosw.; Riddle* 41, *l.* 66, *ed. Grein.*
   Due to orig. Latin *plus pernix aquilis*, where *pernix* is an *adj.*, '*swift*,' *rapid.*

2. "Pada ... volucria quæ cadivis in prælio vescuntur," *Ben.*, *Appendix.*
   Due to comp. *salowig-pāda*, *wk. adj.*, applied to the raven.

3. † "Pila? a pile, heap," *Bosw.* after *Lye;* pīle *wf.*, *Leo; hence* pīlan *wv.* "to pile up," *Bosw.* after *Lye; Leo.*
   Due to a mistranslation of Exod. xvi. 14, *on pīlan gepīlod*, properly, *pounded in a mortar.* (*See* **A.** I. γ. 33.)

II. Mistakes in reading mss.:

4. † "Pul-stæf, a pole-staff," *Bosw.* after *Lye; Leo.*
   A misreading of *Greg. Past. Care* 37.2 (*p.* 266, *ed. Sweet*), where the Hatton MS. has dat. *piil-stāfe*, and the Cotton MS. *pil-stafe*, in the sense of *pestle.*

5. † "Proletarn, *proletarii*, Oros. 4. 1," *Lye.*
   Bosworth's careful edition gives (*Oros. Bk.* IV. *ch.* 1, § 2) the Latin form *proletarii* without variants. The Ags. undotted double *i* is easily mistaken for *u* or *n.*

6. "Pyrige, an, *f.*, pera, Cot. 217," *Ettm.*
   This cannot be the Lat. *pēra* from Greek πήρα, but is rather a Low Lat. variant of *pirus.* Ettm. gives the reg. "pirige, *pirus*" in its proper place.

7. "Perewes *Sapa*, R. 32," *Lye, Bosw.*
   For "pere wos [wōs] *sapa*," *Ben.* = pear's juice.

The next four instances ar due tu the common confusion of the Anglosaxon letter *wēn* with *p.*

8. "Plips *balbus*," *Ben.; Lye, Bosw.*
   For *wlips*, *wlisp*, LISP.

9. "Por-hana, a ruff, pheasant," *Bosw.; Lye, Leo.*
   For *wōr-hana*, 'moor-cock.'

10. "Pinpel, a pimple, *anabola*," etc., *Lye.*
    For *winpel*, Eng. WIMPLE, a cloak.

11. "Pig-telgode *diplois*," *Lye*, "pigtelgod *diplois*," *Ben.*
    For "wig-telgode *diplois*," *Lye*, 'a doublet, cloak,' *Bosw.*, who puts the word s. v. wīg, *war.*
    Similarly we find *wopig* in *Lye*, but with a reference to *popig.*

12. † "Posc *basis*," *Ben.*, followed in alfabetical order by "post, *postis*, *basis.*"
    For *post*, Anglosaxon *t* and *c* being easily confused.

13. † "Ped *adj. immaturus* (scheint verschrieben für *bed*, quod v.)," *Leo.*
    Cf. "bed, ped *adj. immaturus* Hpt. gl. 518," *Leo.*

14. † "anc-pælgnis? *naufragium* Hpt. gl. 421, ist wahrscheinlich ein Druckfehler," *Leo.*
    Perhaps for *an-swælgnis, for *and- (*or* on-) swelgendnis; cf. "swelgnysse i. q. swelgendnesse," *Lye;* "swelgendnysse, voracitas, deglutitio, *It.* vorago, gurges, charybdis, barathrum, Cot. 46," *Lye.*

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G. WORDS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

The etymologists hav offerd explanations of most of these words; but in no case does the evidence presented apear tu be *conclusiv*. Where the evidence has seemd tu be strong enuf tu warrant it, the *probabl* origin is indicated.

I. WORDS WELL AUTHENTICATED, OCCURRING IN CRITICAL EDITIONS OF ANGLOSAXON TEXTS. EXCEPT *plega* AND ITS DERIVATIVS, THEY AR ALL RARE.

1. pæcan *wv.* (Teut.?)
2. piđa *wm.* PITH (Teut.?)
3. † pine (-wincle *wf.*) (Lat.?)
4. plæce *wf.?* (Teut.?)
5. plætte *sm.* PAT (Teut.?)
6. plega *wm.* PLAY (Teut. or Lat.)
7. plot *sm.* PLOT (Slavic? Teut.?)
8. † portian *wv.*
9. prass *sm.?* (Scand.? Lat.?)
10. preōne *sm.* (Scand.?)
11. prūt *adj.* PROUD.
12. punian *wv.* POUND. (*Hence also* PUN.)
13. † pūta *wm.* POUT, a fish.

II. WORDS OCCURRING ONLY OR CHIEFLY IN MS. GLOSSARIES OR IN THE ERLY PRINTED DICTIONARIES, OR OTHERWISE SO CIRCUMSTANCED AS TU CAUSE DOUT OF THEIR ORIGIN, SENSE, OR FORM.

1. palstre *Som.*, palster *Ettm.*, palstr *Lye.* (From pāl?)
2. "pang *toxicum*" *Som.*, *Ben.*
3. parian *wv.* (ā-parod, *Som.*)
4. pecg *sm.?* PIG? doutful: *Earle ap. Skeat.* (Scand.?)
5. "petraoleum, *petreleum*," *Ben.* (Greek?)
6. pēnung: "land-pēnung," *Lye.*
7. "peord, a peon in chess," *Bosw.*, ascribed tu *Lye*, but not found.
8. "peord, *vulva*," *Leo.* (Scand.?)
9. "pic-bred, *glans*," *Ben.*
10. pidele *sn.? Leo.*
11. pillsape *wf.?*
12. pince *sn.? Leo.* (Teut.?)
13. be-pincge *sn.?* (Teut.?)
14. † pinne *wf.? flask.*
15. pintel *sm.? Leo.* (Teut.?)
16. "pislefer-hūs *scriptorium*," *Lye.* (Greek?)
17. pīce? "pice *epistomium*," *Som.* (Celtic?)
18. pīlade? "pilade, pilede, *plumbatus*," *Som.* (Lat.?)
19. pise, pīse? *adj.* (Lat.?)
20. "plegena *apricum*, Cot. 180," *Lye.*
21. "pletta *ovile*," *Ben.*, *Lye.* (Lat.?)
22. "plicit, *prora*; plicitere, *proreta*," *Leo.*
23. "pranga *caverna*," *Ben.*, *Lye.*
24. "præte *ornatus, excultus*," etc., *Som.* (*Prob. for* prætig: *see* **B.** 23.)
25. "prenan *nictare*," *Ben.*; "be-prenan, be-prewan . . . *nictare*," *Lye.* (Scand.?)
26. "preowst-hwile, *ictus oculi*, a moment," *Som.*; "preowt-hwīl, S.," *Bosw.*
27. "pritigan *pipare*," *Lye.*
28. "prot-bore *forum*," *Ben.*; "prod-bore," *Lye.*
29. "pucel *priapus*," *Leo.*

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30. "pud(d) *m. sulcus*, gl. Prud. 787," *Leo.*
31. "puduc *m.* der Kropf, *struma*, gl. Prud. 597," *Leo.*
32. "pun *bicoca*," *Ben.*; "*bicoca*, hæferbleta *vel* pun," *Aelfr. gloss.*
33. "pund *talpa*, a mole or want [*sic*]," *Som.*; *Ben.*
34. pytan: *ūtāpytan*, *Numbers* xvi. 14; also *pycan ūt*, *Chron.* 796, *ed. Earle*, where Gibson and Thorpe print *pytan.* If *pycan* is right, it is connected with *pīc* (see **D.** 2), and so of Celtic origin. Cf. *potian* **D.** I. 7.
35. "pytlan *caus.* hohl ausarbeiten," *Leo*, from Kemble's charters. (Lat.?)

SUMMARY.

	Goth.	Ags.
Words of Latin origin	2	62
" " Greek "	9	24
" " Eastern "	1	7
" " Slavic "	1	—
" " Celtic "	–	10
" " Teutonic "	–	—
Scand.	–	4
Nativ	3	11
" due tu mistakes	–	14
" of uncertain origin	3	48
Total	19	180

From the Anglosaxon total shud be deducted the words of Latin and Greek origin which hav bin transferd unchanged (10), or hav cum thru the Old French and ar rather Middle English (8); also the words due tu mistakes (14). We thus find the number of Anglosaxon words beginning with *þ* tu be 148, of which 48 stil await a conclusiv explanation. They offer a tempting challenge tu the etymologist.

21. The Wages of Schoolmasters in Ancient Rome, by Dr. R. F. Leighton of Brooklyn, N. Y.; read by title, by the Secretary.

On motion of Mr. L. H. Buckingham, it was

Resolved, That the following minute be put on the Records, and be communicated to the parties concerned:

The American Philological Association desires to express its hearty thanks to the President and Fellows of Harvard College for the use of their halls for the meetings of the Association, to Colonel Theodore Lyman for his kind hospitality in entertaining the members of the society at his residence in Brookline, and to the gentlemen by whose liberality the pleasant excursion of Wednesday evening was made possible.

On motion, the Association then adjourned.

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OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Article I. — Name and Object.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II. — Officers.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

Article III. — Meetings.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decide to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the first twelve volumes of Transactions:

1869-1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅπως and οὐ μή.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.

Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.

Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.

VanName, A.: Contributions to Creole grammar.

Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869). and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.

Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.

Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.

March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.

Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.

Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupí of the Amazonas.

Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *dω*.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.

Packard, L. R.: On some points in the life of Thucydides.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.

March, F. A.: Recent discussions of Grimm's law.

Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

1874. — Volume V.

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's Odyssey (x. 81–86).

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.

Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optative modes in Greek conditional sentences.

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Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the Anabasis.
Whitney, W. D.: *Φύσει* or *θέσει* — natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

1875.—Volume VI.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof*, *prove*.
Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.
Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.
Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.
Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

1876.—Volume VII.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *εἰ* with the future indicative and *ἐάν* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.
Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.
Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.
Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.
Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.
Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

1877.—Volume VIII.

Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.
Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis of the Hebrew verb.
Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of *ὡς*.
Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.
Holden, E. S.: On the vocabularies of children under two years of age.
Goodwin, W. W.: On the text and interpretation of certain passages in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.
Stickney, A.: On the single case-form in Italian.
Carter, F.: On Willmann's theory of the authorship of the Nibelungenlied.
Sihler, E. G.: On Herodotus's and Aeschylus's accounts of the battle of Salamis.
Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.
Carter, F.: On the Kürenberg hypothesis.
March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

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1878. — Volume IX.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.
Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.
Humphreys, M. W.: Influence of accent in Latin dactylic hexameters.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Plato's Cratylus.
Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the Cynegeticus of Xenophon.
Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.

Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

1879. — Volume X.

Toy, C. H.: Modal development of the Semitic verb.
Humphreys, M. W.: On the nature of cæsura.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain effects of elision.
Cook, A. S.: Studies in the Heliand.
Harkness, A.: On the development of the Latin subjunctive in principal clauses.
D'Ooge, M. L.: The original recension of the De Corona.
Peck, T.: The authorship of the Dialogus de Oratoribus.
Seymour, T. D.: On the date of the Prometheus of Aeschylus.

Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

1880. — Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W.: A contribution to infantile linguistic.
Toy, C. H.: The Hebrew verb-termination *un*.
Packard, L. R.: The beginning of a written literature in Greece.
Hall, I. H.: The declension of the definite article in the Cypriote inscriptions.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Lucian.
Sihler, E. G.: Virgil and Plato.
Allen, W. F.: The battle of Mons Graupius.
Whitney, W. D.: On inconsistency in views of language.
Edgren, A. H.: The kindred Germanic words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their consonant relations.

Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

1881. — Volume XII.

Whitney, W. D.: On Mixture in Language.
Toy, C. H.: The home of the primitive Semitic race.
March, F. A.: Report of the committee on the reform of English spelling.
Wells, B. W.: History of the *a*-vowel, from Old Germanic to Modern English.
Seymour, T. D.: The use of the aorist participle in Greek.
Sihler, E. G.: The use of abstract verbal nouns in -σις in Thucydides.

Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

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1882.—Volume XIII.

Hall, I. H.: The Greek New Testament as published in America.
Merriam, A. C.: Alien intrusion between article and noun in Greek.
Peck, T.: Notes on Latin quantity.
Owen, W. B.: Influence of the Latin syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.
Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in English.
Whitney, W. D.: General considerations on the Indo-European case-system.

Proceedings of the fourteenth annual session, Cambridge, 1882.

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1883.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,

1883.

I. — *The Caesareum and the Worship of Augustus at Alexandria.*

By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM,

PROFESSOR IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

When Mr. Dixon, in 1877, was engaged in removing the fallen obelisk of Alexandria to London, he excavated about the base of its fellow, now standing in Central Park, New York, to ascertain the form of the original pedestal, and discovered upon the mutilated claw of one of the bronze crabs supporting the obelisk a Greek and a Latin inscription. These were dimmed by a thick rust, but after the removal of this by the aid of acids, they were read, and published in an Alexandrian paper, by Neroutsos, who also published them in the "Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique," 1877 and 1878. Mommsen copied them from the Alexandrian paper, in his "Staatsrecht," 1877, and from the Bulletin, in the "Ephemeris Epigraphica," 1879, with a page of comment; while Lumbroso treated of them in the "Bullettino dell' Instituto" of Rome, 1878. Soon after the crabs were brought here by Commander Gorringe, the inscriptions were published by G. L. Feuardent, with some notes which were afterwards embodied by Commander Gorringe in his "Egyptian Obelisks." All of these editors accepted the original reading of Neroutsos as correct, in accordance with which Barbarus, Prefect of Egypt, was said to have erected the obelisk at Alexandria in the eighth year of Augustus, B. C. 23–22.

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L IH ΚΑΙΣΑΡ[Ο]Σ
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΟΥΝΤΟ[Σ]
ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ

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A[N]NO [XV]III CAESARIS
BARBA[R]VS PRAEF
AEGYPTI POSVIT
[A]RCHITECTANTE PONTIO

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Attention being called last winter to some discrepancies existing between the published readings of the inscriptions and their actual appearance on the bronze, I began an investigation of the matter, and proved from Strabo, Dio Cassius, and Josephus that the date 23-22 was historically impossible if Barbarus was Prefect,[1] and then discovered that L IH was the real reading of the Greek date, and ANNOXVIII that of the Latin, bringing the actual year of erection down to 13-12 B. C., a date wholly free from historical objections; furthermore, that Barbarus was at home in his native Casinum probably at the very time when the former reading had made him Prefect of Egypt. The full details of this investigation have been given in a monograph recently published,[2] and I wish here merely to put on record the correct form of the inscriptions in fac-simile, and restored.

Mommsen, after treating of the inscriptions themselves in the Ephemeris, proceeds to speak of the obelisks, and the temple before which they stood, as follows: "These inscriptions inform us by whom and when these obelisks were erected in Alexandria. The place where they stood is mentioned by Pliny (xxxvi. 14): *Duo (obeliisci) sunt Alexandreae ad portum in Caesaris templo, quos excidit Mesphres rex, quadragenum binum cubitorum.* Strabo also speaks of this temple (794), and by him it is called *τὸ Καισάριον.* It is described more at length by Philo (Legatio ad Caium, 22), where he asserts that an imperial form of government is preferable to liberty, because, throughout the whole world, all temples are far surpassed by those of Caesar, and especially at Alexandria; *οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, κ. τ. λ.* But Neroutsos incorrectly assumes that this temple was built to Augustus. Rather, since it is called the temple of Caesar by Pliny, and the as-

[1] Since this was written I have learned that Herman Schiller had already arrived at the same conclusion (Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit, I. 1. 198, A 1), having rejected the authority of the earlier reading of the inscription on the ground of its irreconcilability with the evidence of the historians. See Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift, Jan. 5, 1884.

[2] The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1883.

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cription *Caesar Appulsor* suits best the father, Augustus must be thought to have consecrated the temple to his deified father, for he certainly would not, even in Egypt, have built it to himself. Surely, since he, in following his father's footsteps as it were, had himself also landed in Egypt, it is presumable that the worshippers of Augustus in Egypt offered sacred rites to him also in the same temple; and the more so that, according to the testimony of the Acta Arvalium, the temples of Caesar belonged to all the deified (*divi*). Hence, it is easily understood why the temple of Caesar was commonly called by the Alexandrians the Sebastion."

Some of these points deserve consideration. Not many words need be spent on the somewhat singular statement that Philo "asserts that an imperial form of government is preferable to liberty, *because*, throughout the whole world, all other temples are far surpassed by those of Caesar, and especially at Alexandria." If our editions of Philo presented any such inconsequent proposition, I incline to think that Mommsen would have been among the first to propose some emendation of the text. What Philo did say will be seen below.

Pliny's expression, *Caesaris templo*, tends to show that the temple was that of Julius and not of Augustus, Mommsen thinks. This resolves itself into a simple question of Pliny's usage of the word Caesar. A careful reading of the Natural History yields the following statistics: Caesar Dictator occurs 31 times; Caesar Augustus, 6 times; Tiberius Caesar, 21 times; C. or Caius Caesar, for Agrippa's son, 7 times, for Caligula, 8 times, for Julius, 3 times; Claudius Caesar, 32 times; Germanicus Caesar, 9 times; Drusus Caesar, 4 times; Nero Caesar, once; Vespasian Caesar, once; Titus, twice; Domitian, once; L. Julius, twice; Vopiscus, once.

Caesar alone refers plainly to Julius 38 times, either the title Dictator having been employed just before, or some other circumstance, fixing easily the allusion. All of these cases but 10 occur in the sections devoted to astronomical matters, where the calendar of Julius is followed, and the whole is introduced by *Caesar Dictator*. *Caesar* alone designates Augustus about 10 times, Claudius 3 times, Nero once.

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These are in the main explicit enough from their attendant circumstances; so that the phrase in question is really to be compared only with such expressions as *in Caesaris piscinis* (ix. 78, x. 89), *in pluribus Caesaris villis* (xxxii. 7), *domus Caesaris in Palatio* (xxxv. 36), denominated *Palatinas domos Caesarum* at xxxvi. 4 (cf. *laurus, janitrix Caesarum*, xv. 39); in all, or the most of which, Augustus was the original possessor, but they belonged later to his successors. Quite similar is the expression *in forum Caesaris*, xvi. 86, and xxxv. 45, where one is probably the forum of Augustus, the other that of Julius. The conclusion is that no argument in the case can be based on Pliny's usage of Caesar, except that the context must in general determine who is referred to; and, following this, we should attribute the reference in the passage in question to Augustus rather than Julius, inasmuch as it is both preceded and followed by an allusion to the time of that Emperor.

Here, however, a fact must be taken into account which apparently has escaped the notice of Mommsen, as of many others who have touched the subject. This is a statement of Dio's (li. 15), that after the death of Antony, at Alexandria, his eldest son Antyllus, upon the entrance of the forces of Augustus into the city, fled to the Heroum of Julius which Cleopatra had built, and was there slain.[1] Suetonius, in recounting the circumstance, mentions only the image of the deified Julius;[2] Plutarch says nothing of either (Anton. 81). Here, then, we have positive evidence that there was at that time a building of some kind at Alexandria consecrated by Cleopatra to Julius, and containing his statue. The Heroum is usually a small chapel of indefinite size; but it is the same word which Dio uses many times of the temple erected by Augustus, in the Forum at Rome, to Julius, on the spot where the body of the Dictator was burned, and where a column and altar at first were placed. This structure is called *νεώς* by Appian (Bell.

[1] Ἄντυλλος, καίτοι τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ἠγγυημένος καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡρῷον, ὃ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποίηκει, καταφυγών, εὐθὺς ἐσφάγη.

[2] Simulacro Divi Juli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Aug. 17.

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Civil. ii. 148), and *aedes* by Vitruvius (iii.); while Pliny, speaking of Augustus, uses the phrases, *in templo Caesaris patris* (xxxv. 10), *in delubro patris Caesaris* (xxxv. 36), both in allusion to this shrine. Hence, the Heroum at Alexandria may possibly have been of some considerable size, but it cannot answer to Philo's description of the Sebastion in that particular. Of its situation we have no direct information.

Next in the order of time comes the statement of Strabo, who, in describing the city of Alexandria, proceeds from the Lochias, on the east, round the harbor to the Poseidion, from which Antony built out the mole where he constructed his Timonium, after the battle of Actium, remains of which are still to be seen. "Next," he says, "is the Caesareum;" but he vouchsafes no further information. Its site, however, is fixed by his description to be at least in the close vicinity of that where the obelisks were erected by Barbarus. The guesses at what Strabo meant by his *Καισάριον* have been numerous; my own opinion will be seen below.

Our main knowledge of the temple and its surroundings must be derived from the elaborate description of Philo Judaeus. This learned and eloquent Jew was a native of Alexandria; and as he was a man of advanced years when he was chosen to head the deputation sent by the Jews of his native city to Caligula at Rome, in A. D. 40, he must have been quite a lad when Barbarus erected the obelisks, and may have witnessed the very spectacle itself of this achievement of Pontius. At all events, he was perfectly familiar with the whole history of the temple and its worship. The occasion of his embassy to Rome, of which he has given us so vivid a picture, arose from the inordinate desire of the half-crazed Emperor, not only to be deemed a god, but to be actually worshipped as such in every quarter of his dominions. He had been quick to accept the honors paid him by the Alexandrians, who had placed images of his majesty even in the chapels of the Jews, a desecration which these had never before suffered from Roman emperor or Ptolemaic king, and which was now sought to be removed by the eloquent representations of these deputies. Their efforts were unsuccessful,

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but the assassination of Caligula within a few months relieved them from the abhorred profanation. The account which Philo afterwards wrote of the affair has come down to us under the title *Legatio ad Caium,* Caligula being almost universally known to his contemporaries and the ancient historians as Caius. Philo's allusion to the Caesareum, or Sebastion as he styles it, is introduced in the course of a contrast which he draws between the unblushing insistence with which Caligula claimed that he was a god, and demanded corresponding worship, and the greater merits but greater moderation of his predecessors. "Why," he asks, "should the Alexandrians thrust the images of Caligula into the Jewish chapels with such eager devotion, when they had never done this in the days of the Ptolemies, although they were accustomed to believe these to be gods, and to inscribe and call them such? But worship of their kings was not surprising in them, when they filled their temples with ibises, and dogs, and wolves, and all manner of beasts, which they adored. Perhaps, however, they will now say what they would not have said then, (for they are accustomed to pay fulsome adulation to the prosperity of their rulers rather than to the rulers themselves,) that, as the Emperors are so much greater than the Ptolemies, so ought they to receive greater honors. But if so, why should Caius receive higher honors than Tiberius, so much his superior in every way? And what shall we say of him who transcended human nature in all virtues, who on account of the greatness of his autocratic sovereignty, as well as his nobility of character, was the first to receive the appellation of Sebastos, obtaining it, not through successive transmissions in the family, as some portion of an inheritance, but being himself the source of worshipful majesty to his successors? When the entire human race seemed destined to perish in internecine conflict, it was he that turned them to better ways, and deservedly won the appellation of Defender from Evil (*Ἀλεξίκακος*). This is the Caesar who calmed the storms that had burst forth on every side, who healed the common maladies of Greeks and Barbarians, which had risen from the east and south, and spread to the north and the setting sun. This is

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he who struck off, not merely loosed, the fetters which bound and galled the habitable world. This is he who delivered the sea from piratical craft and filled it with merchant marine. This is he who bestowed freedom upon all cities, who brought order out of chaos, who civilized and harmonized wild and bestial nations, who extended the limits of Hellas to include many Hellases, — the guardian of peace, the grantor of all rights, who hid nothing good or noble in all his life. But this unsurpassed benefactor, during all the three and forty years that he ruled over Egypt, they hid behind the veil in comparison, setting in our chapels neither statue nor image nor painting in his behoof. And yet,[1] if to any one novel and incomparable honors ought to have been decreed, to him were they becoming; not only because he was the very source of the family of the Augusti, nor merely because he was the first and greatest and universal benefactor, having proved himself such by transferring the helm of the ship of state to a single pilot wonderful in his directing wisdom, namely, himself, in place of the rule of the many, — for the (Homeric) saying,

'Ill fares the state where many masters rule,'

is opportune, since universal suffrage is productive of multifarious evils, — but *because the entire inhabited world decreed honors to him coequal with those of the Olympian gods. And proofs of this are to be found in the temples*, the propylaea, the

[1] Καὶ μὴν εἴ τινι καινὰς καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ἔδει ψηφίζεσθαι τιμάς, ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ἦν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοῦ σεβαστίου γένους ἀρχή τις ἐγένετο καὶ πηγή, οὐδὲ ὅτι πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος καὶ κοινὸς εὐεργέτης, ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας ἑνὶ κυβερνήτῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κοινὸν σκάφος οἰακονομεῖν, ἑαυτῷ, θαυμασίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπιστήμην — τὸ γὰρ "Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη" λέλεκται δεόντως, ἐπειδὴ πολυτρόπων αἰτίαι κακῶν αἱ πολυψηφίαι — ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο. Καὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ ναοί, προπύλαια, προτεμνίσματα, στοαί, ὥστε ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέαι ἢ παλαιαί, ἔργα φέρουσι μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Καισαρείων παρευημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος, οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος, καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι, κατάπλεως ἀναθημάτων, ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ, τέμενος εὐρύτατον, στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἠσκημένον. ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος. Philo, Leg. ad Cai. 22.

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vestibules, the porticos; so that the architectural splendors in every city, whether young or old, are surpassed in beauty and size by the temples of Caesar, and especially in our own Alexandria. For there is no such sanctuary as that called Sebastion, the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, which stands rearing aloft its stately front, face to face with the fairest of harbors, — the largest as well as the most conspicuous of objects, to which nothing is comparable elsewhere, crowded with offerings of paintings and statues, highly wrought with gold and silver on every side, its sacred enclosure of the most spacious dimensions, with its porticos, libraries, halls, groves, propylaea, open spaces, promenades, all adorned in the richest manner, — the saving hope of all who weigh anchor from the harbor or enter within its shelter. Accordingly, though possessed of such excellent reasons, though all men were everywhere acquiescent, they did not introduce any innovations touching our chapels, but the old customs of their fathers were still retained by each. Did they, then, omit any act of adoration that was owed to Caesar? Who in his senses would say that? Why, then, did they neglect this? I will tell you frankly, without reservation. They knew that his anxious solicitude was just as great to secure their patrial rights to each, as to the Romans themselves, and that he accepted honors of this kind, not because he blindly deceived himself in order to destroy the customs of the several nations, but because he deferred to the majesty of his autocratic power, which becomes more commanding and revered by such adoration. That he was never enslaved or puffed up by such extravagant honors is clearly proved by the fact that he never wished himself to be addressed as Master or God (Suet. Aug. 53), and was vexed if any one so named him."

In this argument of Philo's we have many points of interest to the question at issue. I do not see in his words a single hint of the slightest kind that this temple was the sanctuary of Julius. To Philo it is the worthy shrine of the greatest of human beings, Augustus, whose worship, though unbefitting a Jew, might well be forgiven and fittingly defended in a Gentile. Not only this, but it does not seem to enter the

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thoughts of Philo that Julius ever had anything to do with this temple, which certainly appears strange if it were originally dedicated to him.

In the second place, we observe that Philo's language presents the divine honors paid to Augustus in Egypt under a somewhat different aspect from that of the Ptolemaic kings. When Alexander the Great conquered Egypt he gave out that he was the son of Ammon, and for motives of state policy he maintained this attitude there; because it had been the custom from ancient days, in this land of many gods, to build temples to their kings, and regard them as the divine emanation of the Sun, or some other deity. The Ptolemies pursued the same policy; and in the Rosetta Stone we find the reigning king, Epiphanes, called "the living image of Zeus, son of the Sun, Ptolemy the eternal, beloved of Phtha," "him that was born of the deities Philopatores, Ptolemy and Arsinoe," "the present god, born of a god and goddess, even as Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, the defender of his father Osiris;" then his line is traced back through the gods Philopatores, the gods Euergetae, the gods Adelphi, and the gods Soteres.[1] Others of the royal family were also numbered among the deities, in addition to the reigning king and queen; and these ascriptions were continued down to the close of the dynasty, Cleopatra the famous being styled the New Goddess on some of her coins, and she assumed the title of the New Isis after the Armenian victories of Antony (Plut. Ant. 54). Antony himself claimed and received in Alexandria the veneration and worship of the Egyptians, as the fructifying Nile-god, Osiris. Hence, when Augustus became master of the known world, the people of Egypt were prepared as usual to accept him as the new ruler and new divinity. But Augustus was not a second Antony, nor indeed a second Julius, who had been prompt to welcome his own apotheosis, even at Rome, in his lifetime. As in Egypt, so in Western Asia, it had long been customary to deify their rulers, and Roman proconsuls had often received such honors. But at Rome, from the time of

[1] See C. I. G. 3834, where the Emperor Antoninus himself, in a letter to the people of Azani, names his predecessors in similar language.

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Romulus to that of Julius Caesar, scarcely a case was known, though some ground for it was found in the worship paid to the Lares. Octavianus eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to deify Julius directly after his death, as a means of exalting himself in the eyes of the vulgar, as the adopted son of the *Divus*. But he saw clearly that it would be a mistake for him to proceed further at Rome, at least for the present. After his first burst of fury and revenge was over, and the assassins of Caesar were destroyed, his policy was henceforth one of peace, and consolidation of the power which Julius had won, but had lost too soon to render permanent. The fate of his father was ever before him, and he entered into a cool calculation as to the surest means of avoiding the perils which had confronted and destroyed the other. While retaining the reins of power firmly in his hands, he acted the part of a republican patriot with studied moderation. Unusual titles and royal prerogatives he studiously avoided in appearance, while he gradually assumed their realities without resistance, and without shock to the feelings of his subjects. In fact, he pursued a general policy of humility, which tended greatly to strengthen him in his delicate and difficult position amid the contending factions and secret conspiracies of his reign. Not only was this true in his relations to the state, but also in his attitude towards his own deification and worship. At Rome, he insisted unswervingly upon his refusal of the expressed wishes of many to erect temples to him within the city (Suet. Aug. 52), and Dio asserts (li. 20) that no one of any consideration ventured to engage in his worship within the borders of Italy; but this statement is to be accepted with considerable allowance. Inscriptions show that there existed both a *flamen Augustalis* and an Augusteum at Pisa in his lifetime, and a *flamen*, or *sacerdos*, and *ministri* in his worship occur in inscriptions from Pompeii and Praeneste, while the Salii named him among the other gods in their songs. His friend Vedius Pollio, who became noted especially from an uncanny habit of feeding his unlucky slaves to the *murenae* in his fish-ponds, and who left these ponds to Augustus when he died, B. C. 15 (Dio, liv. 23), cherished a Caesareum within his grounds

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(Orelli, 2509). Such private worship, offered to him and his Lares and Genius, with altars at the firesides, and at numerous shrines about the city, became more and more common at Rome as year succeeded year, and he found that the time was ripe for it; while his deification in the lines of Virgil, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid is too familiar to need reference. In other words, while officially frowning upon open ascriptions as god, he actually regarded them with a lenient, if not a fostering eye; fully aware, as Philo says, how important a factor they formed in maintaining, when rightly wielded, the power which he had striven so hard to attain. In the distant provinces the case was different from that at Rome. The cities of Sicily placed him among their gods as early as 35 B.C. (App. Bel. Civ. v. 132). In the East he could permit their usual custom to be followed with more impunity, for the very reason that it accorded with the habits of the people, instead of contradicting them as at Rome. The victory of Actium made him master of the East as well as the West; and as their ruler he permitted the people of Pergamus and Nicomedia to erect temples in his honor, with the condition, however, that Roma should share in his worship. This goddess had long been the object of adoration in the provinces, and to place her side by side with himself in these temples was another stroke of policy, which exhibits the same astute mind in the definite pursuit of his settled aim. This condition he is said to have imposed upon all the provinces where temples were erected to him (Suet. Aug. 52), and we find it complied with at Ancyra (*θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ*), and at the seaside Caesarea of Herod, where colossal statues were erected to both,—that of Augustus modelled after the Zeus at Olympia, and that of Roma after the Here of Argos (Joseph. Bel. Jud. i. 21). We find this community of the two deities also at Cyme, Mylasa, Nysa, and Cyzicus in Asia Minor, on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Pola in Istria. While Augustus was in Spain, B. C. 26–25, the people of Tarraco obtained permission to erect an altar to him there. Later, the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens was completed and dedicated to his Genius, and Herod's zeal was so great that Josephus declares that he filled,

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not only his own country, but all the regions dependent on him, with temples in honor of Caesar (Bel. Jud. i. 21).

What was the actual state of the case, then, in Egypt? From Philo we see that the Emperor's interdict against open ascription as god or master, *dominus*, δεσπότης, — the relation of master and slave — (Suet. Aug. 53), was known; but Philo bears equal testimony to the fact that "the whole inhabited world decreed him honors equal to the Olympian gods," that temples were built to him, especially the Sebastion, and that he accepted this worship for reasons of state. Upon the authority of Sharpe (Hist. Egypt, ii. p. 94) we have it distinctly asserted that "In the hieroglyphic inscriptions on these temples (Philae, Talmis, Tentyris) Augustus is called Autocrator Caesar, and is styled Son of the Sun, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, with the other titles which had always been given by the priests to the Ptolemies and their own native sovereigns for so many centuries. Thus the historians of Rome, who are almost deceived by the modest behavior of Augustus, and are in doubt whether he was sincere in begging the Senate every tenth year to allow him to lay aside the weight of empire, may have those doubts cleared up in Egypt; for there he had assumed the style and title of king within ten years after the death of Cleopatra." At Dabode, just above Philae, are to be seen the ruins of a temple whose sculptures were "mostly added by Augustus and Tiberius. The name of Augustus in one instance is followed by the expression 'God Philometor,' though in the other ovals he is the beloved of Pthah and Isis." (Wilk. Top. Thebes, p. 476.) Here, again, we find the titles of the reigning Ptolemies ascribed to Augustus, and his worship implied. The inscription of the temple at Philae consecrated under Barbarus, B. C. 13–12, has no title of divinity, but that of Tentyris, A. D. 1, under Octavius, a member of the Emperor's own gens, styles him Zeus Eleutherios. This is upon the propylon of the temple of Isis, which was built by the people of the town and Nome, and consecrated in behalf of Augustus. Likewise in the great temple at Philae, Catilius, in B. C. 8, offering his inscription of adoration, says, "Consecrated to Caesar,

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ruler of the sea, a Zeus swaying limitless regions, son of Zeus, — (Caesar) the Deliverer, Master of Europe and Asia, Star of all Hellas, that rose as a mighty Zeus the Savior." Here, as before, we have the forbidden appellation of God, and that of Master besides. This is poetic, it is true; but when taken in connection with what has already been advanced, it may be accepted in its full sense, just as the "god Augustus" occurs in an inscription of Apamea (C. I. G. 4474), and in others from Cyme in Mysia (C. I. G. 3524), and Lesbos, and Delos, all belonging to the lifetime of the Emperor.

With such precedents, then, was no temple to be built and consecrated in his honor at Alexandria, the very hot-bed of adulation of rulers, — where, as Philo says, no readier tongues were to be found among either Greeks or barbarians to salute as god,[1] where this ascription was held in such awe that they bestowed it on ibises and serpents, and where they were accustomed to employ all the expressions which other nations address to their gods, not masked and veiled, but openly and unblushingly?[2] Mommsen assumes that Augustus would not have erected the temple to himself, which indeed is very likely; in fact, it was the people or rulers of the several places themselves who erected the temples in his honor, as in Asia Minor, Judea, Gaul, Spain, Greece, and in Egypt itself. Besides, if he had done anything of the kind himself there, it is likely the temple would have stood, not in Alexandria, but at the neighboring Nicopolis, where Augustus did direct the building, not only of a city, but of temples also, so that the temple of Serapis, in Alexandria, and other ancient shrines, were abandoned, so to speak, in consequence of the erection of those in Nicopolis (Strabo, 795). This statement of Strabo, together with his omission to give any description of the Caesareum, leads me to think that these passages at least refer to the period of his sojourn in Alexandria, at which time the Caesareum was merely

[1] Οὐδένας εὗρεν [Γάϊος] οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδειοτέρους Ἀλεξανδρείων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθυμίας βεβαίωσιν.

[2] οὐ πλαγίως, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἅπασιν ἐχρῶντο κατακόρως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐπιφημίζεσθαι θεοῖς. Leg. ad Cai. 25. Cf. Suet. Nero, 20.

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the Heroum of Julius, situated within the precinct where the Sebastion was erected a few years later, as a separate and distinct building, when the mushroom Nicopolis had shown the limits of its capabilities, and the people began to enjoy the great benefits accruing to the city from the policy of the Emperor in clearing the canals, and increasing so immensely the trade with Arabia and India, of which Alexandria possessed the monopoly. If we suppose, furthermore, that Strabo wrote, in later life, after he had been at Rome, the passage where he mentions the obelisks of Heliopolis, and adds that two were removed to Rome (805), we have a reasonable explanation for his omitting to speak of those which were transported to Alexandria in B. C. 13–12, after he left that city. It is possible that, in the Sebastion, Roma was made to share with the Emperor in the honors of consecration, but the language of Philo gives no hint of such association, nor does it occur at Philae and Tentyris, nor at Narbonne (Orelli, 2489).

In the inscription of Catilius at Philae we meet with the Poseidonian epithet *Ποντομέδοντι*, "Ruler of the Sea," applied to the Emperor; and this brings us to a consideration of the singular aspect under which he was regarded, according to Philo, in the Sebastion at Alexandria, "the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, the saving hope of all who weigh anchor from the harbor or enter within its shelter."

Mommsen coins the word *Appulsor* as a representative of *Ἐπιβατήριος*, and Yonge translates the phrase, "the temple erected in honor of the disembarkation of Caesar," while the old Latin translator renders, *templum Caesaris navigantium praesidis.* Since Mommsen and Yonge agree on the one hand, as opposed to the Latin version, in the initial idea of the epithet, it is worth while to consider which is right. Here the lexicons help us little. They cite the passage in Pausanias where the epithet is applied to Apollo, and Professor Sophocles in his Byzantine Lexicon adds this from Philo. Perhaps we shall arrive at its usage best by taking up a series of kindred words which relate to the sacrifices that were offered by mariners in harbor. Such sacrifices must have been

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as early in their origin as men began to appreciate the dangers of the deep; and prayers would be offered for a safe voyage, at embarking, and thanks and vows would be paid for dangers passed, on landing. Nestor in the Third Odyssey tells of the sacrifices he offered in Tenedos after the fall of Troy, on his way homeward; and upon arriving at Geraestus in Euboea they offer many thighs of bullocks to Poseidon for having passed the mighty deep (γ 159, 179). For such sacrifices we have three classes of words, the most of them rather late as found in literature, notwithstanding the existence of the custom at so early a period.

First, those relating to embarkation, *τὰ ἐμβατήρια*. Philostratus (Vita Apol. Tyan. 227) speaks of sacrificing the *embateria* of the voyage,[1] and Heliodorus (4. 16) mentions some Phoenician merchants in the Greek seas, who are offering their *embaterion* because they expect to start in the morning for Libya, if the wind breathes favorably upon their design. This offering is made to the Tyrian Heracles. Elsewhere (5. 15) he alludes to *embateria* made to Dionysus,[2] as Philostratus (687) does, figuratively of a speech, where the prayer ascends to Protesilaus.[3] Plutarch in his treatise *De Solertia Animalium* (36) uses the word *ἀναβατήριον* for the same rite, and the sacrifice is probably to Apollo, whose dolphin had guided the ship out of storm into the harbor of Cirrha.[4]

Secondly, those relating to disembarkation, *ἐκβατήρια*. Himerius (Eclog. 13. 38) says that his words are struggling to anticipate the future, in their eagerness to unite the ode of embarkation with the songs of disembarkation.[5] Herodes Atticus on recovery from illness sacrifices his *ἐκβατήρια τῆς νόσου* (Philostr. 562). Synonymous with the *ἐκβατήρια* are the *ἀποβατήρια*. Teucer the Cyzicenian says that these were offered by Helenus on landing in Epirus from Troy[6] (Steph.

[1] *ἐμβατήρια πλοῦ θύσαντες.*

[2] *ἐμβατήρια τῳ Διονύσῳ καὶ ᾖδον καὶ ἔσπενδον.*

[3] *αἴρωμεν ἐξ Αὐλίδος . . . τὰ δ' ἐμβατήρια τοῦ λόγου τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ εὔχθω.*

[4] *τὸ πλοῖον εἰς Κίῤῥαν κατέστησεν· ὅθεν ἀναβατήριον θύσαντες, κ. τ. λ.*

[5] *οἱ δέ μου λόγοι καὶ προλαβεῖν μικροῦ τὸ μέλλον ὠδίνουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκβατηρίοις μέλεσι τὴν ᾠδὴν τὴν ἐπιβατήριον συνάψαι σπεύδουσιν.*

[6] *θύσαντι ἀποβατήρια ἐν Ἠπείρῳ.*

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Byz. in voc. Buthrotum). According to Josephus (Antiq. Jud. i. 3), the place where Noah landed from the ark and offered sacrifice was called by the natives Apobaterion. When Crassus was to cross the Euphrates on his fatal expedition, the omens for departure, *ἀπόβαθρα*, were of the very worst[1] (Dio Cas. xl. 18).

Thirdly, the *ἐπιβατήρια* which may be sacrifices either at embarking or disembarking. The passage quoted above from Himerius represents the former, and the *ἐπίβαθρα* of Apollonius Rhodius (i. 421) is said by the scholiast to be its synonym. For its use in relation to disembarkation we have the reading of the Etymologicum Magnum, which, in quoting the story of Teucer of Cyzicus, instead of using, as Stephanus Byzantius does above, the form *ἐκβατήρια*, gives *ἐπιβατήρια*. The rhetorician Menander (Spengel, Rh. Gr. iii. 377) offers the formal skeleton of the *ἐπιβατήριος λόγος*, or speech to be delivered either upon one's arrival after absence in one's native land, or arrival in some other country, or in address to a governor just arrived to take charge of the city or province. Libanius is cited as authority for either meaning of *ἐπιβατήρια*.

Similar to these are the more familiar *διαβατήρια*, or sacrifices at crossing a river or boundary line, especially in vogue among the Spartans (Thuc. v. 54, 55, 116; Xen. Hel. iv. 7. 2). For Crassus the *diabateria* were bad at the Euphrates (Dio, xl. 18), and Lucullus sacrificed a bull to the same river as his *diabateria* (Plut. Lucul. 24). At rivers the offering is made to the river-god, as Herodotus describes Cleomenes as doing at the Erasinus; and, as the omens were not accepted by this god, Cleomenes marched away to the sea, to which he again sacrificed, and then passed over to Nauplia (Hdt. vi. 76). When starting out upon an expedition from Sparta, the kings first consulted Zeus Agetor, and if he was propitious they marched to the confines and there sacrificed to Zeus and to Athene. This is declared by Xenophon (Rep. Lac. xiii.) to be an institution of Lycurgus. With this custom we must apparently connect the statement of Polyaenus (i. 10. 1) that

[1] *καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια τά τε ἀπόβαθρά σφισι δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο.*

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when the Heracleidae, Proclus and Temenus, were marching upon Lacedaemon, at the mountains they offered sacrifices to Athene, which he calls *ὑπερβατήρια*.[1]

Next we have to consider the deities to whom the sacrifices were made, and the epithets applied to them. Thus far we have had incidental mention of Poseidon, the Tyrian Heracles, Protesilaus, Dionysus, Apollo, rivers, the sea, Zeus, and Athene, as the object of such adoration, and the epithet of "the Leader" applied to Zeus. According to Ctesias (Pers. 17), Xerxes at the Hellespont sacrificed to Zeus *Diabaterios*, i. e. the god who extends his protection and safeguard to the venture. In like manner, when Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont, he built altars, where he had started from Europe and where he landed in Asia, to Zeus *Apobaterios* and Athene and Heracles (Arr. An. i. 11. 7). Here again Zeus is the god who has given safe passage, and to whom thanks are due accordingly. When, then, we find an inscription from Hermione (C. I. G. 1213) in which the Emperor Hadrian is called the god, the son of a god, the Zeus *Embaterios*, what other meaning has this ascription than that Hadrian was there worshipped as the deity propitious to mariners who embark for sea? It corresponds exactly to Apollo *Embasios* in Apollonius Rhodius, i. 359, 404, a passage so instructive in this connection that it merits some consideration. When Jason and his companions have launched the Argo in the bay at Pagasae, they build an altar of stones upon the shore; and, standing with two bullocks beside it, Jason uplifts the barley and prays to his patrial Apollo: "Hearken, O king, who didst promise to me at Pytho to show a successful accomplishment of my journey, for thou art thyself the cause of my labors. Therefore do thou conduct our ship thither, and back to Hellas, with all my comrades safe. Then hereafter as many of us as shall return will place upon thy altar goodly sacrifices of bullocks, and others at Pytho, and others at Ortygia, boundless gifts. Now come and accept our sacrifice, which we offer to thee as the first fruits, the *epibathra*

[1] We may further compare the terms *εἰσιτήρια*, *εἰσηλύσια*, *κατιτήρια*, *ἐξιτήριος*.

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of this ship. And may I loose, O king, through thy guidance, our anchor with happy fate, and may the wind breathe propitious, by means of which we shall pass the deep with the fair sky above us." Then the sacrifice is completed in due form, and the prophet Idmon interprets the excessive brightness of the altar-flame as the kindly response of the god. This picture presents the whole formula of the *embateria*, and the *epibateria* in one of its aspects, the sacrifice, the prayer, the vows, the expected protection and guidance. In this case the deity addressed is the patrial Apollo, who had been consulted as to the expedition. Pindar, in his Fourth Pythian Ode (194), represents Jason as offering the prayer to Zeus in similar language. In fact, the deity, as may be seen above, is variously chosen, according to the predilections of the individual. Poseidon was no doubt the usual object of the prayer, and the scholiast on the passage of Pindar tries to explain why Zeus was selected instead of the god of the sea.[1]

Again, when Jason and his companions land at Cyzicus and at Cius, they raise an altar on the shore to Apollo *Ekbasios*, and pay their dues to him (Ap. Rh. i. 966, 1186). Hesychius tells us that Artemis was called *Ekbateria* at Siphnos, and the connection of this goddess with the sea is seen from such epithets as *νηοσσόος* (Ap. Rh. i. 570), *Αἰγιναία* (Paus. iii. 14. 2), etc. Upon an Ephesian coin of the Emperor Antonine, Apollo is called the *Embasios* of the Ephesians (Eckhel, ii. 516, *Ἀπόλλων Ἐμβάσιος Ἐφεσίων*).

Now, upon arriving at our Apollo *Epibaterios* and Caesar *Epibaterios* we must needs view the ascription in the same light as those which have already been adduced. In describing the precinct of Hippolytus at Troezene, Pausanias (ii. 32. 2) says that, besides the temple of that hero, there is also a temple of Apollo *Epibaterios*, the offering of Diomed on having escaped the storm which fell upon the Greeks when returning from Ilium. Here the epithet corresponds precisely to *Ekbasios*, and represents the deity to whom the *ekbateria* were offered, the deity who, like the *epibates*, or armed hoplite

[1] Cf. Virg. Aen. v. 772–776; Hor. Epod. 10, etc.

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on board a trireme, has battled with the enemy, the storm, and brought the sailor safe and victorious into harbor, as Philo represents Augustus guiding the ship of state safe out of the storms of civil war into the harbor of peace and prosperity. Hence, Caesar *Epibaterios* means the deity to whom the *epibateria*, the sacrifices at embarking and at disembarking, were offered, who rules the sea, and protects all sailors, exactly as the Latin translator viewed it. This too is one of the alternatives which Virgil advances in his First Georgic (29–31), when questioning what kind of a god the great Octavianus is destined to be, a passage which has been supposed to have been written soon after the battle of Actium, when temples had already been decreed to him in Asia, and the Senate was showering honors upon him approaching the same exaltation. The passage runs thus: "Or wilt thou appear as the god of the measureless deep, and sailors worship thy divinity alone, Ultima Thule be thy slave, and Tethys win thee as her son-in-law by the offer of all her waves." Somewhat similarly Propertius (iii. 11. 71), addressing the sailor, says: "Therefore, whether seeking or leaving the harbor, O sailor, be mindful of Caesar on the whole Ionian deep." And at Aegae in Cilicia occurs an inscription in which he is addressed as a god in conjunction with Poseidon the Preserver, and Aphrodite Euploia (C. I. G. 4443).[1] Under this aspect we also find an explanation for that inscription (C. I. G. 4352) from the seaport town of Side in Pamphylia, where a certain Tuesianus has instituted a festival called the Tuesianian Epibaterion in honor of Athene and Apollo.[2] This is explained by Franz, followed by Liddell and Scott, as the "festival to celebrate the advent of a god"; which does not seem to satisfy Professor Sophocles in his Lexicon, for he expounds it as "a feast in honor of the arrival of (the statue of) a god," and puts a query after it. All difficulties vanish, however, if we suppose it to be a regular maritime festival, where sacrifices on the part of the city were offered for success in their ventures

[1] Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Ἀσφαλείῳ καὶ Ἀφροδείτῃ Εὐπλοίᾳ.

[2] ἐπιτελοῦντος θέμιν Παμφυλιακὴν Τουησιανεῖον ἐπιβατήριον θεῶν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

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upon the sea, and presented to Athene and Apollo as the deities who were there the object of prayer and worship by sailors. We have already seen Athene addressed in the *diabateria* and *hyperbateria*, and her connection with the sea is denoted on many coins by the accompanying symbol of the trident, and one story made her the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis (Paus. i. 14. 6). Athenian ships carried her statuettes at their prows, and it is probable that the *epibateria* were usually offered to her by Athenian sailors (Aristoph. Achar. 547, and Schol.; Ovid, Trist. i. 9. 1). Though the passage in Pausanias is a solitary instance of ἐπιβατήριος applied to Apollo, yet this deity appears often as the god of sailors under the epithet Delphinius, as early as the Homeric Hymn, and many temples in various quarters of the Greek world belonged to him as such. As we have seen, Apollonius says that Jason built an altar to Apollo *Ekbasios* (Argon. i. 966), and another to the same god as *Embasios* (Argon. i. 359, 404). A similar epithet is Aktios, as god of the seashore; and it was this god at Actium who cast aside his lyre, took his stand above the ship of Augustus, and flashed an unexpected light into the face of the enemy, while he grasped his bow and exhausted his quiver in defence of Rome and Augustus, as Propertius fondly declares (iv. 6). Upon this god the Roman conqueror never afterward wearied in lavishing his most splendid gifts, whether in his temple at Actium, on the Palatine Hill, where stood, as Propertius says (iv. 1. 3), the temple sacred to Phoebus of the Sea (*Navali Phoebo*), or elsewhere. The identification of Apollo with the Sun had been made in early days, and was now one of his chief phases; and as such he was also connected with seafarers, as the deity who put to flight the clouds and brought calm out of storm; as Philo again describes Augustus in the civil wars, and Philo is contrasting throughout the false Apollo, Caligula, with Augustus, to whom he ascribes all the qualities of the real god. And here it is interesting to compare the fact stated by Propertius (ii. 31. 11) that above the roof of the Palatine temple of the Naval Apollo was placed a chariot of the Sun in gold.

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The close connection between Augustus and this Apollo-Phoebus meets us at every turn. Indeed, the story ran that he was the son of Apollo, that god in his own temple having appeared to the mother of the future Emperor in the form of the Aesculapian serpent. Before his birth, his father dreamed that the effulgence of the sun sprang from the womb of the mother that was to be. It is noticeable that Suetonius quotes this account from Asclepiades, of Mendes in Egypt, where the story may well have originated, and been fostered later at Rome. Dio and others repeat it in sober earnest. His father, while in Thrace soon after, consulted the oracle of Bacchus concerning his son, when the priests told him that certain prodigies were vouchsafed them which had never before occurred, except in the case of Alexander the Great, who also claimed descent from a god. On the following night he dreamed that his son appeared to him in more than mortal form, arrayed in the thunderbolt, sceptre, and arms of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, with a crown of Apollonian rays streaming from his head, and standing in a laureated chariot drawn by twelve horses of exceeding splendor. While still an infant, though left by his nurse at evening in his cradle, he was not to be found in the morning, until, after long search, he was discovered upon the topmost turret lying face to face with the rising sun. When entering the city, after the death of Julius, under a clear sky, the sun was suddenly encircled by a crown. Such stories must not be made light of; their influence upon his superstitious contemporaries and upon Augustus himself was extraordinary. While studying at Apollonia, he ascended with Agrippa to the observatory of the astrologer Theogenes, whom Agrippa had consulted before, and from whom he had received promises of the most exalted fortune. Augustus refused to disclose the day of his birth, through fear and shame lest his fortune should prove less exalted than that of his friend; but at last, when prevailed upon, the astrologer leaped from his seat, fell upon his knees before him, and offered his adorations as to a god. Augustus believed so thoroughly in his fortune that he even published his horoscope; and he wished it to be believed that

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there was something of divine power in the peculiar brightness of his eyes, and was delighted if any one, under his concentrated gaze, dropped the eyes as if before the brilliancy of the sun (Suet. Aug. 79). He said in public that the comet which appeared soon after the death of Julius was believed by the people to show that the soul of Julius was received among the gods; but in his heart, as Pliny says (ii. 23), he rejoiced at the omen as produced for himself.

Having thus shown the intimate association inculcated between Augustus and Apollo, and especially the evident exertions to identify him as the son of that god, we may venture to adduce an Alexandrian coin (Feuardent, No. 541) bearing the naked head of Augustus on the obverse, with the legend *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ*, and on the reverse a temple with four columns and a prominent roof, with the legend *ΚΑΙΣΑ*. Between the two central columns rises an Aesculapian staff entwined by a serpent. Now, we know how common it was to represent a famous temple, with some attributes of the deity, on the coins of a city, and especially if the temple had just been built. For instance, on the Roman coins of Augustus we see the Palatine temple with six columns, and Apollo holding his lyre (Cohen, No. 45), and likewise that of Jupiter Tonans with the same number of columns, and Jupiter holding his sceptre (Cohen, 158). Another represents the temple of Mars Ultor with four columns, and military ensigns in the middle (Cohen, 37). Hence it seems to me possible that the Alexandrian coin just adduced presents to us with the usual conventionality the Sebastion of that city as the temple of Augustus, with the attributes of Apollo's son Aesculapius.

The idea of attainment of divinity by man was based at Rome upon the achievement of deeds too great for ordinary human nature. Horace has expressed it in his famous ode beginning *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*, and proceeds:

> Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> Enisus arces attigit igneas,
> Quos inter Augustus recumbens
> Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

To this list of those who have attained the starry citadels by

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such deeds, he adds Bacchus and Quirinus. It was the name of the last which Octavianus wished to assume, instead of Augustus, but was dissuaded by prudential reasons. The stages through which Caligula advanced, as described by Philo (Leg. ad Caium, 11–15), are significant in this connection. He began by likening himself to the demigods, Hercules, the Dioscuri, Bacchus, Trophonius, Amphiaraus, and Amphilochus; then he appeared dressed in the various guises of these, and carrying their attributes. Not content with this, he finally assumed the complete divinity of Apollo, Hermes, Mars. In the East it was usual to designate such divinities as the "New" so-and-so. We have seen how Cleopatra was denominated the New Isis; at Athens an inscription styles Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, the New Ares (C. I. G. 311); Caligula called himself the New Dionysos; Nero became the New Agathodaemon (C. I. G. 4699); Antinous, the New Iacchos and Pythios; Aurelius and Verus, the New Dioscuri (C. I. G. 1316); and some empress, the New Roman Here (C. I. G. 3956 b). In the language of the East, Augustus would have been the New Quirinus if he had followed his own inclination, and perhaps at Alexandria he may have been styled the New Aesculapius. Now Aesculapius is not only the Healer, as Philo denominated Augustus, but also the deliverer from the dangers of war, and the god of sailors. He is revealed in the second of these aspects by an inscription recently discovered on the site of the Asclepieion at Athens,[1] and in the last by inscriptions recovered from the island of Syra[2] (Bullet. Corresp. Hellénique, 1878, pp. 86, 87). Aristides also speaks of him as the god who saves from the deep and brings into a peaceful harbor (65), the one who leads and rules the universe, the savior of all, the helmsman of every ship (67). In the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens, Augustus is united with that god and Health in an inscription of adoration (Athenaion, v. p. 319); and in a similar precinct at Epidaurus, the great centre of Aesculapian worship, one inscription shows the people rendering their offerings to Livia,

[1] σ]ωθεὶς ἐκ [τ]ῶμ πολέμων καὶ λυτρωθε[ί]ς.

[2] εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ [Ἀσκ]ληπιῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ μειλη[σιακῷ πλοίῳ.

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the wife of Augustus; and another declares that the goddess Drusilla, the daughter of Germanicus, had a priestess there (Athenaion, x. p. 528).

Other considerations also may have contributed to this assimilation. Horace tells us that under the reign of Augustus each man may spend his days upon his own hillside, training his vine as he will. Thence he returns to his wines, and when the dessert is placed upon the table he gladly addresses Augustus as god; with many a prayer, and with abundant wine poured from the patera, he beseeches him, joining his godhead with the Lares, like Hellas mindful of Castor and mighty Hercules (C. iv. 5. 29–36). The deity among the Greeks, to whom this libation was poured after the removal of the viands, was generally Agathodaemon (Athen. xv. 47, 48), the giver of all good, whose connection with Hygeia was acknowledged in the same rites. This Agathodaemon, or Good Genius, in Egypt, is sometimes Kneph, or Chnubis, with his emblem the snake, the god of Canopus, but assumes many Protean forms as the representative of the sun, — sometimes Osiris, sometimes Serapis, who is now called Aesculapius, now Jove, now Osiris, now Pluto (Tacitus, Hist. iv. 84). Again, according to Wilkinson (Ancient Egyptians, iii. 121 seq.), Horus, the son of Osiris, has the title and attributes of Hat, or Agathodaemon. His distinguishing title is the avenger, and the support and defender of his father (as Augustus proclaimed himself), and he was the type of legitimate succession in Egypt, the representative of royalty and divine majesty; and as such there would be an especial desire to identify Augustus with him, as Sharpe says was actually done in the inscriptions of Upper Egypt, where he was styled "the Son of the Sun." Horus was also "the director of the sacred boats," under which form was indicated "the governor of the world"; just as Chnubis was Canopus "the pilot," at the Canopic mouth of the Nile, just east of Alexandria.

With such numerous lines tending to ready union, and with the quickness of imagination with which the people of the cosmopolitan Alexandria availed themselves of such mythological combinations, it is not difficult to see why the phase

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which the deification of Augustus assumed was that of the god who presided over the main industry of the port, commerce over seas, — the god who cleared the sea of pirates, and directed the merchants' ventures safely across the waters; to whom the *epibateria* should be fittingly sacrificed. It is this view which Philo has in mind throughout his description cited above, and in this there appears to have been a sort of transfer from the former dynasty of the Ptolemies. Alexander the Great commanded that Hephaestion, after his death, should be deified as a hero and worshipped as the god of mariners at the Pharos of Alexandria (Arr. An. vii. 23. 7; Lucian de Calumn. 17); but when the lighthouse on that island was built under Philadelphus, it was consecrated to the parents of this king, the first of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and they became the saviors of seamen (Lucian, Quom. Hist. Conscrib. 62; Letronne, Recueil, ii. 528). Hence the Sebastion probably took the place of the Pharos as the centre of this cult.

That Augustus might be viewed under other phases, whether in Alexandria or elsewhere, is nowise surprising in that age, when complexity in unity and unity in complexity formed the prevailing idea in relation to the godhead. Zeus is the appellation which he receives in the inscription at Tentyris, and in that of Catilius at Philae; and it was as the Olympian Zeus that Herod represented him at Caesarea. Horace regards him as a terrestrial Zeus, in C. i. 12. 51, iii. 5. 2; and Ovid in his Tristia, iii. 1. 35, and Fasti, i. 608. On many coins, and in some inscriptions, he is supposed to be one with Apollo, as C. I. G. 2903, Orelli 1436, and the dazzling effulgence that streamed from the vessel of the leader at Actium, while ascribed to Apollo by Propertius as quoted above, is assigned by Virgil to Augustus himself (Aen. viii. 681). This no doubt was a favorite aspect under which he was regarded, and is one of the phases which we have found established at Alexandria, where his aspect was likely to be as Protean as the luminary which served as his physical symbol.

From all these combinations it becomes pretty clear that

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the obelisks were erected before the temple in Alexandria, not merely as ornaments, but as consecrations to the deity of the temple and the deity of light, thus continuing the use to which they had originally been put by the Egyptians. It has already been suggested by G. L. Feuardent that a reason for the selection of the crab to form the support to these shafts may be found in the fact that the sea-crab was a frequent emblem of Apollo, and especially of maritime towns and those which received their name of Apollonia from that deity; a connection which, like that of the dolphin, is no doubt to be explained from the maritime side of the Apollonian worship. In the case of the Alexandrians, too, it is noticeable that the sun is in the zodiacal sign of the Crab at the period of the year when the Nile begins to rise and pour the blessed waters of increase and plenty over the land, and the country becomes a navigable sea. Then, too, the sun is Horus in the fullest vigor of his strength, and then his rays rest longest upon the earth; for it is the solstitial period, at whose close the sun begins to imitate, as Macrobius tells us (Sat. i. 17), the retrograde motion of the crab, and Cancer was therefore styled one of the two Gates of the Sun; and the Agathodaemon serpent is described by Hephaestion as one of the three Decani in Cancer. Even the obelisks which were conveyed to Rome, Augustus did not regard as mere ornaments or insignia of a conquered land. Both were consecrated by him to the Sun (*Soli donum dedit*), and one of them served for many years as a sun-dial.

Of this worship of Augustus as Epibaterios, in Alexandria, during his lifetime, we have, as I interpret it, some curious confirmatory evidence from Suetonius. During the last days of the Emperor's life he determined to accompany Tiberius, on his way to Illyricum, as far as Beneventum. Following his usual habit of journeying by sea wherever it was possible, he sailed down the coast of Latium, and, making a circuit about the Bay of Naples, stopped for four days at Capri, one of his favorite resorts. As he was passing by the Gulf of Puteoli on his way thither, it chanced that an Alexandrian ship had just put into port, and the passengers and sailors,

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dressed in white and crowned with garlands, were offering up their *epibateria*, or thanks for a prosperous voyage, and burning frankincense, singing in thanksgiving to their deity, the Emperor, "Through him they lived, through him they voyaged the deep, through him they enjoyed both liberty and fortune."[1] It does not appear that they knew the object of their thanks and praises to be passing by; and Suetonius goes on to relate that the Emperor was so delighted with what he had heard that he bestowed forty gold pieces upon each of his companions, and exacted a promise from every one that he would spend the entire amount in the purchase of Alexandrian merchandise, while he remained himself in a high state of self-exaltation and of hilarity during the entire remainder of his stay. In significant contrast with the feelings excited in the breast of Augustus by this incident stands the story related by Quintilian (vi. 3. 77), that when the people of Tarraco sent deputies to announce that a palm had sprung up upon his altar in their city, he replied with keen sarcasm, "It is plain how frequently you have built your sacrificial fire upon it."

The hymn of the Alexandrian sailors has its analogue in Horace's ode (C. iv. 5) written a short time before the obelisks were erected in Alexandria, and begging Augustus to return again to the city from the North: "Give back its light to thy native land, O noble leader; for when thy countenance beams upon the people like the spring, more grateful glides the day and more brightly shines the sun. . . . . For the kine then roam the pastures in safety, Ceres and fostering Increase nurture the fields, and the sailors flit over a calm and peaceful sea." This idea we find again expressed in a somewhat different form on a coin struck in Asia, as early as 28 B.C. (Cohen, No. 39). On one side is the legend LIBERTATIS VINDEX; on the other, Peace holds a caduceus, and by her side rests a mystic coffer from which a serpent stands erect, — all encircled by a crown of laurel.

[1] Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.* Suet. Aug. 98.

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Hence the evidence which seems to me to show conclusively that the temple, before which the obelisks were erected, was originally built and consecrated to Augustus by the Alexandrians, is, in the first place, the unmistakable testimony of Philo, and, in the second, the particular phase of his worship which is proved to have existed there during his lifetime. Finally, the size and splendor of the structure itself, as detailed by Philo, preclude the idea that it was the Heroum of Julius mentioned by Dio; while the erection of the obelisks before it proves that in B.C. 13–12 it was what Philo describes it, the most conspicuous sanctuary in the city. Much, too, may be attributed to the zeal of Barbarus in the Emperor's behalf, which is evinced by his inscription at Casinum some ten years earlier,[1] and by the consecration at Philae as well as at Alexandria in the same year, 13–12. That the temple in later days, as time passed on, should have become a common shrine of the Caesars, is natural enough, and Neroutsos discovered on its site in 1875 an inscription containing the adoration of the Decani of the pretorian cohort to the Caesars who were gods.[2] This is dated in the sixth year of Lucius Aurelius Verus, A. D. 166, at which time at least ten of the Caesars had been formally deified by decree of the Senate, besides a number of the females of the family; but that the temple was originally built and dedicated by Augustus to Julius, there does not seem to be a particle of evidence.

[1] See Obelisk-Crab Inscriptions, pp. 31–33.

[2] *Δεκανῶν τῶν ἐν στόλῳ πραιτορίῳ τὸ προσκύνημα Θεῶν Καισάρων ἐν τῇδε τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται. Καίσαρος Λ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου σεβαστοῦ ἕκτῳ ἔτει.* Bull. Cor. Hell., 1878, p. 177.

NOTE. — Some weeks after the foregoing paper was read before the Association, through Mr. Davidson's deservedly appreciative review in the American Journal of Philology (iv. 219–222), I first became aware of the existence of Professor Lumbroso's "L' Egitto al Tempo dei Greci e dei Romani" (Rome, 1882), and learned that he had there devoted a chapter to "The Temple and Hymn to Augustus." Though the book was ordered at once, it did not reach me until the last proofs of the foregoing pages had been returned to the printer. Professor Lumbroso's conclusions are at one with mine in many points, notably in relation to the dedication of the temple to Augustus, the explanation of Epibaterios, and the worship of the Emperor as the god of seamen, and the interpre-

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tation of the passage from Suetonius, which he calls the hymn of the sailors. He adds the following citation from Suidas, who appends it without explanation to the word ἡμίεργον: Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ᾠκοδόμει νεὼν μέγαν, ὅσπερ οὖν ἡμίεργος ἀπελείφθη. Τῷ Σεβαστῷ δὲ ἐτελέσθη. With a proper acknowledgment of the provoking ambiguity of the reference here, Lumbroso conjectures that it relates to the Sebastion which was begun by Cleopatra for Antony, and completed by the Alexandrians for Augustus. In our ignorance of such matters in the wide empire of the East, we can say no more than that this conjecture is possible; but it deserves recording as a possible factor in the problem, pending the appearance of some new monumental evidence which may settle the question.

Another point worth noticing here is some testimony which I have recently met with, which proves conclusively that Augustus began to be worshipped as a god in Egypt immediately after the subjugation of the country. This testimony is from two Demotic Stelae in the British Museum, translated by Revillout in the Revue Égyptologique (1882, ii. 98–102). These stelae were originally from Memphis, where they were erected by the orders of Augustus in the seventh year of his reign. One is the memorial of Nofre-ho, wife of Pse-amen, the other, of the latter's brother, Imouth, members of the family of the high-priest of Memphis. Their father and mother are known through the hieroglyphic stelae translated by Dr. Birch in the Archaeologia, vol. xxxix. Imouth died in the last year of Cleopatra's reign, after a short incumbency of the high-priesthood, and his brother was appointed in his place by Augustus, "in the first year of the God, the son of the God, the great foreign God, Caesar Autocrator," and as "prophet of Caesar." These expressions are repeated in both memorials. It is noticeable that this family was especially devoted to Imouthos, the Egyptian Aesculapius, from whom Imouth received his name, from the fact that his mother, long childless, prayed to that deity for offspring, until he appeared to her in a dream and promised that her prayer should be fulfilled after the performance of certain rites. The attributes of this Aesculapius are very similar to those given by Philo to Augustus. See Birch, *loc. cit.*, p. 320, *seq.*

A. C. MERRIAM.

Columbia College, June 5, 1884.

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II. — *The Varieties of Predication.*

By WILLIAM D. WHITNEY,
PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.

THE simplest complete sentence is composed of two members, each a single word: the subject noun and the predicate verb. For the noun as subject, there are various possible substitutes, but not for the verb as predicate; in languages like ours, there is no predication without a verb-form, and the office of predication is the thing, and the only thing, that makes a word a verb. There is no other acceptable, or even tolerable, definition of a verb than as that part of speech which predicates. The point is one of no small consequence in grammar, in view of the long-standing currency of other and false definitions; and it may fairly be denied that one who is not right in regard to it can call himself a grammarian. What has confused men's minds respecting it is especially the inclusion of infinitives and participles in the verbal system, as the non-finite parts of the verb; while in fact they are merely nouns and adjectives, retaining that analogy with the verb in the treatment of their adjuncts which has been lost by the great body of ordinary nouns and adjectives; and the line that separates them from the latter is indistinct and variable.

The primary predicative relation, then, is that sustained by the verb to its subject. Its formal establishment, by setting apart certain combinations of elements to express it and it alone, appears to have been the first step in the development by our family of languages of the sentence out of those formless entities of expression which we are accustomed to call roots. Any other variety of predication is of later date and of secondary origin.

In the developing syntax of the language, namely, the adjuncts of the predicate verb gain in logical significance at

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the cost of the verb itself; the latter forfeits more or less of its primary value, and becomes a "verb of incomplete predication": that is to say, in the actual usage of the language, it is not enough in itself to stand as a member of the sentence, but craves a complement; though still indispensable, it has lost its absoluteness and independence. In one direction of this development, the extreme is reached when certain verbs are attenuated in meaning to the value of a "copula," or assume the office of indicating merely the mental act of predicating, the whole logical significance of the predication lying in the added word or words, which, from being originally adjuncts of the verb, have now grown to be qualifiers of the subject of the sentence. Thus we come to have predicate nouns and adjectives; they are definable only as being by means of the copula made descriptive of the subject, or predicated of the subject through the instrumentality of a verb.

Then it comes to be possible to analyze every predicate verb into two parts: the copula, which expresses the act of predication, and a noun or adjective, which expresses the substance of what is predicated; as, *he is running*, for *he runs; he was a sufferer*, for *he suffered*. This analysis is a real one, and for certain purposes important; but it is mere artificiality and pedantry to impose it, as some systems do, upon every verb, in the description of the sentence. To do this is to do violence to the history of language. No tongue ever arrived at the possession of a copula by incorporating in a form-word the act of predication. Languages which have no verbs have no copula, as a matter of course; a word used predicatively is their substitute for a verb: a word capable of standing in a variety of uses, and pointed out as predicative in this particular case, either merely by the requirements of the sense as gathered from the totality of expression, or by its position relative to the other items of expression; or, it might possibly be, by a "particle" — which then has only to grow on to the predicatively used word in order to make a predicate form, or a verb. A copula verb is only made, as everything in language that is formal is without exception made, by the gradual wearing down to a formal value of verbs that originally had

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material significance — the latest case close at hand being the reduction of Lat. *stabat* to Fr. *était;* this is but a single example of a most pervasive and characteristic mode of growth in language.

Since the grammatical structure of language is indeed a growth, and all its distinctions the product of gradual differentiation, grammar is everywhere full of imperfect classifications and transitional forms and constructions; and so it is also in the department of predication. The copula is, as we may say, a verb of extirpated predication, and the words that follow it are descriptive purely of the subject; others are verbs of more or less incomplete predication, with predicative complements, these latter being partly qualifiers of the subject, but partly also modifiers of the verb itself. Examples are, *he stands firm, she walks a queen, it tastes sour, they look weary.* Such constructions occasion much difficulty to mechanical analyzers of the sentence, and the difficulty is sought to be avoided in various ways. To see their true character, we must apply the definition already laid down: the noun or adjective is predicative so far as it is made through the verb descriptive of the subject; it is an adjunct to the verb, or adverbial, so far as it describes the action of the verb itself. Thus, *she walks a queen* means partly that 'she has a queenly walk,' and partly that 'she is shown by her walk to be a queen.' If it is worth while (and it seems to be so) to distinguish these transitional cases from the normal predicate, and to mark them by a name, nothing can so suitably express their double character as the term "adverbial predicate."

Yet another variety of predication comes into use, in connection with the object of the verb. A most important kind of incompleteness of mere verbs as predicates is shown by those which demand the complement of a direct object. This object originally (as seems altogether probable) denotes that to or at which the action expressed by the verb immediately directs itself; it finds incorporation in a special case, the accusative, which then becomes the most frequent and important of the oblique cases. Then verbs expressing certain actions come to be so usually followed by an expression

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of the recipient of the action that they acquire the character of "transitive" verbs, and appear to lack something when no object is added. And the sentence-form subject-verb-object becomes as prevalent in our languages as the sentence-form subject-copula-predicate (noun, etc.).

Next are developed in many languages modes of expression which, without turning the sentence into a really compound or complex one, yet virtually make the object a subject of further predication. Thus, for example, *I make him fall* means 'he falls, and I bring it about,' or 'I cause that he falls'; and *I see him fall*, or *I hear him fall*, and so on, are of the same character. Such phrases are not at the outset different in character from the equivalent ones, *I cause his fall, I see him falling*, and the like; but out of them grows in some languages an important and conspicuous construction, that of an infinitive with its subject-accusative (most used in Latin, of the languages familiar to us): a construction which is at first strictly limited to a governing verb, but gradually acquires a degree of independence, and becomes a new clause-form, and almost a new sentence-form. A sort of analogy to this, and a very instructive one, is seen in such English sentences (not elegant, nor strictly correct, yet common enough in familiar speech) as *for him to do so would be quite insufferable*, where the *him* has come to seem to us a virtual subject to *to do*, instead of object of the preposition *for*, which connects it with the adjective *insufferable*.

A case of kindred character, though not leading to so important results in the development of the sentence, is that by which a noun or adjective (or its equivalent) is made directly predicative to an object noun. Examples are, *I make him a ruler, I make it black*. That the logical value of the words *ruler* and *black* in these little sentences is that of predicates to *him* and *it* respectively, is past all question. The fact appears from every test that can be applied, in the way of transfer into other and equivalent forms of expression: 'I cause that *he* be a *ruler*' (change to a subordinate substantive clause with its regular subject and predicate); 'I cause *it* to be *black*' (change to accusative-subject with an infinitive

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copula and following predicate); 'it is made black' (change to passive form, with object turned into subject, and the adjective etc. becoming an ordinary predicate to it as such); and so on. The predicate word is also often absorbable into the verb itself: thus, 'I blacken it'; which is analogous to 'I fell it,' i. e. 'make it fall' — one of the points of contact between denominative and causative formations. That is to say, *fell* is analyzable into *fall*, as the material part of the predication, and a copula of causation instead of the ordinary copula of existence; and *blacken*, in like manner, into the same copula with the adjective *black*, as the material part of the predication. And not only logically, but by fundamental definition, are the words of which we are treating predicates; since they are, like the other cases considered above, words which by and through the verb of the sentence are made descriptive of something: only this time of the object, instead of the subject. Here then we have one more kind of predicate, quite different from the rest; if we name it after its essential characteristic, we shall call it an "objective predicate," or "predicate of the object." It occurs oftenest and most plainly with the verb *make;* but there are many others with which it may appear: thus, verbs which virtually involve the idea of making, as "I *choose* him ruler," "they *appointed* him consul"; verbs of considering and the like, as "we *thought* him honest"; "men *call* her handsome"; and various less classifiable cases, instanced by "I *saw* her safe home," "we *heard* the water trickling," "he *keeps* his mouth shut"; and so on. The construction shades off into one in which the added adjective or noun is merely appositive, as in "they found him sleeping," and the like.

There is also in English, as in some other languages, the interesting case of a verb used factitively, or in the sense of causing or making by means of the action represented by it in its ordinary use, and necessarily accompanied by an objective predicate belonging to its object: thus, "he *wiped* his face *dry*," "you will *walk* yourself *lame*," "he *struck* his enemy *dead* at his feet," and so on. To trace the beginnings and development of this idiom in English, and to define its limits,

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would be an interesting subject for a special study in the history of English constructions.

This last kind of predicate, the objective, calls for the more notice, inasmuch as it is apt to be either ignored, or indistinctly and inconsistently treated, in the grammars. I have not noticed that any English grammar (excepting, of course, my own) gives an account of the construction accordant with that above. Goold Brown, for example, after noting one or two cases, and the difficulties of other grammarians in disposing of them, says, "I pronounce them cases of apposition." K. F. Becker calls the noun or adjective thus used simply a "factitive": "The object is conceived as an effect of the action; this relation is called the relation of the *factitive*." He does not, so far as I see, use the term "factitive object"; yet the language quoted, and his putting his treatment of it under the head of "the object," fairly justify those who have so called it after him and as if by his authority. This both ignores the essentially predicative character of the construction, and leaves out of sight the employment in it of an adjective; since no adjective can properly be called the object of a verb. But Kühner likewise, in both his Latin and Greek grammars, puts the case under the head of "two accusatives"; as if an accusative object with an adjective describing it could properly be so classified. He calls, to be sure, the second accusative an "accusative of the predicate," thus recognizing its real character; but it is not noticed under the head of predicative constructions. Even Madvig's account is open to criticism. He says that a verb may have, "besides its object, the accusative of a substantive or adjective, which constitutes a predicate of the object, and serves to complete the notion of the verb (strictly speaking, this accusative forms an apposition to the object)." The essential syntactical relation is here accurately defined in the first instance; but the definition is rather spoiled by the added parenthesis, which seems to imply that in a higher sense the relation is appositive rather than predicative. If Madvig had said, instead, that the construction is by its historical origin appositive, and still shades off into that, he would have been more nearly right.

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III. — *On Southernisms.*

By CHARLES F. SMITH, Ph. D.,
PROFESSOR IN VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

The South has not been, like the West, much given to the coining of new words. The nature of the people, their institutions, especially that of slavery, and the fact that they were an agricultural people, have made them particularly conservative in all respects. But for those things that we learned from negro nurses, and from which we rarely in after life entirely free ourselves, the South would be hardly second to New England in the preservation of pure English speech; not exactly, it is true, of the English of the day, but of the English speech of fifty or a hundred years ago. Even the negroisms are rarely anything but survivals, or oftener corruptions, of old usage; and indeed they are responsible for comparatively few of these corruptions, having simply preserved, not made them. This was to be expected, since the poorer classes in rural districts have invariably a very limited vocabulary, which they hand down, almost unchanged and unenlarged, from generation to generation. When we hear a common countryman or mountaineer use a word not familiar to us, we may be sure that in most cases it is not a new word, but belongs to the dialect of one or two hundred years ago. Some one, writing recently of a trip to some Southern mountains, said the dialect impressed him as if he had been suddenly transferred to Chaucer's time. I am sure that, if a careful observer were to spend some months in the rural and mountainous districts of some of the older Southern States, as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, he would be well repaid by the stock of old words he would collect from the folk-speech.

Most of the peculiarities of pronunciation in the language of educated Southerners are simply, I think, the relics of a former usage, as for instance *hair*, pronounced on the seaboard of South Carolina often *hĕar* (cf. Spenser, who rhymes

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heare with *appeare* and *deare*); and here again we see, perhaps, the source of the well-known Southern pronunciation of *dear*, *hear*, *near*, etc.; or *cyar*, *gyarden*, etc., in Virginia and South Carolina, which probably date from a very early period of the language and survive only here. I think a close observation of the language of fairly well educated people of the rural districts of the South would show both words and style to be in a greater degree archaic than is the case with the same class anywhere else; that many forms or sounds obsolete elsewhere would be current in their daily speech, and still more in their writing. On the other hand, I think the South has contributed fewer new terms than any other part of our country. This state of things finds its best explanation, I think, in addition to what has been mentioned above, in the reading of the class just referred to. I know a gentleman from one of the most retired districts of South Carolina, who is pretty well educated and is a great reader, but has few books. He has, I remember, Scott's novels, a collection of British poets, a copy of Shakespeare, a few medical works, and perhaps some other books, but not very many. His custom is to commence with the first volume of Scott, for instance, and read them all through, and, when he has finished the whole set, begin over again. Magazines and reviews he rarely sees, and the later poets and novelists he scarcely knows. It would not be strange if his language had a flavor of Scott.

W. H. Page, writing of "An Old Southern Borough," in the *Atlantic* for May, 1881, says concerning the class of which I have been speaking: "You will find old gentlemen who know Shakespeare and Milton, but not one in a thousand knows anything of Longfellow and Tennyson. Not unfrequently, much to your surprise, you may learn that one of these guardians of the post-office has read Byron and Burns annually for the last ten years, and he is perfectly familiar with every character in Scott. When he writes or makes a speech, he leaves his inert conversational tone entirely, and employs a diction and manner that have an antique Addisonian dignity and profusion." [1]

[1] Cf. "The Contributors' Club," *Atlantic*, September, 1880, and Prof. Schele De Vere, *Americanisms*, pp. 321, 511, 541.

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I do not propose to discuss here such terms as *heap, mighty, pert, right, reckon, sick, slick*, etc., which are generally known to be in common use at the South, though not altogether peculiar to that section; I propose rather to record the terms which are at least not generally known in the signification here given, and most of which, if mentioned in the dictionaries, are marked obsolete. Many of these usages are of constant occurrence, and known to every Southerner; and in not a few cases it was a surprise to me to learn that the usage was not given in the dictionaries, and current everywhere. In the case of about half the words I give here, the usage is somewhat rare, and confined to certain localities. I have tried to guard against mistakes in bringing forward here usages which might be familiar to parts of the country with which I was not well acquainted, by submitting lists of the words to friends, professors in different parts of the New England, Middle, and Western States; and yet I expect, when this paper appears in print, to find some of the usages here presented more generally known in the North than I had anticipated.

The limits of the paper allow me to give only a part of my list of such usages. I hope, by means of personal observation, and by correspondence with those who I feel sure will be interested in the subject, that I can in course of time attain some valuable results. The time spent upon Southernisms now, as well as upon Southern usages in general, is not ill spent, because many of these idioms are already passing out of use; and as we travel more and trade more, and intercourse between all parts of the country becomes more general, that which is peculiar to us will, in large measure, die out.

1. *Bat the eyes*, 'to wink.' Quite common in the South. "'Purithy Emma,' se' she, 'you hol' your head high; don't you bat your eyes to please none of 'em,' se' she." J. C. Harris, *Century*, May, 1883, p. 146. Halliwell and Wright give *bat*, 'to wink,' from Derbyshire, and *batt*, 'to wink, or move the eyelids up and down,' from Cheshire. It is no doubt the same with the root of English *to beat*.

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2. *Blink milk*, 'milk somewhat soured.' West Virginia. It is evidently a transfer of the term from *blinked-ale*, 'sharp *or* stale ale.'

3. *Brotus* (pronounced like *brought us*). According to Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* this is a word used exclusively by "Negro market women, itinerant street hucksters, and schoolboys in Charleston, S. C., and means the superfluity of a helping, the running over of a measure which has been heaped up and shaken down. It is the gratuitous surplusage which the vendor gives his customer for his patronage." The Creole word for the same thing in New Orleans is *lagniappe*. It is probably the same as *brotts*, 'fragments *or* leavings' (North of England), as given by Halliwell and Wright.

4. *Buck*, 'to bow *or* bend.' Professor Schele De Vere (*Americanisms*, 327) says, "The fact that players at Three Card Monte, as it is most commonly called, are said to *buck* at Monte, causes the familiar phrase of *bucking* at anything, in the sense of putting forth one's whole energy"; and he quotes the following from a San Antonio paper of 1870: "You'll have to *buck* at it like a whole team, gentlemen, or you won't hear the whistle near your diggings for many a year."

This explanation is not satisfactory, and I feel sure that the one phrase comes not from the other, but both from a common and very old source. In fact, in these phrases, and in the phrase *bucked and gagged*, as well as *to buck*,[1] used of a Texas horse, we have, I think, what remains of *buck*, the intermediate form between A. S. *bûgan* and the intransitive *buckle*,[2] 'to bend *or* buckle to a thing.' This *buckle* is derived, it is true, as some lexicographers say, from *bûgan*, but as a diminutive from *buck*, which bears the same relation to *bûgan* that *sich bücken*, Low German *bucken*, does to *biugan*, *biegen*. Compare *sich aufbuckeln* in Schmeller's *Bayrisches Wörterbuch*.

The evidence for the form *buck* in this sense in Old English is as follows. Halliwell gives *bucker*, "a bent piece of wood, especially that on which a slaughtered animal is suspended." He adds, "Hence the phrase *as bent as a bucker*. The term is applied also to a horse's hind leg. (Suffolk.)" He also gives *bowk* and *bowked*, 'bent, crooked' (North), and *bowk-iron*, 'a circular piece of iron which lines the interior of a cart or wagon-wheel' (West). Compare also *buxom*,

[1] To spring forward with quick, short, plunging leaps, and come down stiff-legged with the head between the forelegs, and as near the ground as possible.

[2] Compare: And as the wretch whose fever-weakened joints,
Like strengthless hinges, buckle under life. (Shakespeare.)
And, — Go, buckle to the law. (Dryden.)

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earlier *bucksome*, Ger. *biegsam*. Further, also, Scotch *buckie*, 'a spiral shell,' which Jamieson connects with Ger. *bucken*, 'to bend.'

Now as *bucked* in the phrase *bucked and gagged* means clearly 'bowed *or* bent,' the exact equivalent of *gebückt;* as the phrase *to buck at*, quoted from the Texas paper, is precisely equivalent to our *buckle to* or *buckle down to*, namely, 'to bend down forward for the purpose of putting out one's whole energy in pushing or pulling a thing'; as the main idea in the *bucking* of the Texas horse seems to be 'bow *or* bend' (cf. the Bavarian *sich aufbuckeln*, 'to raise the back' like a cat); it seems to me pretty clear, considering also the similar uses of what seems to be the same form of the stem in old or provincial English, as given above, that we have in *buck* the form intermediate between *bûgan* and *buckle*. No etymologist seems to have taken this view.

5. *Carry*, 'to lead *or* escort.' This is common everywhere in the South. The president of a Southern university spoke recently of "a committee of two of the faculty authorized to *carry* around with them a man to estimate the damage done to the university property," and a professor in the same institution said he had "been *carried* all over —— College, from bottom to top, by the president." To *carry* a horse to water is a common performance. This usage seems to have Bible authority, for we read, Lev. iv. 21, "He shall *carry* forth the bullock without the camp and burn him"; and 2 Chr. xiv. 15, "They smote also the tents of cattle and *carried* away sheep and camels in abundance"; and again, Gedaliah's duty was "that he should *carry* Jeremiah home" (Jer. xxxix. 14).

6. *Coat*, 'a petticoat.' Still used in the South. So *undercoat* in the same sense. "Cousin Sally Dilliard and Mose, like genteel folks, they walked the log, but my wife, like a darned fool, hoisted her *coats* and waded through." Henry Watterson, *Oddities of Southern Life*, p. 478. Bailey and Johnson both give *coat* for a woman's petticoat. Halliwell says that it is so used in Cumberland, and adds that any gown was formerly called a coat. Cf. *Romaunt of the Rose:* "And she hadde on a cote of grene of cloth of Gaunt"; also Locke's "a child in coats." A friend writes me that the word was "so used a generation or two ago in seaboard Massachusetts."

7. *Collards* is, as Bartlett says, "a corruption of *colewort*, a kind of cabbage grown at the South, the leaves of which do not form a close head." Webster says *colewort* in this sense is obsolete; but in the South no word, as no dish, is better known among the poorer whites and negroes than collards or greens. Uncle Remus frequently

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mentions *collards;* e. g. "Brer Rabbit make so free wid de man's *collard* patch dat de man tuk 'n sot a trap fer ole Brer Rabbit" (p. 123). Gilmore, *My Southern Friends*, p. 54, speaks of "the poor trash who scratched a bare subsistence from a sorry patch of beans and *collards.*" Halliwell and Wright give *collard* for *colewort* in the East of England, and *collets* for young cabbages in Berkshire. Spenser speaks of "fat *colworts* and comforting perseline."

8. *Crope*, preterit and past participle of *creep*, is common among the negroes and poorer whites. It was once used by a pupil of mine. Uncle Remus (p. 55) says, "Brer Tarrypin he crope under de bed." Cf. Piers Plowman (Prol. 186 = 370), "We crope under benches." Halliwell quotes from Gower (MS. Soc. Antiq. 134), "This lady who was crope aside, As sche that wolde hireselven hide." "By that time the little thing had crope three or four miles off." South.

9. *Dansy*, says Prof. Schele De Vere, "is used in Pennsylvania of persons who are failing from old age." It is still used also in Virginia. Grose quotes *dansy-headed* (Norfolk and Suffolk) as 'giddy, thoughtless.' It is Scotch also; cf. Jamieson, *donsie* or *doncie*, meaning 'dull and dreary' (Hamilton), 'stupid' (Roxb.). The noun *dansie* or *dancie* means in Scotch 'a stupid, lubberly fellow,' and has perhaps the same origin as Engl. *dunce*, and from the noun comes, no doubt, the adjective with its easily derived meanings both of 'saucy' and 'stupid *or* dull.' The latter signification is the one nearest the Virginia usage, where it applies, I believe, only to a feeling of physical dulness or weariness or weakness.

10. *Ding* and *dinged*, moderate forms of an oath, about like *darn*, peculiar to the South, according to Prof. Schele De Vere and Bartlett. "If I ever takes another (thrashing) for her or any of 'em, may I be *dinged*, and then dug up and *dinged* over again." (Henry Watterson, *Oddities, etc.*, 338.) "Mr. Bill Williams said 'he 'd be *dinged* ef he had had a hot waffle, even when thar was waffles, sense that dad-blasted Yankee had moved up to old Miss Spouter's eend.'" (Ibid., 317.) Halliwell gives it as a moderated imprecation. It is doubtless a figurative use of the obsolete *ding*, 'to throw *or* dash with violence.' Cf. Middle English *dingen*, 'to knock,' Scotch *ding*, 'to beat.' The verb is not found in Anglo-Saxon. Cf. also Milton's "*ding* the book a coit's distance from him."

11. *Doted*, 'decayed inside,' of a tree. It is quite common in South Carolina and other Southern States. A correspondent in Ohio "has heard it, but not often." Halliwell gives *doated*, 'beginning to decay.' Johnson quotes Howell (1650), "And the *dotard* trees serve

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for firing," where *dotard* is evidently the same as *doted.* I think that Nares makes a mistake in defining *doted* as 'stumpy' in the following passage: —

> Then beetles could not live | Upon the hony bees,
> But they the drones would drive | Unto the *doted* trees.

It must mean 'decayed *or* hollow.'

12. *Fill,* 'to draw.' This usage, derived from the old word *fills,* 'shafts,' is, so far as I know, confined to North Carolina. Bartlett mentions *fills* as "a common mispronunciation of *thills*"; but Shakespeare has (Tr. and Cr., iii. 2), "An you draw backward, we 'll put you i' the *fills.*" So in the Merchant of Venice, ii. 2, the folio of 1623 reads, "Thou hast got more haire on thy chin then Dobbin, my *phil*-horse, has on his taile." Nares gives also these examples: "I will Give you the forehorse place, and I will be I' th' *fills,*" from *Woman Never Vexed,* 1632; "Acquaint you with Jock, the forehorse, and Fibb, the *fil*-horse," from Heyward and Rowland, *Fortune by Sea and Land.* Johnson quotes the word from Mortimer's *Husbandry,* and Halliwell has *filler,* 'shaft-horse,' and *fill-bills,* 'the chain-tugs to the collar of a cart-horse by which he draws.'

13. *Forenent* or *Forenenst,* 'opposite to, gegenüber.' Used still in rural parts of the South not affected by immigration, so that it is certainly a relic of the speech brought over from the mother country. According to Prof. Schele De Vere, it is used in Pennsylvania. Webster says it is obsolete, quoting Fairfax, "The lands *forenenst* the Greekish shore." It is Scotch and Irish. Cf. Schele De Vere, and Benet's *Essay on Americanisms.* Halliwell gives it also from North of England.

14. *Frazle,* 'to unravel cloth'; used also of anything coming apart into strands. It is used everywhere in the South, and I was surprised to find that it was not in the dictionaries and in good use everywhere. We have also the expression *all frazled out,* figuratively used, about equivalent to 'used up.' Halliwell has *to frazle,* 'to unravel cloth,' and *frazlings,* 'threads of cloth torn or unravelled,' East.

15. *Fresh,* "used locally in Maryland for a stream distinct from the tide water, as 'Allen's Fresh.' The lands in Talbot County, Md., are divided into *freshes* and *salts.*" (Bartlett.) Halliwell gives *fresh* as a Kentish word, meaning 'a little stream *or* river nigh the sea.' *Fresh* for 'freshet *or* overflow,' in which sense Johnson quotes it from Grose (North) and Crutwell (Lincolnshire), is still common among the lower classes of the South. Milton, as well as Shakespeare, uses it to denote a pool of fresh water: "I'll not show him where the

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quick freshes are." Tempest. In Virginia it means also 'a small tributary of a larger river,' and Beverley (*History of Virginia*) already mentions "the *freshes* of Pawtomeck river." *Freshet* seems to have been once used in the sense in which *fresh* is now used in Maryland. Cf. "Now love the *freshet* and then love the sea." Browne, *Brit. Past.* (1613). So Milton: "All fish from sea or shore, *freshet* or purling brook." See Schele De Vere, p. 475.

16. *Frumenty*, *fromety*, or *furmity*, 'wheat boiled in milk, to which sugar and spice are added'; used in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and other Southern States. It is given in the dictionaries, but I cannot find that it is now known anywhere in the North. Beverley (*History of Virginia*) defines *homony* as "Indian corn soaked, broken in a mortar, husked, and then boiled in water over a gentle fire for ten or more hours, to the consistency of *furmity*." *Frumenty* is undoubtedly the original form, and derived from Latin *frumentum*. Dr. Gower (Todd's Johnson) says: "Frumenty makes the principal entertainment of all our country wakes. Our country people call it *firmity*." Nares, who says it is still a favorite dish in the North of England, gives examples from 1585 down, with the various forms, — *furmenty*, *furmentie*, *furmity*, *furmety*.

17. *Galled.* Galled spots in a field are places where the soil has been washed away, or has been so exhausted that nothing will grow. The word is common in South Carolina, and perhaps generally in the South. Halliwell gives "*gauls*, 'spots where grass, corn, or trees have failed.' (South.)" Wright has "*galls*, 'springs or wet places in a field, and bare places in a crop.'" Nares quotes from Norden's *Surveiors Dialogue* (1610): "I see in some meddows *gaully* places, where litle or no grasse at all groweth, by reason (as I take it,) of the too long standing of the water." Johnson quotes from Ray, *On the Creation*: "If it should fall down in a continual stream like a river, it would *gall* the ground, wash away plants by the roots, &c." I think this usage is transferred from the ordinary one of *gall*, 'to wear away by friction, to break the skin by rubbing,' to a spot in a field where the soil has been worn away by constant tilling and the action of water; and after the meaning 'an unproductive spot' was once established, it was then applied to wet spots also.

18. *Holp*, the old preterit and past participle of *help*, is still used among the lower classes in many parts of the South, and from this they even form an infinitive *to holp* (hope), instead of *to help*. "Considerably *holp* up" is a phrase often heard; cf. "A man is well *holpe* vp that trusts to you." Com. of Err., iv. 1. Uncle Remus (p. 112)

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says: "Brer Bar, he *hope* Miss Meadows bring de wood." "I *holped* him ter plow las' month," writes C. E. Craddock. *Atlantic*, May, 1883. "But it can't be *hoped*, and so I takes the responsibility." H. W., *Oddities, etc.*, 358. Cf. Macbeth i. 6: "But he rides well; and his great love, sharp as his spur, hath *holp* him to his home before us." Halliwell has *hoap*, 'helped,' from Essex. *Holpen*, the past participle, is found in the Bible, Bacon, Spenser, etc.

19. *Hone*, 'to pine *or* long for anything,' is not yet obsolete in the South, though perhaps rare. Uncle Remus (p. 198) says: "Sometimes w'en I git kotch wid emptiness in de pit er de stummuck, an' git ter fairly *honin'* arter sump'n w'at got substance in it, den it look like unto me dat I kin stan' flat-footed an' make more cle'r money eatin' pies dan I could, if I wuz ter sell de las' one twixt dis an' Chrismus." Johnson gives the following example from Burton's *Anatomy:* "His heart is still with her, to talk of her, admiring and commending her, lamenting, *honing*, wishing himself anything for her sake." Halliwell gives it as from Devonshire.

20. *Jag*, 'to prick *or* pierce with a thorn or any sharp-pointed thing.' Common in various parts of the South. So in South Carolina, a man in swimming was said to have been "*jagged* by a snag." It seems to be Scotch, for Jamieson gives *to jag*, 'to job *or* pierce,' and the noun *jag* or *jagg*, 'a prick with a sharp instrument.' "Affliction may gie him a *jagg* and let the wind out o' him, as out o' a cow that's eaten wet clover." *Heart of Midlothian.* The form often heard in South Carolina and elsewhere is *jŏŏg* which means rather 'to punch,' and may be the same as *jag*.

21. *Joggle*, 'to shake up and down *or* move up and down on a plank suspended between supports at each end.' From this we have the word *joggling-board* to indicate the contrivance itself. *Joggling* is a favorite amusement of children in South Carolina, and the joggling-board on the front piazza is a common sight. As a large part of my childhood was spent on the joggling-board, I supposed, till I looked it up, that the word was in all the dictionaries. Halliwell has *to joggle*, 'to shake,' and *joggle* in our sense is perhaps a misapplication of this. The word in Webster for shaking up and down is *jiggle*, which we do not know in this sense in the South. *Joggle* seems to be the more correct form for shaking, or for any unsteady motion.

22. *Jower* or *jour*, quite common in the South in the sense of persistent quarrelling or scolding. It seems to be also an old Eastern Massachusetts usage, but is rare there, I hear, if still known. This I take to be the word used by C. E. Craddock in a dialect tale (*Atlan-*

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tic, January, 1880): "But law, I can't stand hyar all day *jowin'* 'bout Rufus Chadd." Halliwell and Wright give *jouring*, 'a scolding,' (Devonshire), and Nares, who thinks it may have been coined from *juro*, quotes from Hayman's *Quodlibets* (1628):

> I pray that Lord that did you hither send,
> You may your cursings, swearings, *jourings*, end.

Wright, however, takes *jouring* here to mean 'scolding,' and no doubt correctly.

23. *Kink*, the old Scotch word, is still used in West Virginia, and perhaps elsewhere in the South, of a child's losing its breath by coughing especially, or crying, or laughing. It is so defined by Bailey and Halliwell. Cf. the old Dutch *kincken*, *kichen*, Germ. *keichen*; also the obsolete or provincial Eng. *kink-host*, Germ. *Keichhusten*. Todd's Johnson surmises, it seems to me probably enough, that *chin-cough*, 'whooping-cough,' is more properly *kin-cough*, which would be exactly equivalent to *kink-host*, Germ. *Keichhusten*.

24. *Mang* means in West Virginia the 'slush about a pig-sty.' Halliwell has *mang*, 'a mash of bran and malt,' from *mang*, A.S. *mengan*, 'to mix *or* mingle,' cf. *mang-corn*. The West Virginia usage has the same source as the word in Halliwell. A student of Vanderbilt University (from West Tennessee) was heard to say recently: "Well, if I fail on my examination, I 'll have the consolation that I am in the *mang* [i. e. 'the crowd'], as the old people in my country say," exactly Germ. *Menge*. Cf. Scotch *mix one's mang*, 'to join in anything.'

25. *Misery*, 'a pain'; universal among the negroes and lower classes in the South. A friend writes me that old people in the West use it so. "Mrs. Johns, sitting on the extreme edge of a chair and fanning herself with a pink calico sun-bonnet, talked about her husband and a *misery* in his side and in his back, and how he felt it a comin' on nigh on ter a week ago." C. E. Craddock, *Atlantic*, May, 1878. Halliwell gives *misery*, 'constant bodily pain' (East).

26. *Poor* is pronounced *pore* almost universally in the South; in fact, I should consider this pronounciation one of our shibboleths, and hence I give it, though one (and only one) of my correspondents (from Massachusetts) writes me that he is familiar with it. "Simon Burney air a mighty *pore* old man." C. E. Craddock, in the *Atlantic Monthly*. "And now they want to turn it all on my *pore* daughter." H. Watterson, *Oddities, etc.* It is at least as old as Piers Plowman (Prol. 83): "Pleyned hem to the bischope that hire parisshes were *bore*." So repeatedly, if not invariably, in Piers Plowman.

27. *Priminary*, 'a predicament *or* difficulty,' given by Bartlett, on

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the authority of Sherwood's *Georgia*, as Southern. I am not acquainted with the usage, but it has old English, as well as Scotch authority. It is of course, as Johnson says, from *premunire* (Lat. *praemonere*), the old writ in the common law. Johnson gives as second meaning 'the penalty so incurred,' and third, 'a difficulty, a distress' ("a low ungrammatical word"). Halliwell gives, from the North, *priminery*, 'difficulty.' Jamieson has *primanaire*.

28. *Rip*, 'a lean horse,' not uncommon in South, though a low word. "There 's an old *rip* down there in the stable; you may take him and ride him to hell, if you want to," said an irate Carolina farmer to a foraging party during the war. Johnson gives *rip*, 'refuse,' as "a rip of a horse." Wright gives it as 'a lean animal'; cf. Germ. *Gerippe*.

29. *Seepy* and *seepage*. Prof. Schele De Vere says that *seep* means, in New England, 'to run through fine pores or any very small openings'; but the adjective *seepy* and the noun *seepage*, common in West Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, &c., are not known to any of my correspondents in the North or West. Cable says, in one of his Creole tales: "When the Anglo-American flood that was presently to burst in a crevasse of immigration upon the Delta had thus far been felt as slippery *seepage*, which made the Creole tremble for his footing." *Seepy* land means in Virginia, Maryland, &c., land under cultivation, not well drained. It is no doubt the same as *sipe*, 'to drain *or* drip,' which Halliwell and Grose quote. Worcester, in his Supplement, gives *seepy* as "Scotch and U. S.," and quotes from Johnson "seapage and sewage." The root appears in the A.S. *sipen-ýge*, 'lippus, trief-äugig.'

30. *Servant* was the common Southern euphemism for 'slave' in the ante-bellum times. *Servant* (with the contrast "*hired* servant") and *bondman* are the Bible words; but in Jer. ii. 14 and Rev. xviii. 13 we have *slave*.

31. *Skew-bald*, same as 'piebald,' given as obsolete in Webster, is still sometimes used of a horse in the South. Nares says it is still used in that sense in Cheshire, and quotes from Cleaveland's Poems of 1651: "You shall find | Og the great commissary, and which is worse, | Th' apparatour upon his skew-bal'd horse."

32. *Slashes*, 'wet *or* swampy grounds overgrown with bushes.' The slashes of Hanover Co., Virginia, became famous as the birthplace of Henry Clay. Bartlett quotes from Beverley's *Virginia*: "Although the inner lands want the benefit of game (which, however, no pond or *slash* is without)," &c. It is of the same origin with Halliwell's *slashy*, 'wet and dirty,' and with the Scotch *slash*, 'to work in what is wet

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and flaccid.' Doubtless the noun was used in England at the time of the settlement of Virginia, but I find no trace of it.

33. *Snack*, 'a luncheon *or* hasty repast,' is, I believe, despite the fact that one, and only one, of my correspondents (Massachusetts) knows it (and he has lived in the South), a Southern expression. "'You 'd better stay en take a snack wid me, Brer Fox,' sez Brer Rabbit, sez he." Uncle Remus, p. 99. Johnson gives it as common in this sense in various parts of the North of England. So Jamieson has both *snack* and *snatch* in this sense. It is the old English *snack*, 'to snatch.' The expression *to go snacks*, i. e. 'to go shares,' is the common one in the South, while *to go snucks* is the usual form in the North and West; though the former is still used in Massachusetts.

34. *Sobbed* or *sobby*, 'soaked *or* wet,' commonly applied to land, though also to other things, is the Southern word for *soggy*, which we never or seldom use, I think. "The high lands are *sobbed* and boggy." Charleston letter to *New York Herald*. "Cranberries will grow in *sobby* ground, where nothing else can be raised." *Norfolk Journal*. *Sobby* bears the same relation to *sob*, 'to sop *or* suck up' (which occurs in Mortimer's *Husbandry*, and seems now to be obsolete except in Suffolk), as *soggy* does to *soak*. Dickens has *soppy*. Halliwell gives *sobbed*, 'soaked with wet' (Warwick). Cf. Bartlett and Schele De Vere.

35. *Stob*, 'a small post *or* stake *or* stump of a shrub,' commonly so used in many, if not all, parts of the South. It is not elegant, however. Wright has *stob*, 'a post, a small stake'; so also Jamieson has both *stob* and *stab* in this sense; cf. Germ. *Stab*.

36. *Stile*. To stile a gun is to aim it, as a cannon, or to direct a small gun by putting it on supports. Halliwell has *to stile*, 'to direct, as a gun'; Jamieson, *stile*, 'to place *or* set'; to *stile* cannons, 'to plant them.'

37. *Strut*, 'to be over-full, to swell out.' One of my correspondents from New York marked this as common in that State; two others from there do not know it; nor do any others of my correspondents know it. It is not common, but still used at the South; so said a negro nurse recently. Webster quotes from Dryden: "The bellying canvas *strutted* with the gale." Again Dryden: "The goats with *strutting* dugs shall homeward speed." Cf. Germ. *strotzen*. Todd's Johnson quotes from Drayton: "That makes each udder *straut* abundantly with milke." Promptorium Parvulorum: "Strowtyn, or bocyn owt" ('to swell *or* bend out').

38. *Swash*. Bartlett says: "In the Southern States of America, a

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name given to a narrow sound or channel of water lying within a sand-bank, or between that and the shore." In this sense, I think it is entirely Southern. "It is said they took refuge in the *swash* behind the house." *New Orleans Bee*, 1869 (De Vere). Wright gives *swash* (2), 'a crack *or* channel in the sand made by the sea.'

39. *Swingeing* or *swinging*, 'huge, great,' is quite common in the South; used generally by children. A "swinger" in the same sense is, I believe, common enough in the North. It is very old, as the examples cited by Todd's Johnson show: "I wote not who doth rule the winds and bear the *swinging* sway." Turberville, 1567. "A *swinging* storm will sing you such a lullaby." B. & Fl. Nares quotes from the *Hist. of Jack Horner*: "Quoth Jack, now let me live or die, | I 'll fight this *swinging* boar."

40. *Such* or *so . . . as that*, instead of *such* or *so . . . that*. I venture to record this as a Southernism, because only one of my correspondents (from Massachusetts) knows it. "The Faculty are favorable to *such* a reduction of studies *as that* a man can do his work well." Chancellor of Vanderbilt University. "It is strictly a local measure, the bill being *so* drawn *as that* it applies only to Nashville." *Nashville American*, 1883. I recently heard the expression from three Southern college presidents and two professors. It occurs in the Life of Bunyan: "Wherefore I did labor *so* to speak *as that* thereby, if possible, the sin and the person guilty might be particularized." Cf. Maetzner's *Englische Grammatik*, iii. 2, 2d ed., pp. 505 and 419.

41. *Thoroughfare.* Bartlett gives this word, in the sense of a 'low gap between mountains,' as Southern, citing "Thoroughfare Gap" in Fauquier Co., Virginia; so "Thoroughfare Mountain." It is probably an application of the original and literal meaning of *thoroughfare*, and doubtless quite old in this sense.

42. *Trash*, in the phrase "poor white trash," so common among the negroes, though it may be here simply a usage coined from *trash* in the general sense of anything worthless, has classical authority. It is possibly the survival of the usage in Shakespeare, "I suspect this *trash* | To be a party in this injury." Othello v. 1. Again, Othello ii. 1: "If this poor *trash* of Venice, whom I trash | For his quick hunting, stand the putting on." Halliwell has *trash-bag*, 'a worthless fellow.' Children are called *trundle-bed trash*.

43. *Use*, 'to frequent, to inhabit.' The word in this sense is put down as obsolete already in Todd's Johnson; so Webster and Worcester; but it is still in daily use at the South. Uncle Remus (p. 68) says, "Der's an old gray rat w'at *uses* 'bout 'yer." It is by no means

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a negroism, but common among almost all classes. "There 's a cloud that *uses* around White Sides (mountain)," said a North Carolina mountaineer. (Benet.) Spenser (F. Q.) has, "In these strange ways where never foot did *use*." Milton, *Lycidas*: —

> Ye vallies low, where the mild whispers *use*
> Of shades and wanton winds, and gushing brooks.

B. Jonson: "He *useth* every day to a merchant's house, where I serve water." The noun *use* is frequently employed in conversation in the South in a very odd way, namely, *I have no use for him*, meaning, 'I do not like him,' about as strong as *ich mag ihn nicht*.

44. *Upping-block*, 'a horse-block,' in common use in West Virginia. Halliwell gives it as so used in various dialects in England.

45. *Wain*, 'a wagon,' Prof. Schele De Vere gives as "still in daily use in some parts of the United States, e. g. in the peninsula east of the Chesapeake, one of the first parts of Virginia and of North America that were colonized." Cf. Spenser: "There ancient night arriving, did alight | From her high weary wain." Halliwell gives it as still in use. The ordinary form *wagon* is borrowed from the Dutch.

46. *Wall the eyes*, that is, 'to roll the eyes so as to show the white.' I can remember this as a very common way among the little negroes in South Carolina of showing displeasure, and expressing impudence, when they did not dare say anything. It comes of course from the noun *wall-eye*, or the adjective *wall-eyed*.

47. *While*, for 'till.' Bartlett quotes the usage from Sherwood's *Georgia* as Southern; for instance, *stay while I come*, for 'stay till I come.' I understand it is so used in Tennessee. The dictionaries give it as obsolete. Cf. Shakespeare's Macbeth, iii. 1: "*While* then, God be with you." Beaumont and Fletcher: "I 'll lie under your bed *while* midnight." Halliwell gives it in this sense from Yorkshire.

48. *Whommle*, 'to turn a trough, or any vessel, bottom upwards, so that it will drain well'; used in West Virginia. Halliwell gives *whommle*, 'to turn over' (various dialects). Jamieson has *whummil*, *whamble*, and *quhemle*, in the same sense.

49. *Wrack-heap*, as it probably should be spelled, or *rack-heap*, as it is spelled commonly, means in West Virginia 'a confused mass of logs and other rubbish, usually accumulated by high water.' Some one from West Virginia wrote once a letter to some Northern paper describing an immense rack-heap which floated down a river and carried away a bridge; but as the word was not known where the paper was published, the strange phenomenon was announced of a rock-heap floating down a river. I find from Jamieson that *wrak*, or *wrack*,

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or *wreck*, means, 1. 'whatever is thrown out by the sea, as broken pieces of wood, sea-weed, etc.'; and 4. 'refuse of any kind' (so Halliwell, *rack*, 'weeds, refuse,' Suffolk); and here perhaps we find the origin of the expression. More probably we have here simply the old form of the word *wreck* preserved; cf. Milton's "A world devote to universal wrack."

50. *Year*, as a pronunciation of the word *ear*. I run the risk perhaps of being charged with maligning my people when I call this a Southernism; but while it is the universal pronunciation among the lower classes, it was not confined to them a few years ago. I recall two ladies of excellent family, both professors' wives, who regularly pronounced it *year*, or rather *yer*. When I was a boy at school, a common conundrum with us was, "Why is Tick's mouth like an overseer's wages?" And the answer was, "Because it runs from year to year." Tick was a German boy. Uncle Remus (p. 205) says: "Come yer, son, whar dey ain't no folks, an lemme drap some Jawjy (Georgia) intment in dem *years* er yone." "My gal baby keeps up sich a hollerin', I can't hear my own *years*." J. C. Harris (Uncle Remus) in the *Century*. This pronunciation seems to be very old, since Halliwell quotes from the Nominale manuscript:

> But sone thei cane away here hedes wrye,
> And to fayre speche lyttely thaire *yeres* close.

I might add that *earth* is quite commonly pronounced *yearth* or *yeath* among the lower classes at the South; so *hear* is pronounced *yer;* and *here*, which is usually, I think, pronounced *hyere* among the better classes, is pronounced *yere* among the lower. All these have, of course, old English or provincial English authority, and I suspect that they are common among the lower classes of the North as well as the South.

[NOTE. — Of these words the following are given in Bartlett, without any statement as to English usage, viz.: *bat*, *brotus*, *coat*, *ding*, *doted*, *fills*, *fresh*, *seepy*, *slashes*, *swash*, *thoroughfare*, *while*.]

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IV. — *The Development of the Ablaut in Germanic.*

By BENJAMIN W. WELLS, Ph. D.,

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

In this paper I propose to speak of the strong verbs in Gothic, High German, English, Saxon, and Norse, with occasional reference to the Frisian. I shall first give a complete list of the strong verbs in each dialect, then examine the relations of the dialects to one another in the distribution of the verbs with Ablaut, and finally I shall examine the question how far these verbs are old, and how far they may be shown to be peculiar to the individual dialects. I shall try also to show the causes and general lines of the new developments in the Ablaut. The phonetic development of the Ablaut vowels I shall not touch upon here.

Section I.

Lists of strong verbs have already been published. The first was by Grimm, in his Grammar. This was extended and improved by Amelung in his *Bildung der Tempusstämme*, 1871; but further investigation and study has shown even this later list to be so faulty that it seems necessary, in order to win a firm foundation for our work, to present the facts once more in the light which the last twelve years have shed upon them, before proceeding to examine their meaning.

The table of strong verbs which follows contains all the strong verbs which occur in Gothic and Old Norse (the East Germanic dialects), and in Old English, Old (and Middle) High German, and Old Saxon (the West Germanic dialects). These are arranged, according to the classification used in my paper on the English Ablaut in the *Transactions* for 1882, in parallel columns, and alphabetized according to Old Germanic "Stems" constructed to represent the simplest form of the root-vowel with the consonants that would have accompanied it in Old Germanic had the verb been present there. A uniform alphabet is thus attained for all the dialects, and the blank

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spaces left by the absence of a verb in any dialect are filled by related forms in Italics, where such occur. The table includes the reduplicating verbs of Class V., and the preterito-presents. Where only participles occur, they are given in parentheses. Notes have been added, at the close of the list, to such verbs as seemed to demand any particular remark.

The abbreviations are as follows: OG. stands for Old Germanic; WG., for West Germanic; G., for Gothic; ON., for Old Norse; OHG., for Old High German; OS., for Old Saxon; OE., for Old English; ME., for Middle English; NE., for New English.

A mark of interrogation (?) *before* a word implies a doubt whether it should be placed where it is. The same mark *after* a verb implies that it is found only in the present tense. The sign + means that both strong and weak forms occur. W. stands for "weak," and S. for "strong"; A. for adjective, N. for noun.

I. a.

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	at	itan	eta	etan	ezzan	etan
	bad	bidjan	biđja	biddan	bittan	biddan
	brak[1]	brikan	*breka* W.	brecan	brechan	brekan
	drap		drepa	drepan	trefan	
5	dav	divan	*deyja* IV.	*dēað* N.	*towjan* W.	*dōjan* W.
	fah	*fahēps* N.	(feginn)	fēon	fehan	
	fat	fitan	feta	? fetan	fezan	
	frat		freta			
	fnah				fnehan	
10	frag			fricgan		
	fragn[2]	fraihnan	fregna	frignan		fregnan
	gab	giban	gefa	giéfan	geban	geban
	gat	gitan	geta	giétan	gezzan	getan
	hlaf	hlifan				
15	jah				jehan	gehan
	jas				jesan	
	jad				jetan	
	knag		knā *pret.-p.*	*cnāwan* V.	*cnādan* W.	*bi-knegan*?
	knad		*knoða* W.	cnedan	cnetan	
20	kvaþ	qiþan	kveđa	cweđan	quedan	quethan
	lag	ligan	liggja	licgan	liggan	liggjan
	lak		leka	*leccan* W.	(lechen)	
	las	lisan	lesa	lesan	lesan	lesan
	mag	mag *pret.-p.*	mā	maeg	mac	mag
25	man	man *pret.-p.*	man	man	*man* N.	man
	mat	mitan	meta	metan	mezzan	
	nah	nah *pret.-p.*	*g-nōgr* A.	néah	nah	*gi-nōg* A.

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	nas	nisan	*nest* N.	nesan	nesan	nesan
	naþ	niþan	*nāð* N.	*nēðan* W.	*ga-nāda* N.	*nātha* N.
30	plag			plēon	pflegan	plegan
	rag				regen MHG.	
	rak	rikan	reka ?	recan	rechen MHG.	
	sahv	saihvan	sjā	sēon	sehan	sehan
	sat	sitan	sitja	sittan	sizzan	sittan
35	skah		*skaga* W.	*scēon* W.	scehan	
	skrak				*schrecken* MHG.	
	skrap		*skrapa* W.	screpan	*scarbōn* W.	
	slak		(slokinn)	*sleðe* A.	*slach* MHG. A.	
	sprak		*sprek* N.	sprecan	sprehhan	sprekan
40	snav	snivan	*sniūa* V.	*snēowan* III.		
	stak	stik N.	*stikill* N.	*sticel* N.	stehhan	stekan
	straþ		stređa	*stregdan* Ic.	stredan	
	svab		sofa	swefan	*swebjan* W.	*swebjan* W.
	svaþ[17]		*swīða* II.	*swaðre* N.	swedan	
45	svak			*swec* N.	swehhan	*swek* N.
	trad	trudan	trođa	tredan	tretan	*traða* N.
	trag	*trigō* N.	trega	*tregjan* W.	*trāgi* A.	tregan
	trak				trehhan	
	þag		þiggja	þicgan	*dikkan* W.	*thiggean* W.
50	vab		vefa	wefan	weban	*webbi* N.
	vad	vidan	*vaðr* N.	*wēð* N.	wetan	*wād* N.
	vag	vigan	vega	wegan	wegan	*weg* N.
	vas	visan	vesa	wesan	wesan	wesan
	vrak	vrikan	reka	wrecan	rehhan	wrekan

I. b.

55	bar	bairan	bera	beran	beran	beran
	bram		*brim* N.	*brim* N.	breman	*bremmja* N.
	dval	*dvals* A.	*dvöl* N.	dwelen	twelan	dwelan
	hal	*halja* N.	*hel* N.	helan	helan	helan
	kval		*kvelja* W.	cwelan	quelan	quelan
60	kvam	qiman	koma	cuman	kuman	kuman
	nam	niman	nema	niman	neman	niman
	skal	skal *pret.-p.*	skal	sceál	skal	skal
	skar		skera	sceran	sceran	*skarđ* A.
	stal	stilan	stela	stelan	stelan	stelan
65	swar				sweran	
	tam	timan	*tamr* A.	*tam* A.	zeman	
	tar	tairan		teran	zeran	*terjan* W.
	tram				tremen MHG.	
	þvar[3]	*þvairhs* A.	*þverra* Ic.	þweran	dweran	
70	val	vulan ?	*vella* Ic.	*wealan* V.	*wallan* V.	*wallan* V.

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I. c.

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	ann	*ansts* N.	ann *pret.-p.*	an	an	
	balg	*balgs* N.	(bolginn)	belgan	belgan	belgan
	ball[4]		bella	bellan	bellan	*bil* N.
	band	bindan	binda	bindan	bintan	bindan
75	barg	bairgan	bjarga	béorgan	bergan	bergan
	bark		*berkja* W.	béorcan		
	blaggv	bliggvan		*blowe* ME. N.	*bliuwan* III.	
	braggv		(brugginn)	*brēowan* III.	*briuwan* III.	
	bragd		bregđa	bregdan	brettan	bregdan
80	bramm		*brim* N.	*brim* N.	brimmen MHG.	*bremmja* N.
	brang[5]	briggan		bringan	bringan	bringan
	brann	brinnan	brenna	béornan	brinnan	brinnan
	brast		bresta	brestan	brestan	brestan
	dalb	*draban* IV.		delfan	telban	delban
85	darb		*djarfa* W.	déorfan	derben MHG.	derven
	dars	dars *pret.-p.*	? *darr* N.	déar	tar	dar
	dant		detta	*dynt* N.		
	drank	drigkan	drekka	drincan	trinkan	drinkan
	faht			féohtan	fehtan	
90	falh	filhan	fela Ib.	felhan	felhan	felhan
	fand	finþan	finna	findan	fintan	findan
	flaht	*flahta* N.		*fléax* N.	flehtan	
	gall	*gōljan* W.	gella	giéllan	gellan	
	gald	gildan	gjalda	giéldan	geltan	geldan
95	galp		*gjalpa* W.	giélpan	gelfan	
	gann	ginnan		ginnan	ginnan	ginnan
	gard	gairdan				
	garr			géorran	*gurren* W. MHG.	
	glamm				glimmen MHG.	
100	gnest		gnesta	*gnāstan* W.		
	gnall		gnella			
	grann				grinnen MHG.	
	grand	*grundus* N.	*grannr* N.	grindan	grinden MG.	*grund* N.
	gramm	*grammjan* W.	*gramr* A.	grimman	grimmen MHG.	*gram* A.
105	hall				hellan	
	halp	hilpan	hjalpa	helpan	helfan	helpan
	hank		*hinka* W.		hinkan	
	hand	hinþan		*hūð* N.	*hunda* N.	
	hlamm	*hlamm* N.	*hlam* N.	hlimman	limman	
110	hnaggv		hnöggva	*hnēaw* A.	*ge-nau* A.	
	hramp			hrimpan	rimpfan	
	hrand		hrinda	hrindan		
	hrankv		hrökkva			
	hrasp				hrespan	
115	hvarr			hwéorran		
	hvarb	hvairban	hverfa	hwéorfan	hwerban	hwerban

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	kann	kann *pret.-p.*	kann	cinnan	kan	kan
				cann *pret.-p.*		
	karb			céorfan	kerven MG.	
	karr				cherran	
120	klamb		*klīfa* II.	climban	chlimban	
	klamp				klimpfen MHG.	
	klang[6]			clingan	chlingan	
	klankv		klökkva	*clokken* W.ME.		
	knall				cnellen MHG.	
125	krang			cringan		
	kramm		*kremja* W.	crimman	chrimman	
	kramp		(kroppinn)	*krampe* N. ME.	crimpfan	
	kvall				quellan	
	kvank			cwincan		
130	lang	*leihts* A.	*lēttr* A.	*langre* A.	lingan	
	lann	linnan	*linna* W.	linnan	linnan	
	lamp			limpan	limpfan	
	lask				leskan	*leskjan* W.
	malk	*miluks* N.	*mjölk* N.	melcan	melcan	
135	marn	*maurnan* W.	*morna* W.	murnan	*mornēn* W.	*mornēn* W.
	nanþ	*nanþjan* W.	*nenna* W.	*nīðan* W.	nindan	*nādian* W.
	rann	rinnan	renna	rinnan	rinnan	rinnan
	salk			selcan	selken MG.	
	sangv	siggvan	syngva	singan	singan	singan
140	sankv	sigqan	sökkva	sincan	sincan	sinkan
	sanþ	*sandjan* W.	*senda* W.	sinnan	sinnan	*sīð* N.
	sard		serđa	serdan	serten MG.	
	skald				skeltan	
	skalf		skjālfa	*scelfan* W.		
145	skall	*skillings* N.	skella	*scilling* N.	skellan	*skilling* N.
	skanþ		*skinn* N.	*scinn* N.	schinden MHG.	
	skarr		*skera* Ib.	*sceran* Ib.	skerran	
	skranþ		skreppa		schrimpfen MHG.	
	skrand	*skreitan* II.			skrintan	
150	skrank			scrincan	schrinken MHG.	
	sland	slindan		*slītan* II.	slintan	
	slang		slyngja	slingan	slingan	
	slank		slinka Swed.	slincan	*slīhhan* II.	
	slamp		sleppa	*slīpan* II.	*slimm* A.	
155	small		smella			
	smalt[7]		*melta* W.	meltan	smelzan	*meltjan* W.
	smart			smerten ME.	smerzan	
	snark				snerhan	
	snarp		*snara* W.		snerfan	
160	snart		snerta			
	spann	spinnan	spinna	spinnan	spinnan	
	sparn		sperna	spurnan	spurnan	spurnan
	sprang		springa	springan	springan	springan

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	sprant		spretta	(*sproten* III.)	sprinzan	
165	stang	stiggan	stinga	stingan	*stanga* N.	
	stankv	stigqan	stökkva	stincan	stinkan	
	starb		*starf* N.	stéorfan	sterban	sterban
	start				sterzen MHG.	
	stragd		*strēða* Ia.	stregdan	*stredan* Ic.	
170	svalg		svelgja	swelgan	swelgan	
	svall		svella	swellan	swellan	swellan
	svalt	sviltan	svelta	sweltan	swelzan	sweltan
	svamm	*svumsl* N.	svimma	swimman	swimman	
	svand		*svinnr* A.	swindan	swintan	
175	svangv	*svaggvjan* W.	*svangr* A.	swingan	swingan	swingan
	svank		*svīkja* II.	swincan	*swīhhan* II.	*swīcan* II.
	svarb	svairban	sverfa	swéorfan	swerban	swerban
	svark		*svarkr* N.	swéorcan	*gi-swerc*	swerkan
	taggv		tyggva			
180	tald		*tiald* N.	teldan	*zelt* N.	
	tang		*tengja* W.	tingan	*zengi* A.	*tengi* A.
	tramp	trimpan				
	trann				trinnen MHG.	
	þahs			*þixl* N.	dehsen MHG.	
185	þamp		*dampi* N.	*dampen* W. ME.	dimpfen MHG.	
	þand			þindan		
	þang	*þeihan* II.	*þungr* A.	þingan	*? dāha* N.	
	þans	þinsan	þistill N.	*þistel* N.	dinsan	
	þarb	þarf *pret.-p.*	þarf	*þéarf*	darf	*þarf*
190	þars	þairsan	*þerra* W.	*þyr* A.	*derran* W.	
	þrand			þrindan	drinden MG.	
	þrangv	*þreihan* II.	þryngva	þringan	dringan	þringan
	þrask	þriskan	*þriskja* W.	þrescan	drescan	
	þvarr	*þvairhs* A.	þverra	*þveran* Ib.	*dweran* Ib.	
195	þvang		*þvīnga* W.	*þvang* N.	dwingan	þwingan
	vall	*vulan* Ib.	vella	*wéallan* V.	wellan	*wallan* V.
	valt	*valtjan* W.	velta	*wéaltan* V	*walzan* V.	
	valv	vilvan	*völva* N.			
	vand	vindan	vinda	windan	wintan	windan
200	vank			*wincjan* W.	winkan	*wankol* A.
	vann	vinnan	vinna	winnan	winnan	winnan
	varp	vairpan	verpa	wéorpan	werfan	werpan
	vars	*vairs* A.	*vörr* A.	*wlers* A.	werren	werren
	varþ	vairþan	verđa	wéorđan	werdan	werđan
205	vrang	*vrungō* N.	vringa	wringan	ringan	

II.

bid	beidan	bīđa +	bīdan	bītan	bīdan
bit	beitan	bīta	bītan	bīzan	bītan

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	blik		blīkja +	blīcan	blīchen	blīkan
	bris				(brisen MHG.)	
210	briþ				(briten MHG.)	
	dig	deigan	*deigr* N.	*dāg* N.	*teig* N.	
	dik				tīchen MHG.	
	drib	dreiban	drīfa	drīfan	trīban	drīban
	drit		drīta	drītan ?	drissen MG.	
215	dvin		*dvīna* W.	dwīnan		
	fis		fīsa		*fist* N. MHG.	
	flit		*flīt* N. Swed.	flītan	vlīzan	
	gin		gīna +	gīnan	*gīnēn* W.	
	glid[8]		*glaðr* A.	glīdan	glīten MHG.	glīdan
220	glip				(gliffen MHG.)	
	glit	*glitmunjan* W.	*glita* W.	*glitjan* W.	glīzan	glītan
	gnid			gnīdan	gnītan	gnīdan
	gli				glīen MHG.	
	grin		*grīma* N.	*grinnian* W.	grīnan	
225	grip	greipan	grīpa	grīpan	grīfan	grīpan
	gris			grīsan		
	hlib	*hleibjan* W.	*hlīfa* W.		līpan	
	hlid		*hlið* N.	hlīdan	*lit* N.	hlīdan
	hnigv	hneivan	hnīga	hnīgan	nīgen MHG.	hnīgan
230	hnip		(hnipinn)	*hnipian* W.		
	hnit		hnīta	hnītan	*nīz* N. MHG.	
	hrin[9]		hrīna	hrīnan	hrīnan	hrīnan
	hrib		hrīfa	rīven ME.	rīban	
	hvin		hvīna	hwīnan ?		
235	ih[10]	aih *pret.-p.*	ā	āh	eih	ēh
	ki[11]	kijan	*kið* N.	*cīnan* II.	*chīnan* II.	*kīnan* II.
	kid[26]			cīdan ?		
	knid[23]			cnīdan ?		
	kin[11]	*keinan* W.	*kind* N.	cīnan	chīnan	kīnan
240	klib		klīfa	clīfan	chlīban	klīban
	klip		klīpa +	*clyppan* W.		
	krig				krīgen MG.	
	kvin	*qainōn* W.	*kveina* W.	cwīnan	*weinōn* W.	
	kviþ		kvīða +	*cwīðan* W.		
245	lib	leiban	*lifa* W.	līfan	līban	līban
	lihv	leihvan	*ljā* W.	lēon	līhan	līhan
	lik	*leikan* W.	*līka* W.	*līcjan* W.	(lichen MHG.)	*likōn* W.
	lim		*līm* N.	*līm* N.	limen MHG.	
	liþ	leiþan	līða +	līðan	līdan	līðan
250	lis	leisan	*lāra* W.	*lāran* W.	*lērran* W.	*lērjan* W.
	mig		mīga	mīgan	mīgen NNG.	
	miþ	*maidjan* W.	*meiða* W.	mīðan	mīdan	mīðan
	niþ	*neiþ* N.	*nið* N.	*nið* N.	nīden MHG.	*nīð* N.
	nip	*ga-nipnan* W.		nīpan		
255	rid	*raids* A.	rīða	rīdan	rītan	

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	rik				rīhan	
	rim				rīman	
	rin	*rignjan* W.	*regn* N.	rīnan +	*reganōn* W.	*regan* N.
	ris	reisan	rīsa	rīsan	rīsan	rīsan
260	rip	*raupjan* W.		rīpan	*roufan* W.	
	rist[12]	*vrits* N.	rīsta	*wrītan* II.	*rīsan* II.	*wrītan* II.
	sig		sīga	sīgan	sīgan	sīgan
	sih		*sjā* W.	sēon	sīhan	
	sik			sīcan		
265	siþ		sīđa +		*seid* N.	
	skib				schīben MHG.	
	skid		*skīð* N.	*scīd* N.	schīten MHG.	
	skin	skeinan	skīna	scīnan	skīnan	skīnan
	skit		skīta	schīten ME.	schīzan	
270	skiþ	*skaidan* V.	*skīð* N.	*scādan* V.	schīden MHG.	*skēðan* V.
	skri				skrīan	
	skrib			scrīfan	scrīban	skrīban
	skrid		skrīđa	scrīđan	scrītan	skrīdan
	skrit	skreitan			*schranz* N.	skrītan
275	slid[13]	sleidan	*slīðrar* N.	slīdan	slīten MHG.	
	slik		*slinka* Ic. Swed.	*slincan* Ic.	slīhhan	
	slip		*slipa* W. Icel.	slīpan	slīfan	
	slit		slīta	slītan	slīzan	slītan
	smit	smeitan	*smita* W.	smītan	smīzan	
280	snik		(snikinn)	snīcan	*snahhan* W.	
	sniþ	sneiþan	snīđa	snīđan	snīdan	snīđan
	sniv[14]		snīva	snīwen ME.	snīwan	
	spiv	speiwan	*spýja* V.	spīwan	spīwan	spīwan
	sprit[15]		*spretta* Ic.	*split* NE. W.	sprīzen MG.	
285	stig	steigan	stīga	stīgan	stīgan	stīgan
	strid		*strīða* W.	strīden ME.	strītan	*strīd* N.
	strik	*striks* N.	*striuka* III.	strīcan	strīchan	
	svib	sveiban	svīfa +	swīfan	*sweibōn* W.	
	svig				swīgen MHG. +	*swigōn* W.
290	svik	*svikns* A.	svīkja	swīcan	swīhhan	swīkan
	svin			*swintan* Ic.	swīnan	
	svip[16]	*sveipains*	svīpa		swāfen MHG.	swīpan ?
	sviþ[17]		svīđa +	*swaðul* N.	*swedan* Ia.	
	tih	teihan	*tjā* W.	*tēon*	zīhan	tīhan
295	þih	þeihan	*þjā* W.	þēon	dīhan	þīhan
	þrib		þrīfa	*þrāfjan* W.		
	þrih	þreihan	*þryngva* Ic.	*þringan* Ic.	*drīhe* MHG. N.	þringan Ic.
	þvit		*þveita* W.	þwītan		
	vig	veihan	*vīg* N.	wīgan	wīhan	*wīg* N.
300	vik		vīkja	wīcan	wīhhan	wīkan
	vip	veipan		*wīþjan* W.	wīfan	
	vis				wīsan	
	vit	veitan	veit *pret.-p.*	wītan	wīzan	wītan

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	vlit	*vlits* N.	līta	wlītan	litze MHG. N.	*wliti* N.
305	vrih			wrēon	rīhan	
	vrit	*vrits* N.	rīta	wrītan	rīzan	wrītan
	vriþ		rīþa	wrīđan	rīden MHG.	*wrēđjan* W.

III.

	bud	biudan	bjōđa	bēodan	biotan	biodan
	bug	biugan	bjūga	būgan	biogan	
310	but		*bauta* + v.	*bēatan* V.	biuzen MHG.	
	blu	*bliggvan* Ic.		blowe ME. N.	bliuwan	
	bru		*brugginn* Ic.	brēowan	briuwen MHG.	
	bruk	*brūkjan* W.	*brūka* W.	brūcan	*brūhhan* W.	brūkan ?
	brut		brjōta	brēotan	briezen MHG.	*brētōn* W.
315	bruþ			brēođan		
	dub	*dūbō* N.	*dūfa* N.	dūfan	*dūbo* N.	*dūfā* N.
	dug	daug *pret.-p.*	*duga* W.	dēah	toug	dōg
	drug	driugan	*drȳgja* W.	drēogan	triogan	driogan
	drup		drjūpa	drēopan	triufan	driopan
320	drus	driusan	*dreyri* N.	drēosan	*trōr* MHG. N.	driosan
	fuk		fjūka	*fog* NE.		
	flug		fljūga	flēogan	fliogan	
	fluh	þliuhan	*flȳja* W.	flēon	fliohan	fliohan
	flut	? *flauts* A.	fljōta	flēotan	fliozan	fliotan
325	frus		frjōsa +	frēosan	friosan	
	gup		*gaupn* N.	gēopan	*gauf* N.	
	gus		gjōsa			
	gut	giutan	gjōta	gēotan	giozan	giotan
	grus			grēosan	? *gruon* MHG. N.	*gruri* N.
330	grut	*grētan* V.	*grāta* V.	grēotan	*grāzen* MHG. W.	griotan ?
	huf	hiufan	*hjūfa* W.	*hēofan* W.	*hiufan* W.	hiovan ?
	huþ			hēođan		
	hlut		hljōta	hlēotan	hliozan	hliotan
	hnup	hniupan	*hnupla* W.	*hnēapan* V.		
335	hnus		hnjōsa		niusan	
	hnuþ	*hnuþō* N.	hnjōđa	*hnossjan* W.	hniutan	
	hru		*hryggva* W.	hrēowan	hriuwan	hreuuan
	hrus		hrjōsa	hrēosan	? *roso* N.	
	hrut		hrjōta	hrūtan	rūzan ?	
340	hruþ[18]		hrjōđa	(hroden)		
	ku			cēowan	chiuwan	
	kus	kiusan	kjōsa +	cēosan	chiosan	kiosan
	klub		kljūfa	clēofan	chlioban	clioban
	krud			crūdan	crūden MNG.	
345	kruk				criochan	
	krup		krjūpa	crēopan	krūfen MG.	
	krust	kriustan			? *krīsten* MHG. W.	
	lub	*liubs* A.	*liufr* A.	lēofan	*liub* A.	*liof* A.

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	lud	liudan	*lyðr* N.	lēodan	liotan	liodan
350	lug	liugan	ljūga	lēogan	liogan	liogan
	luk	lūkan	lūka +	lūcan	lūhhan	lūkan
	lus	liusan	*leysa* W.	lēosan	liosan	liosan
	lust	*lustus* N.	ljōsta	*lust* N.	*lust* N.	*lust* N.
	lut	*liuts* A.	lūta	lūtan	*lūzēn* W.	
355	nut	niutan	njōta	nēotan	niozan	niotan
	rub	*raubōn* W.	rjūfa	rēofan	*roubōn* W.	*rōvōn* W.
	rud	*rauds* A	rjōða	rēodan	*rōt* A	*rōd* A.
	ruk		rjūka	rēocan	riohhan	? riokan
	rut		rjōta	rēotan	riozan	*rōtōn* W.
360	sug[19]		sūga	sūgan	sūgan	
	suk	siukan	*sjūkr* N.	*sēoc* A.	*siuchen* W.	*sukt* N.
	sup		sūpa	sūpan	sūfan	
	suþ	? *sauþs* N.	sjōða	sēoðan	siodan	
	skub	skiuban		scūfan	scioban	
365	skut	*skauts* N.	skjōta	scēotan	skiozan	skiotan
	slup	sliupan	*sleppa* Ic.	slēopan	sliofan	
	slut		slūta Swed.		sliozan	
	smug		smjūga	smūgan	smiegen MHG.	
	smuk			smēocan		
370	snu	*snivan* Ia.	*snūa* V.	snēowan		
	spuft[20]			spēoftan		
	sprut		*spretta* Ic.	(sproten)	spriozen MHG.	
	stub	*stubjus* N.			stiuban	
	stup		stūpa	*stūþjan* W.	? *stuþf* N	stuypen O.
375	strud			strūdan	*strūtjan* W.	[Dutch.
	struk	*striks* N. See II.	strjūka	*strīcan* II.	*strīkhan* II.	
	svuh			swēon		
	tuh	tiuhan	(toginn)	tēon	ziohan	tiohan
	þut	*þuthaurn* N.	þjōta	þūtan	diozan	
380	þrut	þriutan	þrjōta	þrēotan	driozan	

IV.

	ag	ōg *pret.-p.*	*agi* N.	*ēgan* W.	*egi* N.	
	ak		aka	acan		
	al	alan	ala	alan	*alt* A	
	an	anan	*önd* N.	*anda* N.	*anado* N.	*ando* N.
385	bak		*baka* W.	bacan	bachan	
	dab	daban	*dafna* W.	(dafen)		
	dav	*divan* Ia.	deyja	*dēað* N.	*towjan* W.	*dōjan* W.
	drab	draban		*drēfan* W.	*truobjan* W.	*drōbjan* W.
	drag	dragan	draga	dragan	tragan	dragan
390	far	faran	fara	faran	faran	faran
	flah		flā	flēan	flān MNG.	
	fraþ	fraþjan	*frōðr* A.	*frōd* A.	*frōt* A.	*frōd* A.
	gal	*gōljan* W.	gala	galan	galan	

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	gav		geyja			
395	grab	graban	grafa	grafan	graban	graban
	gnag		gnaga	gnagan	nagan	*nagal* N.
	hab	hafjan	hefja	hebban	hebban	hebbjan
	hlah	hlahjan	hlæja	hlíehhan	hlahhan	hlahan
	hlaþ	hlaþan	hlaða	hladan	hladan	hladan
400	hnaf		hnafa			
	kal	*kalds* A.	kala	*caljan* W.	*kalt* A.	*kald* A.
	klav		klā	*clāwu* N.	*chlāwa* N.	
	lah	*laian* V.	*lā* W.	lēan	lahan	lahan
	lap		*lepja* W.	*lapian* W.	laffan	
405	mal	malan	mala	*méalo* N.	malan	malan
	mat	mōt *pret.-p.*	*mōt* N.	mōt	muoz	mōt
	raþ	raþjan	*raða* W.	*reðjan* W.	*redjōn* W.	*reðjōn*
	raf[21]			rafan		
	sab			*sap* N.	seffan	sebbjan
410	sak	sakan	*sōk* N.	sacan	sahhan	sakan
	skab	skaban	skafa	scafan	skaban	
	skak		skaka	scacan		skakan
	skap	skapjan	skepja	sciéppan	skaffan	skapan
	skaþ	skaþjan	*skaða* W.	sciéððan	*skadōn* W.	
415	slah	slahan	slā +	slēan	slahan	slahan
	span		*spenja* W.	spanan	spanan	spanan
	stand	standan	standa	standan	stantan	standan
	stap			steppan	*stepfan* W.	steppan
	svar	svaran	sverja	swerjan	swerjan	swerjan
420	tak	*tēkan* V.	taka	tacan		
	þvah	þvahan	þvā	þwēan	dwahan	þwahan
	vad		vaða	wadan	watan	
	vah				wahan	
	vahs	vahsjan	vaxa	wéaxan	wahsan	wahsan
425	vak	vakan	*vaka* W.	wacan	*wachēn* W.	*wakōn* W.
	vask		*vaska* W.	wascan	waskan	waskan

V. a.

	alþ	alþan	*elda-sk* W.	*éald* A.	*alt* A.	*ald* A.
	ar	arjan ?	*erja* W.	*erian* W.	erran	
	bann		*banna* W.	bannan	bannan	*ban* N.
430	bland	blandan	blanda	blandan	blantan	blandan
	fanh	fāhan	fā	fōn	fāhan	fāhan
	fall		falla	féallan	fallan	fallan
	falþ	falþan	falda	féaldan	faltan	
	gang	gaggan +	ganga	gangan	gangan	gangan
435	hanh	hāhan	hanga +	hōn	hāhan	(hangen)
	hald	haldan	halda	héaldan	haltan	haldan
	hals	*hals* N.	*hālsa* W.	*héals* N.	halsen + MHG.	*helsjan* W.
	þrang	þraggan	*pranga* W.		*pfrengen* MHG. W.	

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	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	salt	saltan	*salta* W.	séaltan	saltan	*salt* N.
440	skald				skaltan	skaldan ?
	spald	*spilda* N.	*speld* N.	*split* NE. W.	spaltan	
	spann		*spanna* W.	spannan	spannan	*spanan* IV.
	stald	staldan	-	stéaldan	*-stalt* A.	
	vald[22]	valdan	valda +	wéaldan	waltan	waldan
445	valk		*vālka* W.	wéalcan	walkan	
	vall	*vulan* Ib.	*vella* Ic.	wéallan	wallan	wallan
	valt	*valtjan* W.	*velta* W.	wéaltan +	walzan	

V. b.

	bāg		*bāgja* W.		bāgan +	? bāgan
	blās[23]	blēsan	blāsa	blæsen ME.	blāsan	
450	brād		*brāđ* N.	*brēda* N.	brātan	
	drād			drædan	trātan	drādan
	grāt[23]	grētan	grāta	grætan	*grāzen* MHG. W.	grātan
	lāt[23]	lētan	lāta	lætan	lāzan	lātan
	rād[23]	rēdan	rāđa	rædan	rātan	rādan
455	slāp	slēpan	*sleppa* Ic.	slæpan	slāfan	slāpan
	tāk[23]	tēkan	*taka* IV.	*tacan* IV.		
	vāt	*vaian* V.		*wǣwan* V.	wāzan	wātan
	blā		*blār* N.	blāwan	blāhan +	
	knā		*knega* Ia.	cnāwan	*knāhan* W.	*knēgan* W.
460	krā			crāwan	*krāhan* W.	
	lā[23]	laian	*lā* W.	*lēan* IV.	*lahan* IV.	*lahan* IV.
	mā		*mā* W.	māwan	*māhan* W.	
	sā[23]	saian	sā[22] +	sāwan	*sāhan* W.	sāhan +
	þrā			þrāwan	drǣn + MHG.	
465	wā[23]	vaian	? *vei !*	wāwan	*wāhan* W.	

V. c.

	blōt	blōtan	blōta +	blōtan	blōzan +	
	flōk	flōkan			fluohhan +	flōkan
	hrōp	*hrōþjan* W.	*hrōþa* W.	hrōpan	hruofan +	hrōpan
	hvōs			hwōsan		
470	hvōp	hvōpan		hwōpan		
	knōd			cnōdan		
	svōg	*svōgjan* W.		swōgan	*swēg* N.	*swōgan* W.
	vōp	*vōþjan* W.	*æpa* W.	wēpan	wuofan +	wōpan
	blō			blōwan	*bluohan* W.	*blōan* W.
475	flō	*flōdus* N.	*flōa* W.	flōwan	*fluot* N.	*flōd* N.
	glō		*glōa* W.	glōwan	*gluohan* W.	
	grō[22]		grōa +	grōwan	*gruohan* W.	
	hlō		hlōa ?	hlōwan	*hlōjan* W.	
	rō[22]		rōa +	rōwan	*rüejen* W. MHG.	
480	spō			spōwan	*spuohan* W.	*spōt* N.

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V. d.

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	aik	aikan			*eikhōn* W.	
	aisk	cf. *aistan* W.	cf. *ēsta* W.	*āscian* W.	eischen MHG.	*ēskōn* W.
	frais	fraisan	*fraista* W.	*frāsjan* W.	*freisen* W. MHG.	
	hait	haitan	heita	hātan	heizan	hētan
485	hvais[24]		*hvēsa* W.	hwǣsan		
	laik	laikan	leika	lācan	leichen + MHG.	
	mait	maitan	*meita* W.	*mīte* N.	meizan	
	naip[24]	*ganipnan* W.		nāpan		
	skaid	skaidan	*skeiđ* N.	scādan	skeidan	skēđan
490	svaif	*sveiban* II.	*svīfa* + II.	swāfan	*sweibōn* W.	
	svaip	*sveipains* N.	sveipa +	swāpan	sweifan	swēpan
	tais			*tīesan* W.	zeisan	
	þlaih	þlaihan			*flēhjan* W.	

V. e.

	aud		(auđinn)	(ēaden)	*-ōt* N.	(ōdan)
495	auk	aukan	auka	(ēacen)	*ouhhōn* W.	(ōkan)
	aus		ausa			
	baut		bauta +	bēatan	bōzan	
	braut		*brjōta* III.	brēatan	*briezen* III. MHG.	*brētōn* W.
	daug			dēagan	*tougal* A.	
500	hauf	*hiufan* III.	*hjūfa* W.	hēafan	*hiufan* W.	*hiovan ?*
	hlaup	hlaupan	hlaupa	hlēapan	loufan	hlōpan
	hnaup	*hniupan* III.	*hnupla* W.	hnēapan		
	skraud		*skrūđ* N.	*scrēadjan* W.	skrōtan	
	spraut		*spretta* Ic.	sprēatan	*spriozen* III. MHG.	
505	staut	stautan	*stuttr* A.		stōzan	stōtan
	bau[25]	bauan +	bua	buan +	*boiewen* W. MHG.	*bouan* W.
	hau	*havi* N.	höggva	hēawan	houwan	(hauwan)
	nau[22]	b-nauan	nūa +	*nēod* N.	nūan	*niod* N.
	sau		sōa +		? *sōna* N.	
510	snau[22]	*snīvan* Ia.	snūa	*snēowan* III.		
	spau	*speivan* II.	spyja +	*spīwan* II.	*spīwan* II.	*spīwan* II.

NOTES TO THE LIST.

1. brak. The West Germanic dialects have participles according to Ib., but Frisian has Ia.

2. fragn. The *n* is only in the present in EG., but it makes its way occasionally into other forms in OE., and always in OS. The stem *frag* is an offshoot of this stem.

3. þvar. Fick, 3. 142, separates the WG. word from the EG. given here, and compares to the WG. ON. *þvara* N.

4. ball. ON. *bella* = hit, hurt; WG. *bellan* = to bell, with which compare ON. *belja* and *boli*; yet the meanings of the strong verbs can be reconciled, and they are from one stem.

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5. brang. The pret. and part. are always weak in Gothic, and often in WG.

6. klang. OE. *clingan* = to contract; OHG. *chlingan* = to ring; yet they are from the same WG. stem.

7. smalt = malt. The two stems exist side by side in Germanic; outside of Germanic we find only *mald;* yet the related stem OG. *smart*, Indo-European *smard*, proves the *s* to be old. See Fick, 3. 236, 357; 1. 836, 721.

8. glid. ON. *glaðr* = OHG. *glat* is from an OG. stem *glad*, which appears as *gland* in HG. dialectic *glandern*, and with the absorbed nasal in *glid*.

9. hrin. The ON. *hrīna* means "squeal"; WG. means "touch."

10. ih. In OHG. and OS. the singular is not found. The infinitive is OHG. *eigan*, OS. *ēgan*.

11. ki and kin may be identical, and the *n* originally part of the present stem, as in *fragn* Ia. The G. verb occurs only in the participle *kijans*.

12. rist for *vrist* = *vrit-t*. So Scherer, *Deutsche Sprache*, 247. If this is so, the words from the older dialects are related to *rist*, else there are no words connected with it.

13. slid. This is shown to be Gothic by the Old French *eslider*. See Dietz, *Wörterbuch*, 575. See also Schade, *Wb.* 825.

14. sniv. The ME. is strong, rarely weak. The OE. is weak and rare.

15. split, and also *sprit*, is borrowed into HG. from LG., whence also English *split*. The stem is from *sprant*, Ic.

16. svip. The strong verb is found in ON. only in preterit; in MHG. only in present and preterit. OS. has only *forswēp*, which may be from *sweipan* V. All these forms are derived from a verb of class V., stem *svaip*. See Schade, *Wb.*, 914.

17. sviþ. On the relations of this stem to *svaþ* Ia. and *suþ* III., see Schade, *Wb.*, 906, and Johannes Schmidt's *Vocalismus* 1. 58.

18. hruþ. ON. *hrjoða* = "strip, disable, vomit forth," Vigfusson, Dict. 286; ON. *hroþinn*, OE. *hroden* are participial adjectives, corresponding in form to the verb, but meaning "dressed, painted, adorned." It is difficult to reconcile these meanings.

19. sug. The ON. has *sjūga* and *sūga*, the OE. *sūcan* and *sūgan*.

20. spuft. This stem is doubtful, owing to the double consonant. I find the word in Sievers's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* given as Northumbrian.

21. raf. The OE. verb occurs only in Genesis 2078 *berōfan*, which may be miswritten for *rufon*, preterit plural of *rēofan* III., but this word corresponds with Latin *rapio*. Cf. Schmidt's *Vocalismus* II. 292, 465.

22. vald Ia. has in ON. a strong present and preterit and a weak preterit and participle; grō, rō of Vc. have in ON. weak preterits but strong participles. The same is also true in ON. of *sā* Vb. and *nau*, *snau* Ve. See Wimmer, *Grammar*, § 156.

23. The stems *blās*, *grāt*, *lāt*, *rād* have *ē* in the present and *ō* with reduplication in the past in Gothic. They therefore, and also *lā*, *sā*, *wā*, show both ablaut and reduplication. In other dialects they are regular members of class V. Like these in Gothic is *tēkan*, stem *tāk;* but here the other dialects have the stem *tak* IV.

24. hvais, naip. *Hwēsan* is given by Sievers in his Grammar, p. 137, without citation; *nāpan* is placed here because of *genōp*, Exodus 475; but the form may be a mistake for *genāp* from *nīpan* II.

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25. bau. The preterit is weak in G., OE.

26. kid, knid. OE. *cīdan* occurs in present in Aelfric's Homilies I. 96, II. 158, and in Waldere. It may be identical with the weak *cidan*. Sievers gives it as strong, *Grammar*, p. 130; *cnīdan* is found in Sievers, but Leo and Grein have not the word. I know no passage in which it occurs.

Section II. — Analysis of the Table.

There are in all 511 stems. Of these, 54 belong to Ia., 16 to Ib., 135 to Ic., making 205 with a^1 as root-vowel. Class II. has 102 stems; here the Indo-European vowel was *ai*. Class III. has 73 stems; the root-vowel is *au*. Class IV., containing the verbs with a^2, has 46 stems. Class V. has 85 originally reduplicating verbs.

The following table shows the distribution of the verbs among the dialects according to classes: —

	I. a.	I. b.	I. c.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	Total.
G.	27	8	36	27	21	25	36	180
ON.	30	6	59	43	39	27	31	235
OE.	32	11	81	64	57	32	60	337
O. and MHG.	40	15	99	72	45	27	46	344
OS.	21	8	37	35	24	21	28	174
All Dialects	54	16	135	102	73	46	85	511

The next step in the investigation is to consider the relation of the dialects to one another, so that we may see how far each follows in the beaten track, how far it opens a path of its own, and whether a group of dialects can be distinguished from the others in any important particulars. I shall give first a list of those verbs which I have found in all the five dialects; then those found in four; then those found in East Germanic and West Germanic, though only in three or two dialects; then those found in West Germanic in three or two languages; and, finally, those which occur in one dialect only.

Common to all dialects are the stems: I. a. at, bad, gab, gat, kvað, lag, las, mag, sahv, sat, vas, vrak (12). I. b. bar, kvam, nam, skal, stal (5). I. c. band, barg, brann, drank, falh, fand, gald, halp, hvarb, kann, rann, sangv, sankv, svalt, svarb, þarb, vand, vann, varp, varþ (20). II. bid, bit, drib, grip, hnigv, ih, liþ, ris, skin, sniþ, stig, vit (12). III. bud, gut, kus, lug, luk, nut, tuh (7). IV. drag, far, grab, hab, hlah, hlaþ, skap, slah, stand, svar, þvah, vahs (12). V. a. bland, fanh, gang, hanh, hald, vald; b. lāt, rād; d. hait; e. hlaup (10). Total, 78 stems.

The following 65 stems occur in four dialects: —

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G. ON. OE. OHG. I. a. fat, mat, rak, trad, vag. I. c. spann, stankv. III. bug, þrut. IV. skab. V. a. fald; b. blās; c. blōt; d. laik; e. bau. Total, 15.

G. ON. OE. OS. I. a. man, fragn. V. b. grāt, sā; e. auk. Total, 5.

G. ON. OHG. OS. IV. mal. Total, 1.

G. OE. OHG. OS. I. a. brak, nas; I. c. brang, dars, gann. II. lib, lihv, spiv, tih, þih. III. dug, drug, fluh, lud, lus. IV. sak, mat. V. b. slāp; d. skaid. Total, 19.

ON. OE. OHG. OS. I. c. balg, bragd, brast, sparn, sprang, svall, þrangv. II. blik, hrin, klib, sig, skrip, slit, svīk, vik, vrit. III. drup, flut, hlut, klub, ruk, skut. V. a. fall; d. svaip; e. hau. Total, 25.

Of the following, 77 stems occur in three, 97 in two, dialects. Of these, 74 are confined to the WG.

G. ON. OE. I. c. stang. II. svib. IV. al. Total, 3.

G. ON. OHG. V. e. nau. Total, 1.

G. OE. OHG. I. a. nah; I. b. tar; I. c. lann, þrask. II. slid, smit, vig. III. skub, slup. V. a. salt. Total, 10.

G. OE. OS. III. drus. Total, 1.

G. OHG. OS. V. c. flōk; e. staut. Total, 2.

ON. OE. OHG. I. a. drap, fah, vab; I. b. skar; I. c. ann, ball, gall, sard, slangv, svalg, svamm, vrang. II. drit, mig, rid, rif (hrif), skit, sniv, vriþ. III. brut, flug, frus, hrut, krup, rut, sug, sup, suþ, smug, þut. IV. fláh, gal, gnag, vad. V. e. baut. Total, 35.

ON. OE. OS. IV. skak. V. e. auþ. Total, 2.

ON. OHG. OS. II. sviþ. Total, 1.

G. OE. IV. dab, skaþ, vak. V. a. stald; b. vā; c. hvōp. Total, 6.

G. OHG. I. a. vad; I. b. tam; I. c. sland, þans. II. vip. V. a. ar; d. mait. Total, 7.

G. OS. II. skrit. III. huf. Total, 2.

ON. OE. I. a. svab, þag; I. c. hrand, slank. II. gin, hnit, hvin, snik, vlit. III. hrus, hruþ, lut, rub, rud. IV. ak, tak. V. c. grō, hlō, rō. Total, 19.

ON. OHG. I. a. straþ, lak; I. c. kramp, skall, sprant, skramp, vall. III. hnus, hnup, slut. Total, 10.

ON. OS. I. a. trag. III. stup. Total, 2.

OE. OHG. OS. I. a. plag, sprak; I. b. dval, hal, kval; I. c. dalb, darb, starb, svang. II. glid, gnid, kin, miþ, skrib. III. hru. IV. lah, span, vask. V. a. vall; b. drād; c. hrōp, vōp. Total, 22.

OE. OHG. I. a. knad; I. b. þvar; I. c. faht, galp, gramm, grand, hlamm, hramp, karb, klamb, klang, krimm, lamp, malk, salk, sann, skrank, malt (smalt), smart, svand, þrand. II. flit, sih, slip, strid,

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strik, vrih. III. bru, ku, krud, sprut. IV. bak. V. a. bann, spann, valk, valt; b. blā, þrā. Total, 38.

OE. OS. I. c. svark. II. hlid. III. bruk, grut. IV. stap. Total, 5.

OHG. OS. I. a. jah, stak; I. c. þvang, varr. II. glit. IV. sab. V. a. skalt; b. bāg, vāt. Total, 9.

The following 193 are confined to one dialect: —

G. I. a. hlifan, niþan, divan, snivan; I. b. vulan; I. c. bliggvan, gairdan, hinþan, trimpan, þairsan, vilvan. II. deigan, kijan, leisan, þreihan. III. hniupan, kriustan, siukan. IV. ōg, anan, draban, fraþjan, raþjan. V. alþan, praggan, tēkan; laian, aikan, fraisan, þlaihan. Total, 30.

ON. I. a. freta, knā, (slokinn); I. c. bryggja, detta, gnesta, gnella, hnyggja, hrökkva, klökkva, skjalfa, slippa, smella, snerta, tyggja, þverra, velta. II. fīsa, (hnifinn,) klīpa, kvīþa, rīsta, sīþa, svīpa, þrīfa. III. fjūka, gjōsa, ljōsta, strjūka. IV. deyja, geyja, hnafa, kala, klā. V. ausa, spyja, sōa, snūa. Total, 38.

OE. I. a. fricgan, screpan; I. c. béorcan, géorran, hwéorran, cringan, cwincan, murnan, stregdan, swincan, teldan, tingan, þindan, þingan. II. dwīnan, grīsan, cīdan, cnīdan, cwīnan, nīpan, rīnan, rīpan, sīcan, þwītan. III. brēoðan, dūfan, gēopan, grēosan, hēoðan, lēofan, smēocan, snēowan, spēoftan, strūdan, swēon. IV. rafan. V. cnāwan, crāwan, māwan; hwōsan, cnōdan, swōgan, blōwan, flōwan, glōwan, spōwan; hwæsan, nāpan, swāfan; brēatan, dēagan, hēafan, hnēapan, sprēatan. Total, 54.

OHG. I. a. fnehan, jesan, jetan, scehan, swehhan, swedan, rehhan; I. b. breman, sweran; I. c. flehtan, hellan, hinkan, hrespan, cherran, quellan, lingan, leskan, smidan, skeltan, skerran, scrintan, snerhan, snerfan, winkan. II. grīnan, līpan, rīhhan, rīman, scrīan, slīhhan, swīnan, wīsan. III. bliuwan, kriochan, stiuban. IV. leffan, wahan. V. spaltan, brātan, zeisan, skrōtan. Total, 41.

MHG. I. a. regen, schrecken; I. b. tremen; I. c. brimmen, glimmen, grinnen, klimpfen, cnellen, schinden, sterzen, trinnen, dehsen, dimpfen. II. (brisen), (briten), tīchen, (gliffen,) glīen, krīgen, (lichen,) līmen, nīden, schīben, schīten, schīden, splīzen, swīgen. III. biuzen. V. halsen, eischen. Total, 30. Total of OHG. and MHG., 71.

NOTE. The following 18 verbs have been added to OE. since ME. times: From the French, *arīven* + ME., *fīnen* + ME., *prove* + NE., *striven* + ME. NE.; from Norse weak verbs are *dingen* ME. NE. W., *flingen* ME. NE.; from a Norse strong verb is *thriven* ME. NE.; from OE. weak verbs are *dig* NE., *ringen* ME. +, NE. S., *rot* NE. +, *saw* NE. +,

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show + NE., *spit* + NE., *stick* NE., *strow* + NE., *wear* NE.; from OE. nouns are *stave* + NE., *string* NE. None of these are to be considered as original. They are formed according to very obvious analogies, and are often sporadic in their appearance.

If we examine the lists just given, we shall find that the G. has 103 verbs in common with the ON; 137 in common with the OE.; 133 with OHG.; and 108 with OS. Further, the ON. has 182 in common with OE.; 166 with OHG.; and 114 with OS. The OE. has 242 verbs in common with OHG., and 157 with OS. The OHG., finally, has 157 in common with OS. It will thus be seen that OE. stands in closer relations to every other Germanic dialect than any others among themselves, except OHG. and OS., where the correspondence is equal. It may at first surprise us to find OE. so much more closely related to ON. than the G., but if we compare the number of verbs in each case with the number of coincidences we shall find that the *per cent* of coincidences between G. and ON. is 57, while that between OE. and ON. is 54. The closest relation between any two dialects exists between OE. and OHG., which share more than 70 per cent together.

These lists suggest many other subjects for comment; but I will pass immediately to the third division of my subject.

Section III. — The Growth of Ablaut.

When we consider the scanty material which the early period of any language affords, it is obvious that many words must have existed that have not come down to us. The absence of a verb from a dialect is therefore no proof that it did not exist, and we must depend on other evidence to show whether verbs can be traced back to the common OG. source. If we examine the list given above, we find 243 verbs common to East and West Germanic, 74 verbs confined to West Germanic, and 194 to a single dialect. The question I propose to essay is, How many of these latter 268 are to be attributed to the OG.; how many are original to WG. or to the single dialects?

Wherever the Indo-European languages show strong verbs corresponding to the Germanic there can be no hesitation in pronouncing the latter to be old; but this is rarely the case. When the European derivatives of the root show ablaut-vowels, the chances are in favor of the age of the verb. So, too, when the East Germanic contains derivatives with ablaut of a West Germanic verb, and *vice versa;* yet in some cases the verb is the derivative of a noun, even when other dialects show ablaut. We have to consider the age of the manuscript in

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which the verb appears, and also whether it may not have been formed by analogy. Space fails here to enter into all these details with every verb. I have limited myself to indicating as briefly as possible the nature and degree of evidence of age. This I have also pointed out even when I have classed the verb as new. Where I have given no reference I know of no more evidence of age than the related forms given in the main list; if there are no forms given there and no reference here, the verb is isolated. The references are to the third edition of Fick's *Wörterbuch* (Fick), to Schade's *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, second edition (Schade), and to Johannes Schmidt's *Vocalismus* (Schmidt, Voc.).

The following 59 verbs may with more or less certainty be pronounced OG.: —

I. a. *knad* OE. OHG. Cf. Dan. knede, ON. knoða; O. Prus. gnode, O. Slav. gneta.

sprak OE. OHG. OS. Ablaut derivatives in Lithuanian and Sansk. See Schade, Wb. 856; Fick, Wb. 3. 355.

stak OHG. OS. Ablaut deriv. in G. ON. and Slavic; Schade, 868.

hlaf G. Abl. der. in Grk. Lat. Stem is Slavic. Fick, 1. 541.

skrap OE. ON. OHG.; Lith. Lat. Grk. Schade, 780.

fnah OHG. Cf. πνεῖν, πνοή, πνεῦμα.

jas OHG. Grk. Skr. Fick, 1. 183.

skah OHG. Cf. OHG. schiht, and Slavic. Schade, 785.

trak OHG. Low G. Fris. Slavic. Schade, 952.

I. b. *dval* OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G. dvals, ON. dvöl; Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 640.

hal OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G.; Slav. Grk. Lat. Schade, 384.

kval OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON.; Slavic. Schade, 693.

I. c. *dalb* OE. OHG. OS. No EG. ablaut, but Slavic. Schade, 925.

malk OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Slavic, Lat. Fick, 1. 174, 720.

sanþ OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Lat. Slavic. Fick, 3. 318; Schade, 765.

smalt OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Grk. Sansk. Fick, 1. 175; Schade, 587.

smart ME. OHG. Cf. Swed.; Lith. Lat. Sansk. Schade, 833.

starb OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON. Lith.; but note the altered meaning. Schade, 869; Fick, 3. 347.

svangv OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G. ON.; Lith. Schade, 916; Fick, 2. 505.

þvang OHG. OS. Cf. ON. Slavic. Fick, 3. 142.

vars OHG. OS. Cf. G. ON.; Lat. Slav. Fick, 3. 295.

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gard G. Cf. OHG. ON. OE.; Lith. Fick, 3. 102. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 580.

hanþ G. Cf. OE. OHG. Fick, 1. 545; Schade, 401.

þars G. Cf. ON. OE. OHG.; Sansk. Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 600.

skalf ON. Cf. OE. scielfan, scéalfor, scylfor. Leo, AS. *Glos.* 247.

þang OE. Cf. ON. þungr, and *þih* II. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 52.

flaht OHG. Cf. Lat. Grk. Slavic. Fick, 1. 681; 3. 193.

hank OHG. Cf. ON. skakkr, Sansk. khanj. Fick, 1. 804.

karr OHG. Lith. Lat. Schade, 483; Fick, 1. 565.

nanþ OHG. Cf. *naþ* I. a. Fick, 3. 160; Schade, 651.

skrand OHG. Cf. *skrit* II. Schmidt, Voc. I. 172; Fick, 3. 339.

vank OHG. Cf. Lith. Schade, 1162.

þahs MHG. Cf. Sansk. Lat. Grk. Lith. Fick, 1. 86; 3. 128.

II. *glit* OHG. OS. Derivatives in G. ON. OE. OHG. Schade, 337, and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 57.

kin OE. OHG. OS. See Note 11.

miþ. OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G.; Lith. Grk. Lat. Sansk. Schade, 607; Fick, 1. 176.

sih OE. OHG. Cf. the stems *sig* and *sik*. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 63.

slip OE. OHG. Cf. ON.; Lett. Grk. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 162; Fick, 2. 504.

dig G. Cf. ON. OE. OHG; Grk. Lat. Sansk. Fick, 1. 118; 3. 147.

lis G. Cf. ON. and WG.; also Slavic and Lat. Schade, 543.

þrif ON. Cf. OE. þrāfjan, and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 53.

hnip ON. Cf. OE. hnipian, hnāpian.

rih OHG. Cf. Lith. Grk. Sansk. Schade, 714; Fick, 1. 195; 3. 253.

III. *bru* OE. OHG. Cf. ON. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 696.

hru OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON.; Grk. Irish, Zend. Fick, 1. 539.

ku OE. OHG. Cf. Slavic. Fick, 2. 351.

suk G. Cf. OE. OHG. ON. Schade, 770.

struk ON. Cf. OHG.; Slavic, Grk. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 161.

smuk OE. Cf. Low G. Lith. Grk. Schade, 832; Fick, 1. 835.

snu OE. Cf. G. snivan I. a., and ON. snūa V. Schade, 839; Fick, 1. 829; 3. 351.

blu OHG. Cf. G. bliggvan I. a., and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 108; Fick, 1. 703.

IV. *bak* OE. OHG. Cf. Grk. Fick, 1. 678.

ag G. Cf. Fick, 3. 12; 1. 9.

drab G. Cf. OE. OHG.; Lith. Schmidt, Voc. 2. 22; Schade, 925; Leo, Angels.-Glos. 49.

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fraþ G. Cf. OE. OHG. Fick, 3. 190; 1. 149; and OHG. *frad.*
kal ON. Cf. OE. OHG. G.; and Slavic, Lat. Fick, 3. 44.
vak OHG. Cf. Sansk. Latin, Grk. Schade, 1075; Fick, 1. 204.
V. *lā* G. Cf. O. Icel. *lā* W. Sansk. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 187, 747.
knā OE. Cf. ON. OHG.; Sansk. Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 68, 559.

The total number of OG. verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 40, I. b. 11, I. c. 73, II. 55, III. 52, IV. 33, V. 38; in all 302. The additions are, to I. a. 9, I. b. 3, I. c. 21, II. 10, III. 8, IV. 6, V. 2; in all 59.

The following verbs are certainly or probably peculiar to WG.: —

I. a. jah, plag (from Lat. *plīcāre*, Schade, Wb. 678); I. b. þvar; I. c. darb, faht (Fick, 1. 658), galp, grand, gramm, hlamm, hramp (Fick, 1. 523), karb (Fick, 1. 574), klamb, klang, kramm (Fick, 2. 352), lamp (Schade, 559), salk, skrank, svand, svark, þrand. II. flit, glid (Schmidt, Voc. 1. 58), gnid, hlid (Schmidt, Voc. 2. 251), skrib (from Lat. *scribere*), strid, strik (Schade, 879; Schmidt, Voc. 1. 54), vrih. III. bruk (Fick, 1. 703), grut (see V. b.), krud, sprut (see V. and I. c.; Schade, 858). IV. lah, sab (from Latin *sapa*), span (Fick, 1. 829, shows Grk. forms according to I. a.), stap (Fick, 1. 821; Scmidt, Voc. 1. 128, 155; I. E. stems stab I. a. and stamb I. c.), vask. V. bann, skald, spann, valk, vall (see I. b. and I. c.), valt (see I. c.), drād, vāt (Schade, 1105 f.), blā, þrā, hrōp (originally weak), vōp, svōg.

The number of WG. verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 2, I. b. 1, I. c. 17, II. 8, III. 4, IV. 5, V. 13; in all 50.

The following verbs seem peculiar to the separate dialects: —

I. a. G. divan (see IV.), niþan, snivan (see III.); ON. freta, knega (analogy of *mā*), (slokinn); OE. fricgan (from *fragn*); OHG. jetan, swedan (Schade, 906), swehhan; MHG. regen, schrecken.

I. b. G. vulan (Fick, 1. 772); OHG. breman (from bremo; see Fick, 1. 702), sweran (Fick, 1. 257); MHG. treman.

I. c. G. bliggvan (see III.), trimpan, vilvan (EG.); ON. (brugginn) see III., detta (Fick, 3. 144), gnesta, gnella, hnöggva (Fick, 3. 81), hrökkva, klökkva, sleppa (cf. OHG. slimm), smella, snerta (Fick, 3. 350), tyggva, þverra (see I. b.), velta (see V.); OE. béorcan (Fick, 3. 206), géorran, hwéorran, cringan, cwincan, murnan (W. in EG., and usually in WG.), stregdan (analogy of bragd), swincan, teldan (Fick, 3. 120), tingan (Fick, 3. 116), þindan (Fick, 1. 88); OHG. hellan, hrespan, quellan (Schade, 694), lingan (Schade, 560; Fick, 1. 190), leskan, (usually weak), skeltan, skerran (see I. b.), snerhan, snerfan (Schade,

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839); MHG. brimmen (see I. b.), glimmen (from glīmen MHG.), grinnen (from grīnen MHG.), klimpfen, knellen, schinden (usually weak), sterzen (usually weak), trinnen, dimpfen (from dampf, but cf. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 157).

II. G. kijan (see Note 11), þreihan (yet see Schmidt, Voc. 1. 53); ON. fīsa (Fick, 1. 833; 3. 186), klīpa (originally weak), kvīða (originally weak), rīsta (or *vrīsta*), sīþa (from seiðr = Lith. saitas = MHG. seid), svīða (Schmidt, Voc. 1. 58); OE. dwīnan, grīsan (see III.), cīdan, cnīdan, cwīnan (from cwānian, which is OG.), nīpan (Schmidt, Voc. 1. 59), rīnan (for rignan w.), rīpan (for rīepan w.), sīcan, þwītan; OHG. grīnan, hlīfan, rīman (for hrīnan), scrīan (Fick, 1. 812), slīhhan (Schmidt, Voc. 1. 54), swīnan, wīsan (Fick, 1. 220, 786); MHG. (brisen, from *brīse* N.), (briden), (gliffen, from weak *gliffen*), tīchen, glīen, krīgen, lichen (from OHG. *līchēn* w.), līmen (from *līm* N.), nīden (from *nīd* N.), schīben (from *schīben* weak), schīten (from *schīt* N.), schīden (from *scheiden* V. and *schīdōn* w.), splīten (also *sprīten* and *sprīzen*, Schmidt, Voc. 1. 58), swīgen (originally weak).

III. G. hniupan (cf. ON. and OE.; Schade, 409; Fick, 1. 807), kriustan; ON. fjūka, gjōsa, ljōsta; OE. brēoðan, dūfan, gēopan (Schade, 344), grēosan, hēoðan, lēofan (from *lēaf* and *lufu*), spēoftan, strūdan, swēon; OHG. criochan (cf. crēopan OE.), stiuban; MHG. biuzen (see V.).

IV. G. anan (Fick, 1. 12), raþjan (from *raþjō*); ON. deyja (see I. a. G. *divan* original ablaut III. Fick, 1. 119; Schade, 948), geyja, hnafa (Fick, 1. 807), klā (from *klō* N.); OE. rafan (yet cf. Schmidt, Voc. 2. 292, 465); OHG. laffan (Fick, 1. 751).

V. G. alþan (from *alþs*), praggan (from Slavic, Schade, 685), tāk (see IV.), aikan (Schmidt, Voc. 2. 474), fraisan, þlaihan (Schade, 204); ON. ausa, spýja (see II.), sōa, snūa (see I. a. and III.); OE. crāwan, māwan, hwōsan (Fick, 3. 94; 1. 555), cnōdan, blōwan (Fick, 1. 703), flōwan (Fick, 1. 665), glōwan (Fick, 1. 578), hlōwan (Fick, 1. 529), spīwan (Fick, 1. 829), hwǣsan, nāpan (see II.), swāfan (see II.), brēatan (see III.), dēagan, hēafan (see III.), hnēapan (see III.), sprēatan (see III.); OHG. spaltan (Schade, 846), bāgan (originally weak), brātan (Fick, 3. 216), zeisan, skrōtan (Fick, 1. 818; 2. 491; 3. 339); MHG. halsen (OHG. is weak), eischen (OHG. is weak).

The number of isolated verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 12, I. b. 4, I. c. 45, II. 39, III. 17, IV. 8, V. 34; in all 159.

This examination of these 268 verbs shows us that 59 can be proved to be OG., while 50 are WG., and 159 remain confined to a single dialect. A more detailed study of these would show that in most in-

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stances they are differentiated forms of already existing stems, or are formed by analogy from nouns or weak verbs. There remains a small number which the existing material does not allow us to explain, though we cannot doubt their origin was the same as that of the great majority. Here I take leave of this subject, having shown that fully two fifths of the Germanic strong verbs have no claim to be regarded as the common heritage of the race, and that the ablaut in Germanic is a living force, not, as in the classical languages, a survival whose use and meaning is forgotten.

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APPENDIX.

I. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Session, Middletown, 1883.

II. Treasurer's Report (p. xiii).

III. List of Officers and Members (p. xxxii).

IV. Constitution of the Association (p. xli).

V. Publications of the Association (p. xliii).

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

Cyrus Adler, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Joseph Anderson, Waterbury, Conn.
Charles J. Buckingham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Oscar H. Cooper, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Thomas H. Eckfeldt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
James M. Garnett, University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Va.
Thomas D. Goodell, Public High School, Hartford, Conn.
Charles W. Haines, Sachs's Collegiate Institute, New York, N. Y.
Isaac H. Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.
Calvin S. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Karl P. Harrington, High School, Westfield, Mass.
Caskie Harrison, Brooklyn, N. Y.
W. T. Hewett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Milton W. Humphreys, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Edmund M. Hyde, Pennsylvania Military Academy, Chester, Pa.
Charles R. Lanman, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Augustus C. Merriam, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
C. K. Nelson, Brookeville Academy, Montgomery Co., Md.
Tracy Peck, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
B. Perrin, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.
William C. Poland, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Samuel Porter, National Deaf Mute College, Washington, D. C.
Sylvester Primer, Charleston, S. C.
Rufus B. Richardson, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Julius Sachs, Collegiate Institute, New York, N. Y.
Charles P. G. Scott, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Thomas D. Seymour, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Frederick Stengel, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Franklin Taylor, High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
James C. Van Benschoten, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
John B. Weston, Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, N. Y.
William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
E. H. Wilson, Middletown, Conn. [Total, 36.]

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., Tuesday, July 10, 1883.

THE Fifteenth Annual Session was called to order at 3 P. M., in Judd Hall, on the grounds of Wesleyan University, by the President, Professor Milton W. Humphreys, of the University of Texas.

Communications were presented as follows: —

1. On American Editions of the New Testament in Greek, by Dr. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia.

Dr. Hall's paper was supplementary to his article[1] on "The Greek New Testament as published in America" (*Transactions* for 1882, vol. xiii. pp. 5–34), correcting a few oversights and adding a great number of new facts. The matter presented was given, as nearly as possible, according to the order of the former article, so as to constitute a strict supplement. Much of the matter related to critical and bibliographic information, often respecting the European originals of certain American editions.

The corrections related chiefly to the following: (1.) Injustice done to Isaiah Thomas, or his editor, in remarks about the Latin form of his name given on the title-page of his New Testament of 1800. (2.) The erroneous account given of Joseph P. Engles, editor of the American Polymicrian, which had followed a common, but misleading authority. (3.) The account of the Polymicrian New Testament itself, in which was corrected a spreading mistake about the issues attributed to Leavitt, 1832, and Barnes, 1846. Both these are *English* New Testaments, with Greek titles for the whole New Testament and for each separate book. (4.) The account of the first Leusden Greek New Testament of 1675, and a Pseudo-Leusden from the same press the same year. (5.) The account of the publications of the American Bible Union. (6.) Sundry minor details about editions actually printed abroad, but heretofore supposed to be American reprints. Some of the mistakes thus corrected have been of long standing among the bibliographers; and the facts were arrived at only with difficulty. Other corrections are rather the resolving of doubts by fuller information than the rectification of any mistake.

[1] This article has in the mean time been revised and enlarged, and published as a separate volume by Messrs. Pickwick & Co., Philadelphia, 1883.

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The additions proper fill many gaps throughout; but their principal items are the addition of unrecorded issues and the description of editions heretofore omitted. The latter include, — (1.) Macknight's Apostolical Epistles, Greek-English, 6 vols 8vo, Boston, W. Wells and T. B. Wait & Co., 1810; text nearly the Elzevir of 1678. (2.) Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse, Greek-English, by L. H. Tafel, Philadelphia, also other firms in New York and London, not dated, 8vo. (3.) Harmonia Evangelica, by N. C. Brooks of Baltimore, published by Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia, 1871; a book which is only the plates of the author's Collectanea Evangelica, with new title-page and a few alterations in the plates to correspond. (4.) Buttz's Romans, New York, Nelson & Phillips, 1876, 8vo; text of Scrivener's R. Stephens of 1550. (5.) Shedd's Romans, New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 12mo, not dated, but issued in 1879; text nearly that of Lachmann.

Of unrecorded issues of editions already described, the supplementary list comprises 49 of the entire New Testament, and 39 of parts, or 88 in all. The former list, after deducting corrected items, numbered 90 editions of the entire New Testament, and 64 parts, or 154 in all. The total numbers, therefore, are 139 editions of the entire Greek New Testament, and 103 parts, or 242 in all. At the same time, it was to be seen that the issues which have eluded search must number at least about 30, and perhaps many more.

It appeared, also, that every year since 1832 has seen the issue of at least one Greek Testament in America, while one year, 1859, saw as many as eleven. None are recorded for the years 1801–1805, 1807, 1808, 1811–1813, 1815-1820, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1832; twenty blank years, though it is not at all certain that they all really were so.

During the sessions the following new members were elected: —

Dr. J. W. Abernethy, Professor of English, Adelphi Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cyrus Adler, 870 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wm. M. Baskerville, Ph. D., Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Miss Eva Channing, Forest Hills Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Oscar H. Cooper, Tutor in Greek, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.
Thomas H. Eckfeldt, Tutor in Greek, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
L. H. Elwell, Instructor in Greek and Sanskrit, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Thomas D. Goodell, Ph. D., Public High School, Hartford, Conn.
James M. Gregory, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Francis B. Gummere, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
W. T. Hewett, Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Edward W. Hopkins, Ph. D., Instructor in Latin and Zend, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Edmund Morris Hyde, Instructor in Classics, Pennsylvania Military Academy, Chester, Pa.
Frederick Lutz, Professor of German, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
Elmer T. Merrill, Tutor in Latin, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Rev. George Prentice, Professor of Modern Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Dr. Sylvester Primer, Charleston, S. C.
Benjamin E. Smith, Union Square, New York, N. Y.

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Charles Forster Smith, Ph. D., Professor of Greek, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
George C. S. Southworth, Professor of Belles-lettres, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
Rev. Wm. G. Spencer, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, New Haven, Conn.
Morris H. Stratton, State Board of Education, Salem, New Jersey.
Henry P. Wright, Professor of Latin, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

2. Southernisms: Specimens of Old or Provincial English Words still current in the South of the United States, but obsolete elsewhere, by Professor Charles Forster Smith, of Vanderbilt University; read by the President, Professor Humphreys.

The South, unlike the North and West, has coined few new words. The nature of the people, their institutions, especially that of slavery, and the fact that they were an agricultural people, made them conservative. When we hear a common countryman or mountaineer use a word unfamiliar to us, it is generally safe to assume that it is not a new word, but a survival of a dialect of one or two hundred years ago. A careful observer who should spend some months in the rural and mountainous parts of some of the older Southern States, such as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, would be able to collect from the folk-speech many items both interesting and valuable for the history of English.

It should be added that time devoted *now* to the study of Southernisms in speech, as well as to Southern usages in general, is well spent, inasmuch as the facilities for travel, trade, and intercourse between all parts of the United States are now increasing so rapidly that what is peculiar to the South will soon have died out entirely.

Professor Smith's paper discussed the usage, signification, and history of fifty words. These may be simply enumerated. They are: bat, blink-milk, brotus, buck, carry, coat, collards, crope, dansy, ding, doted, fill, forenent *or* forenenst, frazle, fresh, frumenty *or* fromety *or* furmity, galled, holp, hone, jag, joggle, jower, kink, mang, misery, poor, priminary, rip, seepy *and* seepage, servant, skew-bald, slashes, snack, sobbed *or* sobby, stob, stile, strut, swash, swingeing, such *or* so . . . as that, thoroughfare, trash, use, upping-block, wain, wall, while, whommle, wrack-heap, *and* year (as a pronunciation of *ear*).

Remarks on this paper were made by Messrs. Humphreys, Seymour, Hall, Poland, and others.

3. On the Development of the Ablaut in Germanic, by Dr. B. W. Wells, Friends' School, Providence, R. I.; read by Professor Lanman.

The paper treated of the distribution of the strong verbs in the Germanic dialects, and of the relation of the dialects to one another in this regard; and closed with an attempt to show to what extent, and why, new verbs with ablaut had sprung up in the dialects.

Though lists of strong verbs had been published by Grimm and Amelung, these needed so much revision and correction that a new list had been prepared

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as the basis of this study. This contained 511 stems, of which 243 were shown to be Old Germanic, while 74 were confined to two or more of the West Germanic dialects, and 194 were found in one dialect only. Of these 72 are High German, 54 Old English, 38 Norse, and 30 Gothic.

The 511 verbs are divided into five classes (see *Proceedings* for 1882, page xxxv), containing I *a.* 54, I *b.* 16, I *c.* 135, II. 102, III. 73, IV. 46, V. 85 verbs. The distribution of the verbs of each class among the dialects is proportional to their number.

The Gothic has in all 184 verbs, sharing 103 with the Norse, 137 with the OE., 133 with OHG., and 108 with OS.

The Norse has 234 verbs, sharing 182 with the OE., 166 with OHG., and 114 with OS.

The OE. has 333 verbs (or if we add ME. and NE., 351), sharing 242 with the OHG., and 157 with the OS.

The HG. has 342 verbs, sharing 157 with the OS.

The OS. has 167 verbs.

From this it appears that the OE. stands in closer relation than any other dialect to each and all the Germanic dialects.

The question was then proposed whether the verbs which occurred only in West Germanic, or in a single dialect, were to be regarded as Old Germanic; and canons were laid down by which this could be determined from a comparison of the derivatives of the stem in Germanic and European languages. The application of these canons showed that 24 West Germanic stems and 35 isolated verbs were present in Old Germanic, while of those that remained many could be proved to be original to the dialect in which they occurred. These new forms were formed after the analogy of the old verbs, and were partly from nouns, partly from weak verbs, or from strong verbs of other classes. Some were borrowed from other languages, others were merely imitative of sounds.

The ablaut is, then, a living force in every Germanic dialect, not, as in the classical languages, a survival whose use and meaning are forgotten.

The phonetic development of the ablaut and its later history in the dialects was reserved for another occasion.

As Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, Professor Van Benschoten, of Wesleyan University, made announcements concerning boarding-places and mail facilities.

The Secretary, Professor Lanman, of Harvard College, on behalf of the Executive Committee, made the following report: —

a. The Proceedings of the session of July, 1882, had been published in 750 copies, September 22, 1882. The Transactions for 1882, vol. xiii., had been published in 600 copies, December 23, 1882.

b. Twenty-one of the thirty-five foreign libraries and learned societies to which sets of Transactions had been sent have replied, leaving fourteen yet to be heard from. The forwarding of matter by the Smithsonian Institution is slow, but sure.

c. The list of American Public Libraries where complete sets of the Transactions may be found had been increased to the considerable number of 51.

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d. The bills against the Association have all been paid, and there is no claim against the Association.

e. The Executive Committee had voted to continue the reduction in the price of complete sets of the Transactions (see last page of cover).

The Association then adjourned until 8 P. M.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., Tuesday, July 10, 1883.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association assembled in Judd Hall, the Vice-President, Professor D'Ooge, of Michigan University, in the chair.

The Annual Address was delivered by the President, Professor Milton W. Humphreys, of the University of Texas.

4. Conservatism in Textual Criticism.

Conservatism is often misjudged; its opponents ignore the evils that it attempts to combat, and judge it absolutely; whereas, if the evils did not exist or did not need checking, those who are conservative would pursue a very different course. Conservatism in textual criticism consists merely in clinging to what is certain, and rejecting all doubtful or unnecessary emendations; but no absolute rules can be laid down for drawing the line between the certain and the doubtful. Much harm is done in all sciences, and especially in philology, by failing to distinguish between what we certainly know and what we think we know. Witness the numerous theories which have exploded, some of them in our day, and left us much to unlearn, which is more difficult than learning. Besides, the explosion of theories, or even of what have been recognized as "doctrines," brings any science into bad repute, and deters men from its prosecution. Moreover, the application of false methods, especially in textual criticism, may so impair the foundation on which others hereafter are to build, that it will be an arduous task to establish the truth, and scholars will be forced to keep constantly before them the manuscript readings. In fact, this has actually resulted in some instances from hasty emendations. Almost all the examples of violations of the Porsonic law excused by elision have been suppressed by emendation. The view entertained by some, that it is better for a dozen genuine verses to be taken from an author than for one spurious verse to be attributed to him, is extremely pernicious if put into practice. If the twelve genuine verses were removed accidentally in removing one spurious verse, the question might be debatable; but they will be removed because of some characteristic, which characteristic will thus be eliminated from the author's works.

All error in emending, therefore, and all that leads to error, must be avoided. Every one proposing to emend, except in special cases, must devote himself to a thorough study of the entire subject of textual criticism. It is always dangerous for any one to deal with a subject with which he is not familiar. There are many sad illustrations of this fact in a large number of our periodicals and books. Even so simple a subject as the Greek accentuation is not likely to be treated correctly by an editor who has not made himself familiar with it.

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While Americans may claim to have as great aptitude for textual criticism as any other nation, our advantages are very far below those of most Europeans. We have not the manuscripts, and those which we possess in fac-simile certainly do not as yet supply us with adequate material. There are, moreover, various reasons why we cannot rely upon second-hand information in regard to diplomatic material. The science of palæography (especially Greek) is as yet in its infancy, and many errors have already been committed by editors of fac-simile manuscripts. Nor is it any better with collations and other information which those offer who have examined manuscripts. Some of the errors are due to the unsatisfactory state of the science of palæography, others are due to individual ignorance, others to carelessness, and others are entirely inexplicable. Ch. Graux was the first to point out, for instance, the fact that no *bombycini* are as old by some two centuries as was universally assumed. Gardthausen has made serious errors in regard to ink used in past ages. Some manuscripts, which seem to be dated, have been assigned to a wrong period; while the special errors in citing the readings of manuscripts are countless.

Some critics err as to the sufficiency of the grounds for emending. Among their errors may be mentioned the assumptions that ancient writers were infallible, that what is very rare or isolated must be spurious (while some commit the opposite error of needlessly introducing rare or doubtful expressions), that their own conception of an author's style is necessarily correct and perfect, that everything they do not understand is spurious, and that everything they do not like is an interpolation. There are critics also who overlook evident marks of genuineness, and others who forget that, if everything which happens to exhibit a certain characteristic is spurious, there must be vastly more spurious passages not happening to exhibit it. Many critics show a misconception of the causes which lead to errors in copying, and often attribute to the eye mistakes made by the mind and hand. Some, again, seem to forget the various stages through which the art of writing has passed, and fail to make corresponding discriminations. The war upon repetitions has been waged too vigorously. Many modern books contain more striking repetitions than some which have been removed from ancient works. Many who devote themselves to textual criticism make mistakes which justify us in charging them with unpardonable carelessness or great ignorance, or both combined. Even the simplest metrical laws, for instance, are often violated in emending the poets.

Seeing, then, how limited are the advantages of Americans, how immature the science of palæography, how untrustworthy second-hand information, and how slippery and full of pitfalls the field of textual criticism, we should adopt as our general rule the words of Madvig, *abstinere et aliorum proterviam arcere.*

The Association adjourned to Wednesday morning.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., Wednesday, July 11, 1883.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 9.45 by the President. The Secretary read the minutes of Tuesday's sessions, and they were approved. The reading of communications was resumed.

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5. The Force of Δίκη in the Greek Theosophy, by Dr. C. K. Nelson, of Brookeville Academy, Maryland.

The Δίκη of the Greeks was their highest metaphysical conception. It was purely ideal; it scorned all restraints of theophanies and incarnations; it was proud, arrogant, and defiant of all authority but its own. With its unseen vengeance it tracked the crimes of Oedipus and Orestes, and yet, after their purification through suffering, declared them innocent in the court of its own supreme arbitrament. Prometheus could bid defiance to Zeus, but was compelled to bow his head in meekest submission at the bare mention of Δίκη. The fact that the principle involved in the conception of Δίκη was not associated with any particular god may be illustrated by the Homeric distinction between δίκαιος and θεοῦδής. The omnipotence of Δίκη, its superiority even to Zeus, is abundantly exemplified by Plato and the tragedians.

6. The Caesareum and the Worship of Augustus at Alexandria, by Professor A. C. Merriam, of Columbia College, New York.

In the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* for 1879, Mommsen publishes Neroutsos's version of the Obelisk-Crab Inscriptions now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and adds his opinion regarding the temple before which our New York obelisk was erected in Alexandria. This opinion is that the temple was not built to Augustus, but by him to his father Julius, because Pliny calls it the temple of Caesar, because Philo Judaeus styles it the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, and because under the general policy of his reign Augustus would not have built the temple to himself even in Egypt. Philo calls the temple Sebastion, it is true; but this is to be explained by the union of the worship of Augustus with that of Julius in the same sanctuary, though Mommsen intimates by the use of the word *divus* that this did not take place till after the death of Augustus.

These points were discussed in detail by Professor Merriam. The carelessness with which Mommsen has treated his authorities might be seen from a single passage, where he makes Philo enunciate the singular proposition that "An imperial form of government is preferable to liberty, because throughout the whole world all other temples are far surpassed by those of Caesar, and especially at Alexandria,"—a statement of which Philo is by no means the father. Pliny's usage of "Caesar" was so indiscriminate for any of the Emperors from Julius to Vespasian, that, when employed alone, the context must determine the particular individual intended, and in the passage in question this rule favored Augustus. Next, the passage of Philo was given where he describes the temple, and where the context proves that Philo was speaking of Augustus and Augustus alone as the god of the sanctuary, and as such in the lifetime of that Emperor. Hence, the Sebastion, the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, must be the temple of Augustus, with the ascription Epibaterios, which Mommsen translates Appulsor, and Yonge renders the phrase, "the temple erected in honor of the disembarkation of Caesar." This interpretation of the epithet was held to be incorrect; that it rather signifies the god who presides over the sea, to whom the sailor's sacrifices were offered upon landing and embarking. These sacrifices were designated by three classes of words: first, those relating to embarkation, τὰ ἐμβατήρια, as Philostr. 227, 687, Heliodorus, iv. 16, v. 15; or ἀναβατήρια, Plu-

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tarch de Sol. An. 36. Secondly, those relating to disembarkation, ἐκβατήρια, as Himer. Ecl. xiii. 38, Philostr. 562; or ἀποβατήρια, Steph. Byz. in voc. Buthrotum, Joseph. Antiq. Jud. i. 3; or ἀπόβαθρα, Dio Cass. xl. 18. Thirdly, those relating either to embarking or to disembarking, ἐπιβατήρια, as Himer. Ecl. xiii. 38, Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 421, Etymologicum Magnum, Libanius, Spengel Rhet. iii. p. 377. Similar to these are the διαβατήρια, Thuc. v. 54, 55, 116, Xen. Hel. iv. 7. 2, Dio Cass. xl. 18, Plut. Lucul. 24; cf. Hdt. vi. 76, Xen. Rep. Lac. xiii., Polyaenus, i. 10. 1 (ὑπερβατήρια), and the terms εἰσιτήρια, εἰσηλύσια, κατιτήρια, ἐξιτήριος.

The deities to whom these sacrifices were shown to have been offered were Poseidon, the Tyrian Heracles, Protesilaus, Dionysus, Apollo, rivers, the sea, Zeus, Athene, Artemis; and among the ascriptions in this connection we have Zeus Apobaterios (Arr. An. i. 11. 7), Zeus Diabaterios (Ctesias, Pers. 17), Apollo Embasios (Ap. Rhod. i. 359, 404, an instructive passage, and on a coin of the Ephesians), Apollo Ekbasios (Ap. Rhod. i. 966, 1186), Artemis Ekbateria (Hesychius), Hadrian as Zeus Embaterios (C. I. G. 1213), and Apollo Epibaterios at Troezene, where this deity was worshipped with this epithet in a temple founded by Diomed as a thank-offering on having escaped the storm which befell the Greeks on their return from Troy. Accordingly, Caesar Epibaterios is to be explained in the same way, and this phase is one of the alternatives which Virgil had in view for the godhead of Augustus in the First Georgic (29–31), which is hinted at by Propertius (iii. 11. 71), is found in inscriptions (C. I. G. 4443), and shown from Suetonius to have been in existence at Alexandria during the lifetime of Augustus (Suet. 98). Although, on general principles of state, Augustus did banish public worship of himself from Rome, except of his Genius or Lares, he was privately worshipped there in his lifetime, and publicly in other parts of Italy, as proved by inscriptions; while in Asia temples were built to him as early as 29 B. C., where he was worshipped in conjunction with Roma, and this cult spread through the other provinces. According to Sharpe (Hist. Egypt, ii. 94), in the hieroglyphics of the temples in Upper Egypt, within ten years after the death of Cleopatra, Augustus was given the same ascriptions as the Ptolemies before him, who were regularly worshipped as gods, and his adoration in the province is likewise proved by Greek inscriptions. Hence, it was natural that the Alexandrians, who received more benefits by far from the administration of Augustus than the inhabitants of any other part of Egypt, should have erected a temple to him, and it was the people of the provinces who built the sanctuaries in his honor, not the Emperor himself. If built by him to Julius, it would rather have been in the adjacent Nicopolis, which he at first attempted to make a formidable rival to Alexandria. Dio states (li. 15) that an Heroum of Julius, built by Cleopatra, existed at Alexandria in 30 B. C., and it is probable that this Heroum was what Strabo, about 20 B. C., calls Kaisarion, and was situated within the precinct where the Sebastion was built a few years later, perhaps in part through the zeal of Barbarus in the Emperor's behalf. It was not unnatural that, when Augustus was deified by the Alexandrians, they should have made him the god presiding over the main industry of the port, commerce over seas, and he seems to have succeeded in this to the honors of Hephaestion and the first Ptolemy, who were so worshipped at the Pharos; but besides this, proof was adduced of an evident attempt to make him out the son of Apollo, and it was conjectured that he might have been regarded in Alexandria as a "New" Aesculapius, who, as well as Apollo, extended his functions to presiding over

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the sea (*Bulletin Corresp. Hellénique*, 1879); while to the Egyptians proper this would assimilate him to Horus, the Sun-God and type of legitimate sovereignty. As such, the obelisks were fitting emblems to erect before his temple, even as the two which were brought to Rome three years later were consecrated to the Sun, the nearest approach to this idea which was ventured upon at Rome.

Remarks were made on this paper by Dr. Hall and Professor Merriam.

7. The Harmonies of Verse, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The elements of rhythm ar fixt in speech. The accented syllabls of words and the accented words of frases and sentences, the long and short syllabls and the pich ar determind by the habit of each language. One can tel in what language a crowd ar talking by the rhythm of the murmur, tho no singl sound can be distinguisht. Dialects may also be distinguisht. The American rhythm is different from the English. The American pulse and breathing ar quicker, the rise and fall of nervous energy more rapid. We make more frequent use of secondary accents, and so make the intervals between stress more nearly equal, and the average interval shorter.

In every speech, however, all sorts of combinations of the natural intervals may be made, and so a musical or an unmusical current of sound. The source of the music in musical prose is in great part the agreeabl succession of long and short intervals of stress and pich in the current of its spoken words.

Musical prose, then, may be characterized as having *melody*.

Poetry is characterized by *harmony*; its characteristic music is produced by the combination of different series of sounds.

Verses ar made acording to a pattern. To a schoolboy this may be known merely as a rule of prosody, but with the poet it works in the wil, and produces in his imagination a series of sounds coresponding to it, like the humming of a tune. In any verse two series of sounds ar implied: first, the words utterd with their natural accents to giv the thought; second, a rhythmic murmur in the imagination representing the pattern of the verse.

The musical merit of the verse depends in great part on the harmonies between these series.

There ar two extremes where the music disapears. (1.) The two series may run exactly together, so as to make the prose accent and the metrical stress coincide. This seldom ocurs thru any long sentence; but unskild readers often feign it by sing-song or cantilation, changing the natural pronunciation to that of the verse pattern.

(2.) The natural interval between the accents may be so much longer in the words than in the murmur that they cannot be givn in acordant time, or the accents of the two series may be otherwise so differently adjusted as to make a chord impossibl. In this case, whatever melody the series of words may hav, it is bad as verse; it runs over into prose.

Between these extremes, differences in the two series serv as the basis of harmonies. Slight differences of time between the beats, or of the time of particular syllabls, or of their number, or differences in amount and distribution of stress

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or pich, giv charm to the rhythm where the chords ar perfect, and may produce a perpetual variety of harmonies.

Harmonies of this kind ar esential to verse; it may hav others. Thus true songs hav their proper tune in adition to the two esential series of sound in the verses, and it is often so like these series that it can run with them thru the mind and ad new harmonies to the verse. Composers of such songs sometimes tel us that the music, some old air perhaps, haunted them, running in their minds day and night, until thoughts and words at last came to them, which ran in harmony with it.

Something like these musical airs ar long-drawn combinations of cadences, running thru hole verses perhaps, such as hardly ocur in speech for utility, but ar the creations of imagination working upon sound, prior to words in the mind of the poet, and stimulating and guiding the composition of the verses by which they ar exprest. Later poets take up these cadences, and know them like tunes of music, and make new verses to them. And readers recognize them, as they read, as sources of peculiar harmonies; sometimes they stigmatize such verses as imitativ, insted of rejoicing in their beuty.

This way of analyzing the music of verse suggests some remarks.

1. In mere melody prose has the advantage of verse. It has a greater range of material and greater freedom of combination.

2. To apreciate poetry as such, to feel the harmonies of verse, it is necesary to be so familiar with its meter that a murmur of its rhythm may flow stedily thru the mind as one reads.

3. We see why new forms of verse fail of popular apreciation, if they ar of any complication.

4. It is a matter of curious inquiry how many persons realy perceiv the harmonies of elaborate poetry, and how many of those who delight in it perceiv only its melody as tho it wer prose.

5. We see why metrical prose and iregular meters ar so differently judgd. Persons who notice only melody may be pleasd with such composition, when those who notice harmonies wil hav pattern rhythms of verses continualy started by this and that metrical cadence, and started only to run into a tangl of discords. It is best to print metrical prose as prose.

6. The process may be seen by which a new poem in peculiar rhythm makes the rhythm popular. At first it pleases by its melody only. Then the cadences of striking frases and passages fit their tune in the memory, until gradualy the hole rhythm runs with the words.

7. There wil be a general acordance in every nation between the rhythms of its poetry and its prose. The peple wil not find plesure in poetry unless its melody is familiar. On the other hand, poetry reacts on prose. The erly English meters ran prevailingly in long feet; acordingly the rhythm of the Bible, Bunyan, and the like, is trisylabic. But in Milton, Irving, Dickens, it is dissylabic.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor D'Ooge and Rev. Dr. Anderson.

The Treasurer, Mr. Charles J. Buckingham, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., submitted the following summary of the accounts for the year 1882–83: —

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RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, July 10, 1882		$345.13
Fees, assessments, and arrears paid in	$417.00	
Sales of Transactions	387.00	
Interest on deposits	13.50	
Dividend on Conn. Western stock	4.50	
Total receipts for the year		822.00
		$1,167.13

EXPENDITURES.

Plates for vol. xiii. (1882)	$399.08	
750 copies of Proceedings for 1882, separate	44.60	
600 copies of vol. xiii. (Tr. *and* Pr. together)	127.50	
Reprints of separate articles for authors	35.75	
Postages	60.43	
Mailing,[1] shipping, and expressages	47.20	
Job-printing	20.35	
Sundries	15.10	
Advertising	17.50	
Expenses of memorial to U. S. Colleges (½)	33.74	
Total expenditures for the year		$801.25
Balance on hand, July 9, 1883		365.88
		$1,167.13

On motion, the President appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Professors J. M. Garnett and Caskie Harrison.

As Committee to recommend a time and place for the next meeting, the President appointed Professors Rufus B. Richardson, A. C. Merriam, and W. T. Hewett.

On motion, the Chair appointed as Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Professor W. D. Whitney, Rev. Dr. Anderson, and Dr. Julius Sachs.

On behalf of Professor Rice, the Curator of the Museum, notice was given that the collections were open to such members of the Association as desired to see them.

An invitation was given to the Association to meet the Faculty of Wesleyan University at the Chapter House of the Eclectic Society, on Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock.

An adjournment was had at 12.30 P. M.

[1] "Mailing" includes wrappers, wrapping, and addressing.

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MIDDLETOWN, CONN., Wednesday, July 11, 1883.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 2.45 P. M., the Vice-President, Professor D'Ooge, in the chair.

8. The Mute Consonants, Sonant and Surd, by Professor Samuel Porter, of the National Deaf Mute College, Washington, D. C.

The design of the paper was to direct attention to the composite character of the surd and sonant mutes, — the so-called *tenues*, *p*, *t*, *k*, and *mediae*, *b*, *d*, hard *g*. They occur, (1.) as initial, before a vowel; (2.) final, after a vowel; (3.) initial, before *l* or *r*, or a *y* or *w* sound, in English, and other consonants besides these, in some languages; (4.) final, after a consonant; (5.) medial, before or after a consonant.

I. As initial to a vowel, what is distinctive in the surds is an interval of silence preparatory, and then an explosive utterance. The latter is, in part, actually in the vowel. A vowel can by itself be so uttered, by an abrupt opening of the glottis and larynx, with tone-vibration of the vocal cords. After a surd mute, the vowel explosion is co-instantaneous with the lip or tongue and palate parting. It involves a preceding momentary closure of the glottis. The vowel position is in some cases taken beforehand (*e. g.* 'pay,' 'pea'). When not so, it is yet reached so quickly as to be to all intents co-instantaneous with the breath-explosion. This explosion of the vowel is a character that we ascribe to the consonant, but this does not distinguish one surd mute from another. What differs in them is not tone, but breath-sound attendant, — in the same way as *v*, *th* sonant, and *z* are differentiated, not by the tone, but by accompanying breath-sound. For the surd mutes, the breath-sound is explosive, — a puff, by breath accumulated within the elastic walls of the mouth-cavities and suddenly released. It is simultaneous with the vowel utterance, and is thus a lapping over of the consonant upon the vowel. It is recognizably different for *p*, *t*, *k*, severally. This is the usual and normal way in at least the English and the Romanic languages. Yet there are persons who, aiming at a finer or more soft enunciation, give the breath-explosion before the vowel; almost necessarily, however, with a more or less decided *h* sound, a rough breathing, and sometimes exaggerated in theatrical fashion: *e. g.* "P'ay me," "C'ome, p'ensive nun," "Who st'eals my p'urse," &c. This really turns the *tenues* into what, in Indo-European speech, was the original form of the *aspiratae*, out of which came the later spirants. In this style, the vowel starts with the glottis open beforehand, and, though still with abruptness, yet loses the proper explosive effect. Something of this general sort is a prevailing characteristic of German speech. This separation of the initial mute from the vowel tends to throw it back, as a final, upon a preceding syllable; as, 'cent-aur,' 'plac-ate,' 'cap-acious.'

The sonant mutes are so called because of the muffled sound from the glottis with the mouth organs in a closed condition. As the glottis is thus open and vibrating beforehand, it cannot pass directly to a proper vowel explosion: it can give a swell, but not a *staccato* or a *marcato*. Thus, the distinctive character of the sonants involves another character, viz. the absence of explosive tone

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effect in the succeeding vowel. Moreover, the stream of vibrated breath is narrow and scanty, and the walls of the oral chamber are in a yielding state, and not in the tense condition which is fitter to give the puff — the breath explosion — of the surds. There is, indeed, breath expelled and lapping over upon the vowel, but not exploded.

The style that interjects an *h* sound tends to obscure the difference of surd and sonant. (*Cf.* 'b'ay,' 'p'ay').

II. In the surd mute as final after a vowel, we find another element. The closure of lips, or of tongue upon palate, preceding the interval of silence, gives a *percussive* sound, by the impact of the organs, unlike the explosive above noticed, except in the same general character of abruptness. It is more of the nature of a click than of a breath-sound. There is, besides, at the same instant, an abrupt ending of the vowel, but not distinguishing one surd mute from another. The percussive effect differs for all three. With this, a different resonance for each, as the organs approach to contact, contributes somewhat to the total effect.

In the sonants, the necessary lax condition of the oral walls precludes the percussive effect.

In a final surd mute, we have, ordinarily, the explosive effect added after the interval of silence; but not always. When followed in the next syllable by a sonant of the same organic position (either a mute or a nasal), this element is properly suppressed; as, 'cup-bearer,' 'cut down,' 'at noon,' 'accost,' 'midshipman,' 'Etna.' It may sometimes, when a sibilant or any spirant follows, or a nasal, or another surd mute, or an *l* or *r*, be almost, though not wholly, suppressed; as, 'excellent,' 'rhapsody,' 'cut-throat,' 'acknowledge,' 'Stepney,' 'cut-purse,' 'uprise.' When the same mute ends one syllable and begins the next, as 'scatter,' 'upper,' 'cat-tail,' we have the final element of the first syllable percussive, and the initial of the second explosive. Thus, if not doubled, the consonant is split into two. Whether — or how — to indicate this, is for the Committee on Spelling Reform to inquire.

[Under the heads III., IV., and V., the paper gave examples of various combinations employed in English, with remarks upon the resulting modifications of the qualities of the mutes.]

This analysis of the mutes, especially as initial, is strikingly confirmed by the case of Mr. Edwin Cowles, editor of *The Cleveland Leader*, Ohio, who, with otherwise perfect hearing, has never heard a note above, as he says, the sixth octave on the piano-forte, — which would be not higher than three octaves above the middle C, — and who is thus actually unable, not only to hear an *s* or an *f*, but cannot, by the ear, distinguish one mute consonant from another.[1]

In review, we see how the composite nature of these consonants, with the different modes of pronunciation in different languages and dialects, may have led to conflicting views. If the element of sonancy is reduced or obliterated in practice, it will be overlooked, and the definition be made to turn upon other features. The two sets will be described as "soft," or "weak," or "flat," on the one hand,

[1] In the cases observed by Dr. Wollaston (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1820), the lowest limit was higher than this by an octave plus a third, with nothing said about inability to distinguish spoken sounds.

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and "hard," or "sharp," on the other, instead of sonant and surd,—as is so commonly done by German philologists, and by the English, following in their wake.

In whispered speech, it is indeed only by degrees of force and abruptness that we distinguish the two sets; but we make them suggest the outspoken sounds as sonant and surd.

This much may be taken for certain: since degrees of abruptness and force admit of no hard and fast line of division, the distinction originally indicated by separate alphabetic characters must have been that of sonant and non-sonant, of tone and of breath-sound. The other characteristics grow out of these, and are thus secondary to these as the primary,—precisely as tone primarily distinguishes *v*, *th* sonant, and *z*, from *f*, *th* surd, and *s*. The phenomena of assimilation find only in the primary a truly rational explanation. Whenever the sonant element falls away or becomes obscured, this is to be regarded as a manifest phenomenon of "phonetic decay," and as a real loss or impairment of capacity in the language.

9. On the Varieties of Predication, by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The simplest complete sentence is composed of two members, each a single word: the subject noun and the predicate verb. In languages like ours there is no predication without a verb-form, and the office of predication is the thing, and the only thing, that makes a word a verb. Infinitives and participles, though usually included in the verbal system, are in fact merely nouns and adjectives, which retain a certain analogy with the verb in the treatment of their adjuncts.

The primary predicative relation is that sustained by the verb to its subject. The establishment of a form of expression for this relation appears to have been the first step in the development of the sentence in our family of languages.

Later, the adjuncts of the predicate verb gain in logical importance, at the cost of the verb itself; the latter becomes a "verb of incomplete predication." The extreme of this development is reached when certain verbs are attenuated in meaning to the value of a "copula," and the whole logical significance of the predication lies in the added word or words which now become qualifiers of the subject. These "predicate nouns and adjectives" are made descriptive of the subject only by means of the copula, or are predicated of the subject through the instrumentality of a verb.

It is of course possible to analyze every predicate verb into two parts: the copula, and the predicate noun or adjective; as, *he is running*, for *he runs; he was a sufferer*, for *he suffered*. This analysis is a real one, and useful for certain purposes; but because it can be imposed on the different varieties of predicate, we must not suppose that the copulative form is anything else than secondary. The copula-verb is always made by the wearing down to a formal value of verbs that originally had a material significance; an example is the reduction of Lat. *stabat* to Fr. *était*.

The copula is a verb of extirpated predication, and the words that follow it are descriptive purely of the subject. Others are verbs of more or less incomplete predication, with predicative complements, and these latter are partly

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qualifiers of the subject, but partly also modifiers of the verb itself. Thus *she walks a queen* means partly that 'she has a queenly walk,' and partly that 'she is shown by her walk to be a queen'; that is, the noun is predicative so far as it is made through the verb descriptive of the subject, and is an adjunct of the verb, or adverbial, so far as it describes the action of the verb itself. This variety may be termed the "adverbial predicate."

Verbs expressing certain actions come to be so usually followed by an expression of that to or at which the action directs itself, as to appear to lack something when that expression is not added. This kind of incompleteness of the mere verb as predicate is so common that the sentence-form subject-verb-object becomes as prevalent as the sentence-form subject-copula-predicate.

Next are developed in many languages modes of expression which, without turning the sentence into a really compound or complex one, yet virtually make the object a subject of further predication. Thus, *I make him fall* means 'he falls and I bring it about,' or 'I cause that he falls,' and is not at the outset essentially different in character from the equivalent one, *I cause his fall.* A conspicuous development of this kind is the construction of infinitive with subject-accusative.

Again, a noun or adjective is often made directly predicative to an object-noun. Thus, in the sentence, *I make it black*, the word *black* has the logical value of a predicate to *it*, as appears from the equivalents, "I cause it to be black," "it is made black," "I blacken it." The last of these shows how the predicate word may be absorbable into the verb itself, and illustrates one of the points of contact of the denominative and causative formations. We may name this the "objective predicate." It occurs oftenest with *make;* also with *choose*, *call*, *keep*, etc.

Interesting is the case where a verb is used factitively and is accompanied by an objective predicate belonging to its object; thus, "he *wiped* his face *dry*," "you will *walk* yourself *lame*," and so on. Here *lame* is a predicate of the object, and is made so by the action of the verb. This factitive objective predicate has been either ignored or else very unsatisfactorily treated by many eminent grammarians. The word *dry* or *lame* is neither a case of apposition, nor a factitive object, nor a second accusative; its essential syntactical relation is that of predicate to the object through the action of the verb.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professors Weston, March, and Primer.

10. On a Greek Inscription from Larisa, by Dr. Julius Sachs, of New York.

After a brief account of the discovery of the now celebrated inscription, its importance as illustrated by the various publications on its contents was discussed; reference was made to its value for the elaboration of a phonetic scheme of the Thessalian dialect (cf. R. Meister, *Greek Dialects*, vol. i.), and more particularly to the increase in our knowledge of dialectic inflections.

By the aid of a partial reprint of the inscription there were discussed the genitive forms in *οι*, considered by Blass and others as locatives performing the functions of the genitive. Exception was taken to this opinion:—1. because

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such an incrustation, limited to one case of one declension only, seemed illogical; 2. because of lack of sufficient evidence for the usurpation of the genitive function by the locative. The genitive ending was traced from original *οσιο* through various stages to *οο* and finally to *ο*, of which the *οι* is but a "graphic" representation.

A critical review of the pure verbs in Thessalian led to the conclusion that Robert's formula, "all pure verbs are conjugated in the Thessalian dialect according to the analogy of the verbs in *μι*," is inaccurate: there is no abandonment on the part of the former of their conjugation system; they simply give greater weight to the first or conjugational vowel.

In the diverging views of the various editors as to the forms *ποτ τός*, *ποκ κί*, *ἀτ τᾶς*, *ἐτ τοῖ*, the author of the paper inclines to consider each group one word rather than two, mainly because in inscriptions and manuscripts one of the two assimilated consonants is frequently omitted.

Comment on the strange accusative plurals like *τὸς ταγός* was followed by a query, whether in the anomalous *σύνκλειτος γενομένας* (line 10 of inscription), emended by Robert into *συγκλείτου*, there might not lurk a heteroclite formation; again, the frequency of the genitive absolute as a crystallized mode of concise enunciation with complete abandonment of its logical foundation was noted; finally, many of the peculiarities were explained on the assumption, that in this inscription, an official document, there is a conscious revival of the archaic, into which, however, many colloquial forms have crept.

The inscription was originally published by H. G. Lolling, *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, vii. 61 ff.; cf. also Robert in *Hermes*, xvii. 467 ff.; Mommsen in *Hermes*, xvii. 477 ff.; and finally *Hermes*, xviii. 318.

11. Edward Wallace's Translation of Aristotle's Psychology, by Dr. C. K. Nelson.

This translation is a most successful interpretation of a very difficult book. Wallace gives a copious bibliography. His introduction is a complete exhibit of the Aristotelian philosophy, and points out the defects as well as the merits of the system. The rendering is as literal as the Greek of Aristotle admits, and is especially meritorious in supplying the links of thought, as, for instance, where some pregnant particle requires expansion to a brief clause or sentence.

12. The Guilt or Innocence of the Antigone of Sophocles, by Professor D'Ooge, of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

This question was considered especially in its bearing upon the genuineness of Ant. 905–915. Boeckh and those who agree with him maintain that in this passage Antigone seeks to justify her conduct, and to reassure her own conscience under a sense of guilt incurred by disobeying the edict of Creon. The aim of the paper was to show that this passage, so far from being an attempt at exculpation, is a reiteration by the heroine of her sense of duty from a new and more imperative point of view. The writer goes on to show that Boeckh's view was inspired by the theory of Hegel, who supposed that the central idea of the *Antigone* is to set forth and harmonize the relations of the citizen to the state, and of the individual to the mandates of religion. From this point of view, the

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play represents two transgressors, as well as two victims. This theory is ably refuted by M. Girard in an article contained in vol. cxxvii. of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled "La Critique Savante en Allemagne." It is there shown that no such conflict between the state and the family, between civil and religious duties, was ever entertained by the Greek, but that human must be in harmony with divine laws, to which indeed they owe their origin. The paper then sought to show that all those interpretations of the utterances of the Chorus that seem to condemn Antigone are due either to this false view of the attitude of the heroine towards human authority, or else to the false notions of the functions of the Chorus that are still so prevalent. The Chorus is not the invariable element in the play. The most absurd conclusions must follow from regarding the Chorus as "the impartial and judicial spectator," or, still worse, as the mouthpiece of the poet himself. In interpreting the words of the Chorus it is essential to inquire, first, who constitute the Chorus; and, second, in what situation it expresses any given sentiment. So in the *Antigone*, it is manifest that at the outset the Chorus is afraid of Creon, and speaks timidly or not at all. Only when it has become impressed with the dreadful warning and prediction of Tiresias, is it courageous enough to call in question the conduct of Creon. The περιπέτεια of the Chorus is almost as marked as that of Creon. This point was illustrated from other plays.

The statements of the Chorus in 853–856 and 872–875 were considered more particularly, because, as commonly interpreted, they are understood to be a condemnation of Antigone. But the Chorus as yet sees Antigone's conduct only from one point of view, viz. Creon's. Besides, the condemnation is partly softened by saying πατρῷον δ' ἐκτίνεις τιν' ἆθλον, and the whole passage is intended to excite the pity of the spectator. Taking into one connected view all that the Chorus says with reference to the deed of Antigone, we may be tempted to adopt the opinion of Langheld in his monograph on 905–915, that in its closing words, γήρᾳ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν, the Chorus refers to itself as well as to Creon, and means to say that the experience of the king has taught it also a lesson of wisdom.

13. The New England Pronunciation of *o*, by Professor Edward S. Sheldon, of Harvard College, Cambridge.

The pronunciation meant is that heard in New England in such words as *stone*, *home*, *bone*. The following list represents for the most part my own natural pronunciation; in cases where I am no longer certain, I put a question-mark, as also for some words which have been given me by other persons. The list is probably pretty complete for the pronunciation in Bath and Waterville on the Kennebec River in Maine twenty years ago. Compounds and derivatives keep the same sound. I was born in Waterville, but lived in Bath till my twelfth year, when the family moved back to Waterville. I am the youngest of the family. Except where I have put two question-marks, or added a note to the contrary, I think every queried word belongs in the list.

Alone. (Almost certain; but not *lone*, *lonely*, *only*?)

Boat. (Noun and verb of course included; I give only the simple word.)

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Bolster.
Bolt.
Bone.
Both.
Broke (preterit of *break*).
Broken (p.p. of *break*).
Choke; *also* choker ('a collar').
Cloak.
Clomb. (I should be tempted to pronounce so in reading; of course the word is only a book-word to me. The dialect form, I think, is *clum* [*u* as in *but*] or *clim*.)
Close. (?? If it belongs here it is only the adjective, never the verb, but even the adjective is doubtful.)
Coat.
Coax.
Colt (also *Colt*, proper name).
Comb. (Also in *catacomb*, though to call it a case of popular etymology might be misleading. In all apparent compounds *comb* keeps the same sound).
Dolt.
Extol. (? I think I have heard it so sometimes, and pronounced it so myself, though it was always a book-word to me.)
Folks.
Hoh! (Interjection of contempt, = 'nonsense'; cf. *pooh*.)
Hoax (?).
Holm. (? So pronounced in *holm-oak*, learned at school as a book-word, translating the Latin word *ilex*. The *l* was not silent.)
Holmes (the proper name).
Holster. (? Hardly a word belonging to my dialect, but I should naturally pronounce it like *bolster*.)
Holpen (not a word of the dialect; cf. *clomb* and *holster*).
Holt (? proper name).
Holt. (? Noun corresponding to *hold*, verb, which latter word never has the sound in question.)
Home.
Hope.
Jolt. (? I think I pronounced it so formerly.)
Load (?).
Lonely (?).
Molten. (? Rather a book-word to me.)
Most.
Moult.
Nobody. (? The first *o* is meant.)
None.
Open (?).
Only (?).
Poke. (But I have marked *poker* as a little doubtful. I think it belongs in the list.)
Polk (? the proper name).
Polka. (? It almost certainly belongs in the list.)
Pooh (cf. *Hoh*).
Poultice (?).
Poultry (?).
Revolt. (Cf. *extol*; of course an early learned book-word. But the adjective *revolting* always had, I think, the *o* as in *not*.)
Road.
Rope.
Rode. (?? Never, I think, natural to me. I doubt if it is ever so pronounced in Maine. My only authority for it thus far is from Massachusetts.)
Smoke.
Soak. (? I feel pretty sure it belongs in the list.)
Soap.
Spoke, spoken (from the verb *speak*, also *spokesman*).
Stone.
Suppose (?).
Swollen (? not now, if ever, natural to me).
Throat.
Toad.
Upholstery (cf. *holster*).
Woke *and* Awoke (?).
Wrote. (? I think I have heard it, but it is not natural to me.)
Whole *and* Wholesome.
Yolk. (? Rather a book-word to me. I never knew whether the *l* was silent or not.)
Yoke (??).

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The Association adjourned till Thursday morning.

In the evening occurred a social meeting of the Faculty of the University, the members of the Association, ladies, and other invited guests. The company assembled at the house of the Eclectic Society, pleasantly overlooking the valley of the Connecticut, and spent the evening in agreeable intercourse and song.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., Thursday, July 12, 1883.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association assembled at 8.50 A. M.

Professor Garnett reported for the Auditing Committee that the Treasurer's accounts had been examined and found correct. The report was accepted.

The minutes of Wednesday's sessions were read and approved.

Professor Richardson reported for the Committee on time and place of meeting. It was recommended that the next session be held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., on the second Tuesday in July, that is, July 8, 1884. After considerable discussion of a proposal to hold the meeting one week later (on the 15th), the proposal was rejected by the Association, and the original recommendation accepted without modification.

The Executive Committee has decided not to allow a discount to the Trade on the Transactions.

The formation of a library is not among the objects of the Association; nevertheless, the Committee has instructed the Secretary not to refuse such works as may be offered by way of gift or exchange.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1883–84 reported as follows: —

For *President*, — Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.

For *Vice-Presidents*, — Professor Tracy Peck, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.; Professor James C. Van Benschoten, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

For *Secretary and Curator*, — Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

For *Treasurer*, — Professor Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

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For additional members of the *Executive Committee*, —

Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Professor Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Professor Thomas R. Price, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.
Professor William D. Whitney, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

On motion, the report was accepted, and the persons therein named were declared elected to the offices to which they were respectively nominated.

The reading of papers was resumed.

14. Hamlet's "Dram of Eale" and what it "Doth," by Dr. C. P. G. Scott, of Columbia College, New York.

The whole passage, Hamlet, i. 4. 17–38, "This heavy-headed revel, east and west," etc., is diffuse, involved, and repetitious, but to a careful reader it is clear enough, except the last three lines: —

> The dram of eale
> Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
> To his own scandal.

I. The first problem is to find the infinitive required by *doth*, and this must be concealed in *of a doubt*. The statement evidently intended is not true always, but it is true often. The qualification *oft* is therefore required, and should be read in place of *of*. *Oft* is used above in a statement, "so, oft it chances," of which the lines in dispute are a summarized repetition. Read *oft* rather than *often*, since the latter was a new word in Shakespeare's time, and less common than *oft*, even in prose.

What now is the infinitive disguised by *a doubt*? The following suggestions have been made: *doubt*, in the sense "throw doubt upon," but this meaning is unsupported; *dout*, in the sense "destroy," but this sense is not apposite, and *dout* does not have this sense, and is at best a very rare word, occurring in two passages of Shakespeare at most, and with the sense "do out, i. e. put out, extinguish"; *abate* is a conjecture of Hudson, but the sense assigned it, "depress," is not suitable; *attaint*, *debase*, and other conjectures, may be passed by. Dr. Scott suggests *corrupt*.

II. What is the thing that "corrupts the noble substance" of a man's reputation and character, and brings it into "scandal"? It is the "dram of eale," a "dram," i. e. "a little" of something bad. The quarto of 1611 and the undated quarto have *eafe*; the quarto of 1604 reads *eale*, and this is believed to be right as against *eafe*.

The reading *eafe* suggested Theobald's emendation *base*; but the use of the adjective without the definite article in place of the substantive is not at all frequent; *base* occurs 135 times in the plays in the sense "degraded, low, mean, ordinary," but never in the sense of "baseness." Similar objections militate against the emendation *vile*. The conjectural reading *bale* gives no good sense. *Ill* is a plausible conjecture, but, considering the frequency of the word, it is hard to see how it could be corrupted to *eale*.

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I believe the right word is *evil*. *Evil*, in the exact sense here required, namely, a moral taint, a "vicious mole of nature," is common in Shakespeare and everywhere. In this and other shades of meaning the noun occurs sixty-one times in the plays, twenty-two times at the end of a verse, as in the line in question. As an adjective *evil* is found twenty-one times, as an adverb twice. But how came *evil* to be printed *eale?* The metre allows a final atonic syllable, but only, or usually, before a natural pause. There is no natural pause here, and so the atonic syllable may have been suppressed by contraction, leaving an accented monosyllable at the end, as required. That is, *evil* (or rather *euil*, as then spelt), pronounced *ēvil* (*ē* as in *they*), was contracted to *ēl*, spelt phonetically (but with the already conventional "silent" final *e*) *eale; ea* being then the recognized digraph for the *ē* sound, which digraph still survives with that sound in *break, great, yea*, in the "Irish" pronunciation of *speak, eat, meat, please, reason*, etc., and, with slight modifications since developed, in the modern *bear, tear, wear, head, dead, stead, bread, pleasant*, etc.

This pronunciation of *ea* gives the point to Falstaff's pun, which most readers fail to appreciate: "If reasons (pronounced *rēznz*, as if 'raisins,' cf. M. E. spelling *reisins*, Alisaunder 5193; also *raisins*, as now) were as plenty as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion." 1 Hen. IV., ii. 4.

This contraction of *evil* (*euil, euel, eule*) to *eale* is paralleled by the very common contractions of *ever* (*euer*) to *e'er*, often spelt *ere* in Shakespeare (compare *or ever*, developed from *or ere*, supposed to be for *or e'er*), *never* (*neuer*) to *ne'er*, often spelt *nere, even* (*euen*) to *e'en*, often spelt *ene* (so *good even* contracts to *good den* and *godden*). So *devil* (*deuil, deuel*) contracts to Middle-English *del* (an occasional form), Scottish *deil, deel*, provincial English *deel, deele, dewle*, and *dule*. The Devil is simply invaluable to dramatists. The word occurs 280 times in Shakespeare's plays, 123 times in prose, and 157 times in verse. The metre often requires it to be a monosyllable, but I have not taken the trouble to examine all the instances in the original editions to find out whether it is ever printed as an obvious monosyllable. Such contractions, however, occur much earlier than Shakespeare's time: —

In *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc*, written about A. D. 1400 (ed. Edw. Peacock, London, 1868), *del* and *el* rhyme (lines 360–365): —

> Wychecrafte and telynge,
> Forbede thou hem for any thynge;
> For whoso be-leueth in the fay
> Mote be-leue thus by any way,
> That hyt ys a sleghthe of the *del*,
> That maketh a body to cache *el*.

The editor notes: "*del* or *de(ue)l*; *el* or *e(ue)l*."

In *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (ed. T. Wright, London, 1842) *del* again occurs (p. 111): —

> The *del* hym to-drawe.

In Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (9th ed., London 1878) appears the entry: —

> *Eile*, Evil. Nominale MS.

In the *Ancren Riwle*, written about A. D. 1200 (ed. J. Morton, London, 1853), occurs a word spelt variously *cile, eil, el*: —

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The blake deth lesse *eile* to then eien (p. 50).

Mid gode riht muwen eithurles beon ihoten *eil*-thurles, vor heo habbeth idon muchel *eil* to moni on ancre (p. 62).

Theo thet on eni *uvel* doth (var. *eil*; p. 186).

Uvele iheowed (var. *el*; p. 368).

But may not *eile*, *eil*, *el*, in these passages, be the M. E. substantive in the sense of "pain, harm," associated with M. E. *eile*, *eil*, "painful, troublesome," from A. S. *egle*, cognate with Gothic *aglus*, δύσκολος? It may be. Note, however, that this alleged M. E. substantive occurs only in these passages, if it occurs anywhere, and that there is no corresponding A. S. substantive *eglu*, associated with *egle*, though there is a Gothic substantive *aglo*, "trouble, θλῖψις." Note, also, that in two of the passages from the Ancren Riwle *eil* or *el* actually occurs as a variant of *uvel* (=*euel*), in one of the two (p. 368) as an *adverb*. There is no M. E. or A. S. adverb associated with *eile* or *egle*, "troublesome." (The verb is very common: A. S. *eglian*, M. E. *eilen*, E. *ail*.) Still, the loss of *u* (=*v*), between two vowels is so rare at this early period that, while one may consider *eil*, *eile*, in the passages cited, or in some of them, to be the same *word* as *euel*, the influence of the other *eile*, *eil*, "troublesome," upon the *form* must be admitted. Finally, we are not to ignore the influence of M. E. *ille* (E. *ill*), from Icel. *illr*, earlier *īllr*, Swed. *illa*, *ill-*, Dan. *ilde*, originally identical with *euel*.

Whether the view here set forth as to the reason why *euel* (*euil*, *evil*) appears as *eale* can be sustained or not, I have no doubt that *evil* is the word intended. The lines in dispute, as thus emended, are not particularly brilliant or original; but they will do. They have caused more controversy than they are worth *per se*. But they are not *per se*. They are a part of "Hamlet."

This paper may be found printed *in extenso* in *Shakespeariana* for November, 1883.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Prof. F. A. March.

He said that he had been accustomed to think that the errors in this passage were from misreading rather than mishearing. The main mistake in *eale* was reading *a* for *u*, which was of course Shakespeare's way of writing the *v* of the *evil*; *eule* is one of the spellings of *evil* in early English (see Morris's *Specimens*, Vol. I., s. v.), and Shakespeare may have written it here; but whether he wrote *eule*, *euel*, *euil*, the *ductus literarum* is easy — for a printer who has a *dram of ale* in his head. Reading *a* for *u* probably occurs also in Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 83: —

For if thou path thy native semblance on.

Path for *putte*.

The great trouble in the passage has been with *of a doubt*. The meaning is, however, fairly certain. It must be, as Prof. Scott says, "The little evil corrupts the whole substance," and probably by pervading, "o'erleavening" it. But Shakespeare uses *subdue* in this sense: —

My nature is *subdu'd*
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand. — Sonn. cxi.
His face *subdu'd*
To penetrative shame. — Ant. and Cleo., iv. 14. 74.
My heart's *subdu'd*
Euen *to* the very quality of my lord. — Othello, i. 3. 251.

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Read then,

> The dram of evil
> Doth all the noble substance oft *subdue*
> *To* his own scandal.

And you have a striking Shakespearian figure, and a characteristic rhythmical repetition to boot. I had cherished this reading as my own, — the Cambridge collators do not give it, — but Mr. Furness has found it in *Chambers's Household Shakespeare*, to the editors of which it was suggested, it seems, by Mr. Swynfen Jervis.

15. On Slighted Vowels in English Unaccented Syllables, by Professor W. D. Whitney.

Hardly any language goes so far as ours in not only lightening the force and quantity of its unaccented vowels, but also effacing their distinctive character, and reducing them toward or to the so-called neutral vowel-sound, or utterance in the position of breathing. The various kinds and degrees of this reduction were illustrated in the paper, and the methods of their successful notation were discussed.

Remarks on this paper were made by Messrs. Taylor, March, Seymour, Whitney, Hewett, and Weston.

16. On so-called Tmesis, by Professor Thomas D. Seymour, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Τὸ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν οὐ μόνον εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πλημμελὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ κακόν τι ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. The grammatical term *tmesis* is pernicious. It suggests to the better students a surgical operation, the severing of a preposition from the verb to which it rightly belongs. It is evident that the term was originally used in accordance with this view. As in all other grammatical matters, Attic prose usage was the norm; all deviations from that were considered irregularities. Ennius doubtless thought that he was doing only what Homer had done before him when he wrote "saxo *cere* comminuit *brum*"; he did not see why verbs alone should be dissected and the *disiecta membra* scattered in the sentence where convenience prompted. Most American philologists feel first a wrench and then an emotion of triumph when they overcome their inherited tendency to say that "the preposition is separated from the verb by tmesis." But the burden of proof still seems to be thrown upon those who say that the position of the preposition was originally as free as that of any adverb or modifying particle; that its use was simply directive, to explain the relation between the verb and its case, or to modify the verb alone; and that what is called anastrophe gives us the original accent of the preposition unchanged by the later more intimate connection between the preposition and the noun or verb.

Perhaps it would be more rational to separate preposition and verb in Homer, unless there is distinct evidence that they were considered as one word. Such evidence might be found in the meaning of the compound verb when it differs from the meaning of the simple verb plus the preposition. More distinct evidence is found in the change of quantity of the initial vowel of *ἀπονέοντο*. The *α* was

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lengthened, not by the poet because of the exigencies of the metre, but by the Greek people themselves, who disliked the too frequent recurrence of short syllables. The practice of Demosthenes is well known. This may be illustrated by *'ἀθάνατος κ. τ. λ.*, which are found in the scenic poets, and thus settled as the pronunciation of the people. Still more familiar is the rule for the comparison of adjectives, which gives us *σοφώτερος*, but *πιστότερος*, a rule which was not firmly fixed in Homer's time. In ψ 361 we read *σοὶ δὲ γύναι τόδ' ἐπῖτόλλω πινύτῃ περ ἐούσῃ*. In order to justify the *ἐπῖ* by the analogy of μ 209, *οὐ μὲν δὴ τόδε μεῖζον ἐπῖ κακὸν κ. τ. λ.*, we have to separate the *ἐπί* from the verb, and explain the *ῖ* as justified by the caesura. A stronger case is that of *ἀποαιρεῖσθαι*, A 230, 275. The hiatus is justified best by its place in the verse; in the one verse *ἀπο* comes before the diaeresis after the first foot; in the other, it comes before the bucolic diaeresis.

We seem thus to find two words in which in our texts the preposition is wrongly attached to the verb. This removes the presumption that the two are to be considered as a compound whenever this is possible. Some authorities think that *ἀπό* is never adverbial in Homer, but we have seen two probable examples. But if the two have not become one word when the preposition immediately precedes the verb and modifies it, the presumption is much stronger that, if the preposition in Homer is separated from the verb, it simply modifies it, and we are not to say that it is "an example of tmesis."

17. The Personal Element in Dactylic Hexameters, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

In the so-calld dactylic hexameter, so much freedom is alowd in the use of dactyls or spondees, and of different kinds of dactyls as classified by the position of the prose accents, and in the management of the caesuras, that it is next to impossibl that any maker of many verses should fail to show his personal preferences for particular cadences or combinations of feet.

In 1879, at the Newport meeting of the Asociation, when a paper was red on Geddes's view of the Composition of the Iliad, Professor March suggested that a study of the meter would show its truth or falsity. The facts of the present paper ar givn to enforce this suggestion upon our Grecians, and no pretence is made that they ar thoro inductions.

The following tabl shows the number and distribution of the spondees in a hundred lines of Longfellow (Evangeline, Prelude; I. 1. 1–40; II. v. 1–40), Goethe (Hermann und Dor. I. 1–100), Vergil (Aeneid I. 1–20; II. 1–60; IX. 431–450), Ovid (Met. I. 1–20; XI. 591–610, 621–640; XV. 96–115, 810–829), Theocritus (Idyl. I. 1–40, 101–120; II. 1–20; VIII. 1–20), Hesiod (Works and Days, I. 1–100), Odyssey (I. 1–100), Iliad (I. 1–100).

Foot.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	Total.
Longfellow,	20	44	45	45		154
Goethe,	60	22	54	52		188
Vergil,	44	37	46	51		178
Ovid,	15	52	61	45		173
Theocritus,	36	51	36	11	1	134 + 1
Hesiod,	30	43	11	25	6	109 + 6
Odyssey,	33	42	16	22	4	113 + 4
Iliad,	45	35	18	31	4	129 + 4

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These counts wer made in sections of twenty lines each. The general type of verse givn by these totals is also givn in most of the selections by the totals of each section. Thus, in Longfellow the sections giv the following tabl: —

Foot.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.
Prelude,	3	6	5	5	
I. 1. 1–20,	3	8	11	8	
I. 1. 21–40,	4	10	8	9	
II. v. 1–20,	5	12	10	12	
II. v. 21–40,	5	8	11	11	
Total,	20	44	45	45	

In Goethe: —

Foot.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.
H. & D. 1–20,	15	5	9	15	
H. & D. 21–40,	13	4	14	12	
H. & D. 41–60,	10	3	9	12	
H. & D. 61–80,	12	5	11	6	
H. & D. 81–100,	10	5	11	7	
Total,	60	22	54	52	

Plain differences ar seen even in this simpl counting of the feet. The beginning of the verses shows the personal element best. Longfellow begins with a dactyl by preference, and lets spondees come in the three following places with nearly equal frequency. Goethe begins with a spondee followd by a dactyl, then two spondees. To indicate that the difference is a personal matter and not a result of the different languages, the following sections ar givn of Voss's dedication of his translation of the Iliad into German: —

Foot.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.
Lines 1–20,	6	6	6	4	1
Lines 21–40,	5	6	9	7	
Lines 41–60,	5	6	7	3	
Lines 61–80,	9	4	11	8	1
Lines 80–92,	5	2	6	4	

Vergil is more like Goethe, and Ovid like Longfellow, in the beginning of the verse; but in Ovid there is a characteristic predominance of the spondee in the third foot. Theocritus begins somewhat like Longfellow, but his third foot is like his first, and the verse takes a run of dactyls in the fourth and fifth places. The verses of Hesiod, the Odyssey, and the Iliad, as givn in the tabl, show the same type of verse, as markt by the hole number of spondees, and by the third place, where the verse is divided, which is prevailingly a dactyl: sections of twenty verses ar not infrequent without a singl spondee in the third place, or with fewer spondees in the third than the fifth. There ar more dactyls in the fourth place than in the first or second. But the first hundred lines of the Odyssey agree with Hesiod in the relation of the first to the second place ($30 < 43$ and $33 < 42$), while the corresponding lines of the Iliad invert the relation ($45 > 35$). We may take these as the ancient Achillean type and the Odyssean type. The Iliad wil then be found to be Achillean in some parts, Odyssean in others.

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The Catalog is Achillean. Beginning with II. 500, the hundreds run

46	40	24	33	10
42	39	27	30	16
43	41	18	42	7
40	31	17	27	14

None of the sections of twenty lines vary much from the type; 540–560 has 8...10 in the first two places; 620–640 and 700–720 both hav 7...8. The ninth book, the Embasy, is also Achillean; only one of the hundred lines makes an average of the other type, and that contains a talk of Ulysses, the beginning of which is in a section counting up 5...12. Other sections vary somewhat.

The parting of Hector and Andromache, on the other hand, is Odyssean: the hundreds run, beginning VI. 230,

36	50	10	39	4
30	38	13	20	11
35	37	14	34	2

The tenth book, Doloneia, is Achillean in the introductory councils, but at line 140 where Ulysses comes in, the meter changes; 140–160 sum up,

4	10	6	2	1

The hundreds are: —

44	37	14	19	10
40	40	16	24	1
35	41	22	28	5
41	47	17	29	7
36	42	18	26	2
38	40	14	17	3

In book eighteenth, Hoplopoiia, the hundreds ar: —

27	37	13	21	4
33	41	11	37	4
27	40	18	28	10
36	38	14	28	4
48 >	38	14	27	7
39	46	17	25	7

The encounter of Thetis and Vulcan, 380–420, the making of the shield and the description of its war scenes, 460–540, ar in Achillean, and explain the condition of 400–500.

The numbers of the hundred of the second book ar: —

43	33	18	34	2
44	32	23	38	8
38 <	44	9	38	4
43	38	16	36	9
38 <	42	15	41	4

The third hundred includes the Thersites affair; the fifth includes the ornate description of sacrifices, and the series of similes describing the advancing army. And so with the other books. The eighth has for the first two feet of its hundreds 47 | 43, 49 | 41, 37 < 42, 39 < 44, 48 | 40, 30 | 29. The third book has

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40 | 40, 39 | 31, 42 | 42, 31 < 49, 23 < 25. The twenty-third has 35 < 38, 30 < 34, 43 | 37, 46 | 43, 45 | 40, 41 | 40, 39 < 42, 30 < 41, 41 | 37. The twenty-fourth has 42 < 45, 38 | 30, 35 | 27, 33 < 36, 43 < 46, 40 < 45, 45 | 38, 41 | 40. Whether these variations indicate any change of authorship, or merely change of theme and motiv, is not to be decided without a comprehensiv study of both the Iliad and Odyssey. They ar found also in the Odyssey.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Hewett.

The conclusiveness or even the probability of the results attained by any such investigation as this depends, of course, upon the completeness of the examinations of authors. In the case of Goethe, it would be highly desirable to compare the metre of *Hermann und Dorothea* with that of Voss's *Luise*. It is certain that we should not have had *Hermann und Dorothea* in its present form had not Voss's charming idyl preceded it. Similarly Voss's translation of Homer should have been compared; for by it the hexameter was first naturalized in German, and Goethe admired it greatly. In like manner I should look for the sources of Longfellow's metres in the German and Scandinavian authors (especially Tegnér) rather than in the classical poets, and should seek the sources of the *Hiawatha* in the Finnish epic *Kalevala*.

18. Report of the Comittee on the Reform of English Spelling, by the Chairman, Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

In the exercise of the power to act which was givn to the Comittee at the last meeting in response to the comunication of the Philological Society of England, inquiring whether it was practicabl to efect a complete agreement upon amendments of spelling, so that "a joint scheme miht be put forth under the authority of the two chief filological bodies of the English-speaking world," the Comittee submitted to the Philological Society of England, as a basis for the joint scheme, the lists of amended words and the rules for amendment containd in their report for 1881, as interpreted by the pamflet on "Partial Corections" issued by the Philological Society in 1881.

At a meeting of the Philological Society, April 20, 1883, it was voted unanimously to omit certain of the corections formerly recomended, so as to bring about an agreement between the two societies in acordance with the proposal of your Comittee. The following scheme of partial reform is now jointly aproved by the Philological Society of England and the American Philological Asociation, and is recomended for imediate use.

1. e. — Drop silent *e* when foneticaly useless, as in *live*, *vineyard*, *believe*, *bronze*, *single*, *engine*, *granite*, *eaten*, *rained*, etc.
2. ea. — Drop *a* from *ea* having the sound of ĕ, as in *feather*, *leather*, *jealous*, etc.
   Drop *e* from *ea* having the sound of a, as in *heart*, *hearken*.
3. eau. — For *beauty* uze the old *beuty*.
4. eo. — Drop *o* from *eo* having the sound of ĕ, as in *jeopardy*, *leopard*.
   For *yeoman* write *yoman*.
5. i. — Drop *i* of *parliament*.

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6. o. — For *o* having the sound of ŭ in *but*, write *u* in *above* (abuv), *dozen*, *some* (sum), *tongue* (tung), and the like.
For *women* restore *wimen*.
7. ou. — Drop *o* from *ou* having the sound of ŭ, as in *journal*, *nourish*, *trouble*, *rough* (ruf), *tough* (tuf), and the like.
8. u. — Drop silent *u* after *g* before *a*, and in nativ English words, as *guarantee*, *guard*, *guess*, *guest*, *guild*, *guilt*.
9. ue. — Drop final *ue* in *apologue*, *catalogue*, etc.; *demagogue*, *pedagogue*, etc.; *league*, *colleague*, *harangue*, *tongue* (tung).
10. y. — Spel *rhyme* rime.

11. Dubl consonants may be simplified: —
Final *b*, *d*, *g*, *n*, *r*, *t*, *f*, *l*, *z*, as *ebb*, *add*, *egg*, *inn*, *purr*, *butt*, *bailiff*, *dull*, *buzz* (not *all*, *hall*).
Medial before another consonant, as *battle*, *ripple*, *written* (writn).
Initial unaccented prefixes, and other unaccented syllabls, as in *abbreviate*, *accuse*, *affair*, etc., *curvetting*, *traveller*, etc.
12. b. — Drop silent *b* in *bomb*, *crumb*, *debt*, *doubt*, *dumb*, *lamb*, *limb*, *numb*, *plumb*, *subtle*, *succumb*, *thumb*.
13. c. — Change *c* back to *s* in *cinder*, *expence*, *fierce*, *hence*, *once*, *pence*, *scarce*, *since*, *source*, *thence*, *tierce*, *whence*.
14. ch. — Drop the *h* of *ch* in *chamomile*, *choler*, *cholera*, *melancholy*, *school*, *stomach*.
Change to *k* in *ache* (ake), *anchor* (anker).
15. d. — Change *d* and *ed* final to *t* when so pronounced, as in *crossed* (crost), *looked* (lookt), etc., unless the *e* afects the preceding sound, as in *chafed*, *chanced*.
16. g. — Drop *g* in *feign*, *foreign*, *sovereign*.
17. gh. — Drop *h* in *aghast*, *burgh*, *ghost*.
Drop *gh* in *haughty*, *though* (tho), *through* (thru).
Change *gh* to *f* where it has that sound, as in *cough*, *enough*, *laughter*, *tough*, etc.
18. l. — Drop *l* in *could*.
19. p. — Drop *p* in *receipt*.
20. s. — Drop *s* in *aisle*, *demesne*, *island*.
Change *s* to *z* in distinctiv words, as in *abuse* verb, *house* verb, *rise* verb, etc.
21. sc. — Drop *c* in *scent*, *scythe* (sithe).
22. tch. — Drop *t*, as in *catch*, *pitch*, *witch*, etc.
23. w. — Drop *w* in *whole*.
24. ph. — Write *f* for *ph*, as in *philosophy*, *sphere*, etc.

On motion, the Report was aproved, and the comittee apointed in 1875 was continued for another year. It now consists of March (Chairman), W. F. Allen, Child, Lounsbury, Price, Trumbull, and Whitney.

On motion of Professor Whitney, it was voted that the following minutes be placed on the printed records: —

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The American Philological Association desires to express its deep and grateful sense of obligation to Mr. Charles J. Buckingham, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., for his faithful services to the Association in performing through a period of seven years the duties of Treasurer, and its sincere regret that the condition of his health prevents him from longer retaining the office he has filled so well.

It was also voted that

The American Philological Association returns its hearty thanks to Wesleyan University for the use of its halls for the meetings of the Association, and to the Faculty of the University and the gentlemen of the Eclectic Society for the pleasant reception at the Society's Chapter House.

On motion, the Association then adjourned.

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Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.
Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.
Reykyavik College Library, Iceland.
University of Christiania, Norway.
University of Upsala, Sweden.
Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.
Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy.
Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
Société Asiatique, Paris, France.
Athénée Oriental, Paris.
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, Germany.
Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.
Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
Library of the University of Bonn.
Library of the University of Jena.
Library of the University of Königsberg.
Library of the University of Leipsic.
Library of the University of Tübingen.

[Number of foreign Institutions, 35.]

[Total, (232 + 55 + 35 =) 322.]

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Article I. — Name and Object.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II. — Officers.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

Article III. — Meetings.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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Article IV. — Members.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

Article V. — Sundries.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Article VI. — Amendments.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decide to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the first twelve volumes of Transactions:

1869-1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅπως and οὐ μή.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.

Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.

Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.

VanName, A.: Contributions to Creole grammar.

Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869). and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.

Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.

Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.

March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.

Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.
Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.
Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.
Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.
Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.
Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupí of the Amazonas.
Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.
March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?
March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *dω*.
Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.
Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.
Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.
Packard, L. R.: On some points in the life of Thucydides.
Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.
March, F. A.: Recent discussions of Grimm's law.
Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

1874. — Volume V.

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.
Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.
Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's Odyssey (x. 81–86).
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.
Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optative modes in Greek conditional sentences.

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Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the Anabasis.
Whitney, W. D.: φύσει or θέσει—natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

1875.—Volume VI.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof*, *prove*.
Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.
Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.
Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.
Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

1876.—Volume VII.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On εἰ with the future indicative and ἐάν with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.
Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.
Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.
Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.
Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.
Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.
Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

1877.—Volume VIII.

Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.
Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis of the Hebrew verb.
Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of ὡς.
Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.
Holden, E. S.: On the vocabularies of children under two years of age.
Goodwin, W. W.: On the text and interpretation of certain passages in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.
Stickney, A.: On the single case-form in Italian.
Carter, F.: On Willmann's theory of the authorship of the Nibelungenlied.
Sihler, E. G.: On Herodotus's and Aeschylus's accounts of the battle of Salamis.
Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.
Carter, F.: On the Kürenberg hypothesis.
March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

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1878.—Volume IX.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.
Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.
Humphreys, M. W.: Influence of accent in Latin dactylic hexameters.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Plato's Cratylus.
Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the Cynegeticus of Xenophon.
Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.

Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

1879.—Volume X.

Toy, C. H.: Modal development of the Semitic verb.
Humphreys, M. W.: On the nature of cæsura.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain effects of elision.
Cook, A S.: Studies in the Heliand.
Harkness, A.: On the development of the Latin subjunctive in principal clauses.
D'Ooge, M. L.: The original recension of the De Corona.
Peck, T.: The authorship of the Dialogus de Oratoribus.
Seymour, T. D.: On the date of the Prometheus of Aeschylus.

Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

1880.—Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W.: A contribution to infantile linguistic.
Toy, C. H.: The Hebrew verb-termination *un*.
Packard, L. R.: The beginning of a written literature in Greece.
Hall, I. H.: The declension of the definite article in the Cypriote inscriptions.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Lucian.
Sihler, E. G.: Virgil and Plato.
Allen, W. F.: The battle of Mons Graupius.
Whitney, W. D.: On inconsistency in views of language.
Edgren, A. H.: The kindred Germanic words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their consonant relations.

Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

1881.—Volume XII.

Whitney, W. D.: On Mixture in Language.
Toy, C. H.: The home of the primitive Semitic race.
March, F. A.: Report of the committee on the reform of English spelling.
Wells, B. W.: History of the *a*-vowel, from Old Germanic to Modern English.
Seymour, T. D.: The use of the aorist participle in Greek.
Sihler, E. G.: The use of abstract verbal nouns in *-σις* in Thucydides.

Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

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1882. — Volume XIII.

Hall, I. H.: The Greek New Testament as published in America.
Merriam, A. C.: Alien intrusion between article and noun in Greek.
Peck, T.: Notes on Latin quantity.
Owen, W. B.: Influence of the Latin syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.
Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in English.
Whitney, W. D.: General considerations on the Indo-European case-system.

Proceedings of the fourteenth annual session, Cambridge, 1882.

1883. — Volume XIV.

Merriam, A. C.: The Caesareum and the worship of Augustus at Alexandria.
Whitney, W. D.: The varieties of predication.
Smith, C. F.: On Southernisms.
Wells, B. W.: The development of the Ablaut in Germanic.

Proceedings of the fifteenth annual session, Middletown, 1883.

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